

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY:
A DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH TO TEACHER EDUCATION

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Does being a citizen of a democratic society require a certain knowledge, certain skills, certain attitudes, certain behaviors, certain values, a certain way of being? If so, should school play a definitive role in the promotion of this learning? What should this learning consist of - aims, contents, approaches, methods - to take into account the age and development of students? How should teachers be prepared for their roles? It is the author's assumption that these are very necessary and urgent questions to be dealt with in Portugal, ten years after the end of a long -lasting dictatorship.

On the one hand, every inquiry among the young generation - among those who do not know what it was to live under the dictatorship, who suffered the confusions and tensions of the "revolutionary period" and who are suffering the effects of a serious economic crisis - shows that they do not care about politics. This coincides with the results found in many other democratic countries but is more worrisome in a recent and fragile democracy such as the Portuguese one. (1)

On the other hand, the current Portuguese educational system was, in its fundamental aspects, created and implemented during the dictatorship. The long duration of the dictatorship, the concentration of power in one head, the highly centralized educational system and the extreme simplicity of the educational objectives pursued, allowed the implementation of a very coherent organization where almost everything was controlled to serve non-democratic purposes. The establishment of a democratic regime required important changes in this educational system.

These, however, did not occur automatically. And it is difficult to introduce fundamental changes when the new aims are not clear. All the Portuguese political parties state in their programs the aim of

“democratizing education”. However, the meaning attributed to this expression is vague and unclear. They all seem to share the conviction that “the education that served a dictatorship cannot be fit for the construction of a democratic society” (2), but what exactly is fit for a democratic society is uncertain. In the name of “democratizing education”, experiments and reforms were done and undone, promoted and condemned. In the last years, fear of indoctrination - justified by our long and traumatic experiences of heavy political indoctrination - seems to be a permanent ghost looming over any attempt to formulate a policy of education. Meanwhile the logic of the old system recovers and imposes its “hidden curriculum” on every child.

Perhaps awareness of this fact is growing since the Ministry of Education has recently nominated a commission charged with studying, for the post-elementary level, the implementation of the discipline of Civic Education, the main lines of its curricular structure as well as the profile of its teachers.” (3). Important as this initiative may be, it doesn’t seem enough, and the immediate option for a “discipline” without previous clarification of the aims of Civic Education suggests:

- That all the processes of socialization, occurring mostly through the “hidden curriculum” of the school, will not be taken into account;
- That there is a risk that all controversial issues will be ignored and a tendency to present a static view of democracy as information to be acquired about a set of institutions and processes;
- That there is a further risk that, without careful preventive steps, this new “discipline” may tend to be assimilated with the subject of “Political and Civic Organization of the Nation”, which existed during the dictatorship but was abandoned, and result in mere inculcation of a different content.

Furthermore, the specification that this new discipline is “for the post-elementary school” suggests that a developmental perspective of civic education was not taken into account. This seems to the author to be a serious gap because, if it is true, as it is often said, that United States

education, and particularly teacher-training, suffers from overpsychologization, it is the author's conviction that Portuguese education suffers from "oversociologization" and from "underpsychologization".

This conviction may be due to the author's formation -and deformation- in developmental Psychology (through several years of study and work at the Institut de Psychologie et des Sciences de l'Education in Geneva) but will also be demonstrated through the analysis of the conceptualization and of the processes of implementation of educational reforms in Portugal after the Revolution of the 25th of April.

Some of the author's further assumptions must be stated before introducing, more concretely, the subject of this work. Based on her experience – the author was involved, in one way or another, in many of the reforms launched in Portugal after the 25th April and, more recently, in teacher-training at the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon – the author assumes:

1. That educational changes do not follow automatically political and social changes.

(A deep change of political regime allows for educational changes, even tends to concentrate efforts in that direction, but resistance to change is always more powerful than expected).

2. That education can play an active role in helping transform society.

(This has been contradicted by most sociologists, but recent educational studies tend to support the idea that schools can make a difference. The author recognizes that there are inevitable conflicts among social groups as to the new aims of education and that there is inevitably resistance to change from institutions and social groups, but ascertains that certain factors may help render education an active agent of change:

- clarification of aims and objectives;
- adequacy of these aims and objectives to conditions, instead of mere ideological transfer;

- adequacy of these aims, objectives, contents and methods to the characteristics, needs, attitudes and perceptions of the individual and groups to whom education is addressed).
- 3. That education involves development and should have as its main aim the maximum development of every individual. (This assumption can be founded both in the developmental cognitivist approach and in Humanistic Psychology. It is also a controversial individualistic political stance that the author hopes to found on the analysis of some Portuguese experiences).
- 4. That developmental of the individual involves several areas among which there is no automatic transfer and for which there is not yet an integrated theory. (That cognitive development – to which schools pay particular attention, although in a narrow sense and usually limited to the earlier stages – is a necessary factor but an insufficient one).
- 5. That to promote democratic citizens involves promoting the maximum development of each individual but also promoting citizens for a democratic society (which are not entirely coincidental although sharing a common area: pro-social development).
- 6. That teacher-training (both pre – and in-service) may be an effective way to promote educational change, and is certainly a necessary one.
- 7. That future teachers as individuals – and particularly as young adults – do have their own specific developmental characteristics that should be attended to in their training.

Based on these assumptions, the author will try to clarify what education for democracy does involve and how teachers should be prepared for that role. Chapter 2 will establish the context: Portuguese education before and after the Revolution, the reforms that were introduced in the name of democratization, the reactions they provoked and the questions they

raised. Because there are no recent Portuguese studies on this subject, a review of literature from countries with a longer democratic tradition will be made in Chapter 3. Several approaches will be identified – “critical analysis,” “environmental action” and “developmental” approaches – mainly in United States literature, but German and Swedish examples will also be referred to. In the light of this theoretical framework Portuguese educational experiences will be further analyzed in Chapter 4, particularly a program of environmental action. The lack of a general developmental approach will be identified and further stressed in Chapter 5 through a content analysis of papers written by pupils about the school and the teacher they would like to have. This chapter, which includes a discussion among in-service student-teachers on those pupils’ texts, serves also to introduce the author’s approach to teacher education.

Assuming that education for democracy is more than the inclusion, at the post-elementary level, of the subject of Civic Education, places a new burden on teachers of all grades and disciplines. A constructive-developmental perspective on learning requires much more from the teacher than subject knowledge and teaching skills. At least since the well-known Rosenthal and Jacobson studies (4), it is clear that the teacher is a real “Pygmalion in the Classroom”, that teachers have the power of self-fulfilling their prophecies about their pupils and that the process that allows for this self-fulfillment is often unconscious both to the pupils and to the teacher. (5) teacher-training thus conceived becomes a rather more complicated task: In addition to subject knowledge and to the skills for communicating that knowledge, the teacher must be - or become - a democratic citizen, more specifically, a democratic teacher. The author’s experience, for the last five years, as teacher-trainer of preparatory and secondary school teachers has allowed for the development of an approach to teacher education that is coherent with these goals, although limited to a subject and to a classroom. Chapter 6 will briefly review current developmental approaches to teacher education, identify the author’s position within these approaches and give

two concrete examples. Chapter 7 will summarize the content of this study, state some conclusions on education for democracy and make a few recommendations that can be applied generally and specifically for the new teacher-training institutions that are to be created in Portugal.

In summary, this is mainly an analytical study that draws on theory and on empirical studies previously done by the author to clarify what is meant by education for democracy, to identify major needs in this area in Portuguese education and to propose an approach to teacher-training in the Portuguese context (concretely, having in mind the future Superior Schools of Education E.S.E) which is coherent with the aim of education for democracy.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT

The sudden change of political regime in Portugal - from a 40 years long dictatorship to one of the freest democracies in the world - and the outburst of educational experiences this change brought with it - makes Portugal a very rich natural laboratory for the study of innovation in schools, particularly in the field of “democratization”. The key words in the Program of the Armed Forces, which overthrew the regime in April 74, were “To democratize - To decolonize - To develop” (the three “Ds”), but in education “to democratize” was the key orientation of the main changes that took place.

It is true, that before the Revolution, the Minister of Education Veiga Simão in 1971 had launched an important reform under the banner “to democratize education”. This meant that the development of the school system so that every child would have equal access to education (at least to compulsory schooling).

After the 25th April it was the democratization of society that was intended and implicit was the idea that only a thoroughly democratic school could do it. Equality of access was not enough - although much has still to be done to achieve it. It had also to insure equality of success as it was then called. And it had also to insure that democratic values were learned, that decisions would be taken through democratic procedures and that relations between the “inhabitants” of schools would be democratic. (1)

DEMOCRATIZATION OF DECISION-MAKING

Actually the first changes that occurred in the Portuguese society as a result of the 25th April occurred in schools: “Immediately on the 29th of April 74, the Decree-Law nb 176 removed the academic authorities that had

been nominated by the government of Prime-Minister Marcello Caetano. In the meantime, several impressive demonstrations of students demanded the reinstatement of university teachers who had been removed from office by the dictatorship.” (2)

In schools of every level were the fights against the old established hierarchies the first social outburst of the 25th April.

In education, the fight against the formal power in schools and against the instruments of that power (for example, in June 1974, 12 year old pupils demonstrated before the Ministry of Education against exams) was the deepest, most spontaneous and most enduring change.

Preparatory and Secondary school principals were overthrown and decisions were taken after long hours of debate in general assemblies of pupils, teachers and auxiliary personnel.

These events show that the most hated and most sensitive area calling for democratization was the hierarchical and extremely authoritarian structure of power in schools. The principal was directly nominated by the Minister of Education and had to have his “political trust.” He controlled teacher almost absolutely: in certain schools, the principal had microphones connected to every classroom, being able to interfere whenever it pleased him and, so the rumor went, to hear whatever was said. Teachers could only be appointed if they had a clear political file. Even school workers such as custodians were personally chosen by the principals and appointed by Minister of Education until 1977. At the bottom of the scale were the pupils whose life could be controlled even outside the schools, as the “memories” of a well known Portuguese writer show:

“At the peak of Salazar’s regime, in my highschool, each girl was assigned a certain route home and a new job was created: the visitors, women who visited pupils in their homes to verify the conditions in which we lived and to verify if we followed the right track.” (3)

It was the overthrow of this oppressive minute control that the nation’s new freedom first achieved. If “a democratic school is what its

members decide that a democratic school is, “the Portuguese school in the years 1974 and 1975 was a democratic school. But it is questionable if a school can be only what its members decide it to be. Isn’t a school accountable to the society that expects pupils to prepare themselves for certain roles? Isn’t a school accountable to the parents that entrust their children to it? Isn’t a school accountable to a just concept of society? If members of a school decide that only whites should be admitted, would this be a democratic school?

This same question actually rose again and again in other areas than schools. There were times when bank employees proposed that they should control the purposes and the life of banks; when newspaper men and radio and television professionals wanted to decide what should be news or not. It was about this issue that the Socialist Party, in June 1975, refused to collaborate with the government initiating a fight against this sort of “worker control democracy,” fight which led to the end of the revolutionary period and to the beginning of “normalization” with the fall of the provisional government in elections for Parliament, the approval of Constitution, and the formation of the first constitutional government in 1976. This was, in brief summary, the transition from the “revolutionary period” to representative democracy.

And so it was with schools. Normalization also arrived in the schools with the “gestão democrática”, first legal framework of participatory school management. But, in the meantime, what a debate! Who decides what? for whom?, for what purposes? among which options? and why? were hot issues for two years. Real questions were addressed. As Bártolo Paiva Campos, former secretary of state of the last provisional government, pointed out: “we notice that, today, educational curricula are defined, produced, executed and evaluated, for all students, by the State, at different levels of decision; it is also the State that determines the nature and number of possibilities of option among which students can choose; and it is the system that decides

who enters in such and such a program; very seldom can the individual or his family decide the program to engage in...”(4)

To describe a democratic school as “what its members decide that a democratic school is” requires previous clarification of the limits of that decisional power and a definition of the aims of schooling, which is always a political definition. For this definition to be a democratic one, society has to be informed and consulted on educational issues.

Several steps were taken in this direction after the 25th April:

- Education won a place in the mass media: radio and television programs “On Education” (“Falar Educação”) had the explicit purpose not only of informing the population of the innovations taking place, but also of suggesting alternatives and of giving people the instruments to decide these matters. Daily newspapers introduced periodic pages on educational themes and 18 magazines on education were created; (1)

- There were direct consultations with the population on some educational reforms: the pursuit of comprehensiveness in secondary schools was preceded by a consultation to hear the opinions of teachers, pupils, and parents, unions, political parties and communes; (1)

- Law 7/77 gave parents’ associations the right to give an opinion on the general lines of orientation of educational reforms and on school management;

- Certain regions (actually only the islands of Madeira and Azores, but at the time other continental regions were considered) obtained an enlargement of decisional power on educational affairs;

- Schools themselves obtained the capacity of electing their management boards instead of the nominated principals (the aforementioned “gestão democrática”);

- Personal capacity of decision also became somewhat enlarged at least in the biggest urban centers through the development of evening courses, parallel forms of private schooling (5) (where the financial factor

affects the possibility of real choice,) and the introduction of a few optional subjects in secondary school.

The form of self-government now existent in Portuguese schools is but an aspect of the “democratization of decision” as it was then discussed. It is an important aspect and, with all its limitations, the attempts to extinguish it have met a strong resistance from teachers. But there lies its main weakness: it is a form of teacher’s self-government far more than of students’ self-government - perhaps in the same way as Sergiovanni noticed “The curious acceptance of human resource concepts applied to teachers but not to students” (6) Even for teachers it must be said that their power of decision is also very much limited in its content to administrative matters and that teachers lack any real capacity of decision in pedagogical matters like curricular organization and development.

To the scarce representation of pupils in the organs of school government and to the limited areas of decision, one should add the conditions under which this form of self-government operates as factors that do not seem to allow for a real moral development of pupils, not even for their acquisition of information on political organization and parliamentary skills. To the author’s knowledge the idea of “a school within a school” has not yet been tried in Portugal. Participation of pupils in the management of the classroom has been tried in several classrooms (particularly with teachers attached to the Modern School Movement) in primary and preparatory schools and the teachers who practice it have kept it going throughout these years - which seems an indicator of a least teacher satisfaction with the procedure.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF ACCESS AND OF SUCCESS

BEFORE THE 25th APRIL

Since the 60s, educators opposed to the regime were aware that it wasn’t enough to ensure equal educational opportunities to everyone, that the social system tended to reproduce itself in spite and, for some, even

because of schooling. The Bourdieu school of sociology was quite well known in the academic milieu but of course officially ignored (Before the Revolution, educational statistics did not contain any reference to the social origin of pupils; they still do not!) or persecuted (The Portuguese “Coleman report” was an article in a newspaper of the Faculty of Law, based on an O.E.C.D. study on the Portuguese educational system, and showing that only 0.4 per cent of children from the working classes got to University. Unlike Coleman, the authors of this article were excluded from the university and the newspaper was banned).

After the 25 of April, democratization of access as a “mot d’ordre” became complemented by the concept of democratization of results. Several reforms promoted both: the creation of a public network of pre-primary schools, the offer of a nutritional supplement in primary schools, the elimination of evaluation of pupils in the 1st and 3rd. grades of primary school (Evaluation was to disappear throughout the whole primary school, but it is still done at the end of the 2nd and 4th grades), the introduction of more qualitative forms of evaluation in preparatory and secondary schools universities. Some proposed that underprivileged children should be given extra grades in order to compensate for their background, to achieve success and higher levels of education. This was never put into practice. The intention of these reforms was to acknowledge the existence of different social cultures and differently rhythms of learning and to diminish school failure. It was hoped that this would have beneficial effects for the individual and would result in a more proportionate social representation of students in higher grades.

Another important reform that still persists although being now and then subject to some attacks was the “unification” of secondary schools. Before the 25th of April, 12 year old children had to choose between a technical school and highschool, the most accepted way to University. Of course the “choice” was very much determined by parents’ profession and

status. Hence it was felt that removing this false option would constitute an important step towards the democratization of school, (where children of different social classes would work together - “Good fences do not make good democrats” (7)), and of society (by giving equal chances to everyone). This reform was also rooted in a conception of knowledge itself that seeks an integration of theory and practice, of intellectual and manual work.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF VALUES AND PURPOSES

DURING THE DICTATORSHIP

The role of schools during most of the dictatorial regime had been deliberately and explicitly an indoctrinating one. “God, the Country and the Family” was the slogan that summed up the indisputable values (“We do not discuss God or virtue; we do not discuss the Country or its History; we do not discuss Authority or its Prestige; we do not discuss the Family or its Morals; we do not discuss the glory of Work or its Duty”, said Salazar, in a speech delivered in May 1936). What were considered to be its supporting moral values were probably different according to one’s social class, school and age. But, in general, the values praised were obedience, submission, order, respect for hierarchy, conformity, love of work well done, and cleanliness. They were simple, clear-cut values, easy to understand and to transmit.

They corresponded to a traditional, rural society, which was no longer the dominant one in Portugal (in the ‘30s only 47% of the population still worked in agriculture) but was considered to be the ideal one, the “model” for the whole country.

The long duration of the dictatorship, the concentration of power in one head, the highly centralized educational system, and the extreme simplicity of these objectives allowed the implementation of an extremely coherent organization where almost everything was controlled to serve these purposes.

The ways to achieve this involved every single aspect of school life from the methods used to the relationships among people, the contents taught, the models proposed and the whole organization of the school system.

The Organization

For the masses, school was to be as limited as possible. Basic schooling was reduced first to 4 years (Decree Law nb 13619, May 17, 1927), later to 3 years (Decree nb 18140, March 22, 1936). “Worse than illiteracy in a pure heart is materialistic and pagan education,” said one Minister of Education of the ‘30s. In the ‘60s it was expanded to 6 years.

After elementary education children had to choose between a technical school - where they would get preparation for work - and a high-school - where they would get a preparation for University or enter public service. The strict separation between work and Knowledge may explain certain reactions after the Revolution.

The Contents

There were the subjects that were obviously more deliberately indoctrinating like the “Political and Administrative Organization of the Nation” or “Morals and Religion, “ but even the others, the more academic ones, transmitted the same ideology (cf. several content analyses of programs and obligatory books for History and Portuguese) (8). But perhaps more usual was the endowment of “Singing” with the aim of “instilling Portuguese children with the civic and moral values pertaining to a good citizen through educational songs” (Decree Law nb 27084, Oct. 14, 1936).

School Life

Hierarchy, order and discipline were the prevailing characteristics of the Portuguese “old school”. Disciplinary rules existed for everything: “From the physical presentation of the pupils, their way of speaking and their postures in public, to the demand for a strict punctuality and attention, without forgetting the formulae of saluting, the order and hygiene in the classrooms, buildings and school material”. (9) We saw before how this minute control extended to teachers (For a long time, primary school teachers had to ask permission to get married and there were strict conditions for this permission to be awarded) and to pupils’ life out of schools.

The Extra-Curricular Activities

In 1936 the regime created a para-military youth organization, similar to Hitler’s German youth - the “Mocidade Portuguesa” - which the aim of promoting the civic and moral education of youth. It was obligatory for every child from 7 to 14 years of age and optional afterwards. The “Mocidade Portuguesa” intended to “stimulate the complete development of children’s’ physical capacities, the formation of their characters and their devotion to the Country. This should be done in love of order, in a taste for discipline and in the veneration of the military duty” (Decree Law nb 26611, May 19, 1936). Portuguese Youth should also, “develop in the pupils the Christian education traditional in the country (...) and in no case will it admit an atheist” (Decree Law nb 27301, Dec. 4, 1936). (10)

The Methods

In every subject the methods used showed the deliberate wish to bend the individual child to a uniform social model, even in the so-called artistic subjects like Music and Drawing.

AFTER THE 25TH OF APRIL

It is understandable, therefore, that the first official educational act, after the legal act to remove the principals in schools, was, in the Summer of 1974, to strip the old programs of their more ideological features and to nominate a committee to study new programs. These programs were ready in the beginning of 1975, and their introduction stated very clearly that “the programs that are fit for a fascist regime cannot, it is clear, be fit for the construction of a democratic society.”

The new primary school programs based themselves explicitly on the psychological development of the individual (They even included a chart of this development mainly based on Piaget’s findings) and aimed at promoting the child’s overall development. The new secondary school programs stated the following objectives:

- “Schools should integrate themselves with their communities so as to answer the problems and aspirations of the community...
- Pupils should participate in society to change it, through the analysis of social contradictions, through the criticism of situations to be overcome, through the denouncing of alienation, ignorance, hunger and exploitation...
- Pupils should receive a basic polyvalent preparation that will allow them to follow the way that agrees most with their aptitudes and interests and with the needs of the community;
- Schools should unite study and productive work as this is the essential preparation for the free man of the future;
- Pupils should be educated to know the reality of regional and national life, in order to become interested in solving national problems and, at the same time, to develop solidarity with the struggles of other peoples.”

It is interesting here to compare these objectives with those of an experience in certain comprehensive secondary schools, programs launched before the 25th of April in the aforementioned reform of 1971. The “new”

objectives are clearly inspired by the “old” ones except for that last reference to the “solidarity with the struggles of other peoples” and for the replacement of objective concerning the development of aesthetic and scientific sense by the reference to the unification of study and “productive work.”

These new objectives were to be attained mainly through the creation of an interdisciplinary area which was to take place in one morning or one afternoon per week, with no pre-defined contents but where pupils and teachers were supposed to go out into the community, identify some real problems and collaborate in their solution. These ideas of “interdisciplinary areas”, “going out into the community” and doing “productive work” or “socially useful work” reappear in almost every other important reform of this period. Teacher-training schools included, in their first year, one such area. The preliminary program of the E.S.E suggests the creation of three central areas around which the traditional subjects would be organized. One of these areas is called “Productive Activities” and was defined as “the study and direct contact with economic activities from the environment of the school; they involve knowledge, skills and studies to be acquired in the three areas and their purpose is to promote a greater link between the future teacher and another extra-professional function useful for the economic development of the country. These studies, to be developed often with the collaboration of people out of the school, may include areas such as pasturing and factories of woolen goods, fishing and factories of canned fish, metallurgies, etc..”

But the most typical example is perhaps given by the “Civic Service”, a new intermediate year between secondary school and university to be accomplished outside of school. The decree law nb 363 of July 11, 1975, established for all students wanting to go to university “an intermediate year of activities of civic service that may create in students the habit of socially productive work and that may acquaint them with the great national problems.” (11)

THE NORMALIZATION PERIOD

The “normalization period” was characterized by a refusal of what were considered to be the more ideological features of the previous reforms. Curricula were again changed: the newly introduced interdisciplinary areas that aspired to link the school to the community, manual work to intellectual work and to engage pupils and teachers in “productive work” were “suspended”; a subject of “Introduction to Politics” that had been introduced in the last grades of secondary school, vanished, remaining only in the evening adult courses, the intermediate year of “Civic Service” was replaced by an academic year.

Underlying these measures lies the fear of indoctrination - fear which the not so long ago past justified. But until the recent nomination of a Commission to study the introduction of a discipline of Civic Education, nothing came to replace the abandoned reforms, i.e., fear of indoctrination led to ignoring and refusing education for moral development and for democracy.

SOME COMMENTS, CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS

Where the reforms indoctrinating? Can a nation promote a democratic education which does not involve indoctrination?

According to D. Purpel and K. Ryan “this issue is perhaps the hottest, the most persistent, and in many ways the most important professional or technical question.” (12)

M. Downey and A.V. Kelly discuss the different meanings “indoctrination” may have in terms of methods (using authoritarian, non rational teaching methods), contents (non critical acceptance of certain social roles or moral, religious or political beliefs) and of intentions (indoctrination would be not so much a question of what is taught to pupils or how they are taught but of what kinds of change we intend to bring about in them) and conclude that indoctrination “involves the absence of development of understanding and respect for rationality, truth, relevant evidence ... the acceptance of a passive model of man.” (13)

The author's analysis of the "revolutionary reforms" from these several points of view, leads her to conclude the following:

1. In terms of method, the new reforms did not involve indoctrination although, in some of them, particularly the Civic Service, the proposed activities were to be accompanied by seminars of discussion and critical appreciation of the problems encountered and of the solutions worked out and these seminars never took place. But in general one cannot say that the proposed situations where pupils were supposed to be actively engaged in identifying problems and in searching solutions were authoritarian or non rational.

2. In terms of content the issue is more complex. There was no pre-defined content but, the objectives stated and the suggestions presented involve a limitation of content to "socially useful work" or "productive work", to interaction with certain other social classes and to certain values (such as "solidarity with the struggles of other peoples").

This concept of "socially useful work" or "productive work" is not clearly defined. Isn't a teacher's work "socially useful"? – Aren't arts craft "productive work"? The suggestions of activities seem to imply that the type of work activities desired are only those connected with rural and industrial work, which is a rather simplified and outdated vision of society (somewhat similar to Salazar's outdated view of Portugal as a rural society).

3. In terms of intent, clearly, the aim of the new reform point to the promotion of citizens at a much higher level of development than the "old school" of Salazar's regime. But the values defended seem to be rather relative values justifiable in a certain moment (the acquisition or the "habit of socially productive work" may be an important instrumental value for the economic development of society and for the mental health of the individual) but certainly not principles.

Furthermore, the intent of these reforms does not seem to be the development of the individual (and the removal, in the new comprehensive secondary school, of the objective concerning the "esthetical development"

seems to confirm this interpretation) but the promotion of a more just society.

Would this be in agreement with the purpose of educating for democracy?

If the issue of “indoctrination” versus “neutrality” is placed on a continuum it is clear that both poles are unattainable. Absolute indoctrination is impossible - and the existence of dissidence during the old regime shows it. But, of course, absolute neutrality of the school is impossible too, from the mere fact that the school socializes children into certain behaviors and relationships and that any selection of content and methods is a value selection. Besides, does democracy require ultimately “neutrality” in the face of a plurality of different values from different groups and individuals? Doesn’t democracy imply the affirmation of certain values? Are these merely procedural? Or are there ultimate values that should be ascertained and should guide the educational goals and organization?

Perhaps the answers to these questions found by other countries with a longer democratic tradition will prove useful. Chapter 3 will review several approaches to the general question “What is education for democracy?” but also the more specific questions of how, when and where. In addition, whenever possible, the implications for teacher education will be raised.

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CHAPTER THREE

THEORIES, ISSUES AND SOME PRATICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since the introduction of mass education, schools have always played a role in the political socialization of new generations. As Tyack states: “By the end of the XIX century (...) the basic functions of schooling were relatively clear to equip students with academic skills and to give them a moral and political socialization that would enable them to participate in society as industrious, temperate, honest citizens.” (1) But the concepts of “citizen” and of “participation in society” could be quite different according to the political organization of society: in an autocratic state, as shown in Chapter 2, schools are supposed to breed industrious, but mainly submissive and obedient citizens: in a democratic State, schools are expected to produce free citizens who deal with each other in a rational manner and on the basis of equality.

If the aims and the contents of the education of these different types of citizens are very different, formally, the processes, for quite a long time, seemed very similar: socialization through the “hidden curriculum” and direct instruction on the knowledge of governmental structure and functions. Catherine Cornbleth (2) calls this an “illusory” form of citizenship education and she further specifies that the content of instruction would include a limited range of political content and activities. The pupil’s role would be a passive one where memorization is stressed. Socialization into “proper behavior” would take precedence over political learning. Using the distinction among illusory, technical and constructive schooling of Popkewitz, T., Tabachnik B. and Wehlage (1981) as a useful means of analysing citizenship education programs and practices, Cornbleth proceeds to characterize the “technical form”: This would offer a carefully organized series of activities intended to produce measurable competencies. The range

of political content would be limited to concrete skills and bits of information. Knowledge is standardized and right answers pre-determined.

With “constructive citizenship education” it is the understanding of democracy that is sought: political structures and processes are taught including the limits of government, difficulties and problems. The student’s role is an active one. The students are often encouraged to pursue their interests and to engage in activities that might foster their critical examination of political systems and processes and their competence to participate in public affairs. This form assumes that there are various ways of learning and that different perspectives and different solutions should be considered.

This classification however doesn’t seem entirely satisfactory to encompass recent trends in education for democracy. On the one hand, the distinction between “illusory” and “technical” forms of citizenship education doesn’t look very pertinent: they both illustrate an unquestioned view of democracy as a set of fixed content and procedures that the student should “learn” and be socialized into in an almost uncritical manner. On the other hand, no place is made for those who view democracy as a commitment to certain moral values and education as personal and social development. Finally, the Cornbleth classification does not allow for a distinction inside the “constructive citizenship education” between authors who stress the aim of promoting critical examination of democratic institutions and processes and those who stress the need to develop the ability of participation in school and/or public affairs.

The classification that will be proposed here is not exhaustive (illusory and technical forms, for example, will not be considered) but seems more appropriate to encompass these newer trends.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION

An excellent example of this approach can be found in Oliver and Shaver’s report The Analysis of Public Controversy. (3) The authors

characterize democracy by its commitment to an ultimate value – human dignity; the defining characteristics of “human dignity” are, at the same time, instrumental to its attainment. They are the several values, which compose the “American Creed”, such as: democratic procedure – consent or representation – liberty, general welfare, equality. But these values, the authors demonstrate, only in abstraction do not contradict themselves. In actual situations they are in conflict, and this is a fundamental condition of living in a pluralistic democratic society. It is also one of the rights that compose and are instrumental to “human dignity”: the right to make important choices.

Public controversy is therefore a condition of a democratic pluralistic society and society has developed a set of procedures to deal with public disputes, procedures that are supposed to be consistent with the ideal of human dignity. The principle of rational consent is the principle behind these procedures. The preparation of students to use this principle seems to be the main objective pursued.

The role of a democratic pluralistic government is to tolerate dispute – even to encourage it in a rational manner – and at the same time to help resolve it. And it seems that it is in this area that is found the main role of the public school to prepare democratic citizens: to promote a deeper understanding of public conflicts that may allow for freedom of choice and to promote the use of reason as an approach to the resolution of differences among individuals and groups. It is therefore the pluralistic and rational aspects of democracy that are emphasized in this conception as well as the principle of rational consent.

The basic contents of the curriculum proposed by Cliver and Shaver consist of:

- “1) Concepts, generalizations and concrete facts necessary to understand the historical background and contemporary status of major political controversies.

2) A set of analytic concepts of government, ethics and social science methodology” (4)

This curriculum illustrates a very rational model of education for democracy. It is assumed that knowledge will make better citizens. It is not a model to promote citizen action. Oliver and Shaver state it very clearly: (with this curriculum the student is) “not prepared to face the problem of how to implement any political decision he might make. We have avoided (...) teaching about the practical problems of transforming decision into action, proposal into law.” (5)

Oliver and Shaver also explicitly state that the basis for commitment to human dignity as an ultimate value is an intuitive one (6). Not only is nothing said of how education might help to foster commitment to this goal, but more importantly, one is left with the idea that nothing is to be done, or can be done, to promote it.

The aim is to provide a framework “within which sources of disagreement can be conceptualized as well as to suggest strategies by which these different types of controversy may be clarified or resolved.” (7)

To learn to live in – and to promote – a pluralistic society, an exclusively rational curriculum is therefore proposed which can fit without too much disturbance in the usual secondary school curriculum, to be included in a distinct discipline or taught as a part of Social Studies. However, the complexity of the issues and concepts involved seems to require a high level of cognitive development and the curriculum “Analysis of Public Controversy” does not seem appropriate for any level under the 10 to 12 grades in Portugal.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

A second tendency that can be found in the literature on education for democracy stresses a more active concept of the consent of the governed

principle and advocates social action as an educational means to promote the fulfillment of this ideal. This school of thought is well represented by Fred M. Newman for whom “while there may be some dispute about the defining characteristics of a democracy system, the principle of consent of the governed is a central requirement”. (8)

This he found both on ethical and epistemological grounds. From an ethical point of view, the consent principle is the mechanism for the realization of equality, a value central to theories of morality and justice. From an epistemological point of view, it is a means of compensating for errors of judgment, a part of a constructive struggle for truer or wiser decisions.

Although also admitting to an ultimate value commitment to human dignity (which would rest upon more specific values such as equality, freedom of choice and rationality), Newman finds that:

“... it is not fruitful to seek the attainment of the basic values exclusively through proposals for substantive policy. The structure and distribution of power and the institutionalized procedures which generate these policies are more fundamental.” (9)

The principle of consent of the governed requires that each citizen should have equal opportunity to influence the use of power, both through periodic elections and through direct participation to affect the outcomes of specific issues. This, Newman finds, quoting Verba and Nie, is hardly realized in the American society, where “few if any types of political activity beyond the act of voting and performed by more than one third of the American citizens.” (10)

Probably any similar study in other countries would find even less direct participation. For example, in Germany “voting is frequent, but more informal means of direct involvement, particularly political discussion and the formation of political groups, are more limited (...) Many Germans assume that the act of voting is all that is required of a citizen.” (11)

Although many factors may account for this situation, it is assumed that one cause may be the lack of knowledge, skills and attitudes conducive to the exercise of influence. F. Newman judges that schools tend to promote mainly “self-oriented” and passive competencies and not enough “environmentally oriented” and active competencies, particularly the “civic ability to have impact in public affairs. Learning to exert influence in public affairs (12) is therefore greatly needed – a “top priority”, according to Newman, to which most of the secondary school curriculum should contribute.

Schools seem to be the only institutions capable of insuring such learning in a non-partisan way. The means for this learning require “by definition” involvement in actual attempts to influence public affairs. Such programs – a “citizen action curriculum” – would require acquiring knowledge, skills, attitudes and competencies which F. Newman groups in three major components:

1. To formulate policy goals (based upon principled moral deliberation and upon social policy research);
2. To work for support of these goals (This involves the political-legal process knowledge, advocacy skills in speaking, writing and using several media, group process knowledge and skills, and organization, administration and management skills):
3. To resolve certain psycho-philosophic concerns which will almost certainly occur and which may inhibit action or at least effective action.

This proposal, as F. Newman recognizes, would involve profound changes in the secondary school curriculum, requiring either the devotion of one year exclusively to “citizen action” (very much like the Portuguese year of Civic Service), or spreading it through the years of secondary school. Nothing is said about previous requirements.

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY IN WEST GERMANY

Before turning to the third current of education for democracy – the developmental approach – experiences in two democratic European countries that can be included in these two first trends will be looked upon because they may give a more complete picture of the difficulties to be found in practice.

Education for democracy in West Germany is an interesting case for Portugal. Since this country followed a similar political evolution from a weak parliamentary republic to a dictatorial regime and again to a democratic state. An important difference, however is that Germany is a federal republic where the states have considerable autonomy (including in educational matters), while Portugal is a highly centralized unitary State. Still, the function of schools in preparing for citizenship seems to have followed similar patterns: from an “unpolitical” school during the Weimar Republic to an openly politicized one during the National Socialism, followed by a reinstatement of the unpolitical school after the war. Since the late ‘60s, West Germany has entered a period of keen interest in education for democracy. Other problems are also similar to the Portuguese situation such as concern for a “political culture” in which schools are but a part, aggravated by the fact that, there as here, students attend schools mostly only one half of the day.

The efforts of political education that began, on a wide scale, only in the late ‘60s, included, at the level of explicit aims, the two dimensions pointed out as two trends: a more critical and informed examination on democratic institutions and processes and a greater readiness to participate in the political process. A moral concern was also present even if restricted to the mention “less prejudice” (13) In practice, these objectives were to be pursued in the “Social Studies” curriculum of Secondary Stage I (1 or 2 hours per week) and in the last two years of Secondary Stage II (more or less 11 and 12 grades) with 3 to 5 hours per week in a special subject. Again nothing was foreseen for the elementary school.

The results seem to be meager. The reasons for this are several: the courses are accused of being too theoretical, away from application, generally lacking in practical activities and of containing no information about the world of work. Teachers, mostly coming from History and Geography departments, are not trained to teach these matters. And the general context of the German school, very much centered on subject matter, discipline, competition and teacher's authority, tends to socialize German students into an autocratic form of interaction.

A SWEDISH STUDY ON STUDENT DEMOCRACY

This awareness of the socializing context of schools won particular attention almost everywhere in Europe and the U.S., after certain extraneous circumstances, mainly student unrest in Universities throughout the '60s. This unrest was attributed – among other causes – to the exclusion students felt from decision-making and planning. Either out of a feeling of justice or to prevent similar incidents in the future, there is general agreement that students should learn to function in a democratic society and that this required that students should have a voice, at the different educational levels, to plan and decide in a democratic way.

One of the countries that made more serious attempts in this direction was Sweden. A general idea of the present situation of these efforts can be found in the report "Student Democracy – Co-planning at different educational levels" (14), aimed at the study of the existing forms of student participation in Swedish schools of various levels, of the attitudes and opinions related to this participation and of the actual process of introduction of new procedures for co-planning functions.

Among its conclusions, the study stresses the need to have younger pupils (elementary school) be given a more consciously designed successive training in making their own decisions and finds the classroom to be the appropriate unit for this training. In secondary schools, where students are represented in several cooperative bodies, it emerged that students

considered they received insufficient information about and from these various bodies and that they felt their influence on important decisions to be far too limited to deserve their time and energy. Experiments with extended forms of student influence produced no significant results from the teachers' point of view, but very positive ones from the students' point of view (on the general atmosphere of the school and on attitudes towards democracy). Experiments also tended to show that a special teaching on democracy did not have any additional effect.

In teacher-training institutions, student-teachers felt that their opportunities for influencing conditions and decisions were unsatisfactory, that they lacked knowledge of the Schools of Education existing committees and councils, and that they would like to have a cooperative body with decision-making status. The experiences referred to above stemmed from students' fights for more participatory power. However, students' associations and students' participation in making norms and decisions at the school level seem to be an excellent area for the creation of a democratic organization and therefore for a critical understanding – even if in a very simplified context in relation to society as a whole – of democratic values, institutions and procedures. It could be also, again at a very simplified level, a first step towards the development of an environmentally oriented active competency and particularly of the civic ability to influence public affairs. It has often been said that the school is a microcosm where society reflects itself: the problems the students would have to deal with at the school would not probably be very different from the ones to be found in society. But most authors who explicitly refer to the need for a democratic school context as a means to educate for democracy come from the third trend: the developmental approach

THE DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACHES

As far back as 1932, J. Piaget studied the evolution of moral reasoning through the analysis of the rules of games children play and

through interview with children on these rules as compared to rules transmitted by adults. From this study Piaget concluded that there were two sorts of respect (unilateral respect and mutual respect) coming from two different sources of social interaction: unilateral respect, based on love and fear, would stem from the relations of constraint that are usually the relations between adult and child and that result in the imposition from the exterior on the individual of a system of rules with obligatory content; and mutual respect would be built upon this unilateral respect but would stem from the cooperative relationships between peers and would result in breeding, in the interior of the mind, “conscience of the ideal norms that command every rule”. (15)

The question is, according to Piaget for the school to decide which type of social interaction will better prepare the child for its future task of citizen: “The habit on an external discipline acquired under the influence of unilateral respect and adult constraint, or the habit of internal discipline, mutual respect and self-government?” (16)

Ne situates this discussion in social terms (a process which became much rarer in his later works) trying to characterize democracy by opposing it to what he called the “older” societies: “It is the essence of democracy to consider law as a product of collective will and not as the fruit of transcendental will of divine authority”. (17) This collective will has to obey certain rules: it involves cooperation between equals, a method to be agreed upon, rules of mutual control. But Piaget is not so much interested in these methods and rules as in the necessity of mutual respect of autonomous wills. Furthermore, it is not enough for an autonomous conscience that rules have been ratified by a majority or by all individuals after discussion. It still is necessary that this ratification be the result of a true agreement, founded on the laws of reciprocity that constitute reason.” (18)

It is to the information of these autonomous wills and to the development of these laws of reciprocity that education should tend, not through the reinforcement of the child’s unilateral respect towards the adult,

but through the facilitation of relationships of cooperation among peers (or between the child and non-authoritarian adults) that may allow for the construction in the interior of the minds of “an ideal of reciprocity which defines goodness as it will appear to moral consciousness.” (19)

Piaget explicitly opposes Dürkheim for whom any morality is always imposed by the group to the individual and by the adult to the child. Although agreeing that morality is always social, Piaget finds it dangerous to withdraw from morality what is specific to it: its normative autonomy: “There is a danger ... of compromising morality with state reason, opinion truths or collective conservatism – all against which the great moral reformers fought in the name of conscience.” (20)

However, he does not pursue this trend of thought, and in a much later study (21) he confines Psychology to the determination of the means of education and denies any connection to its aims and means. It means Kohlberg’s merit to have refused this dualism (social aims versus individual means) and to have integrated psychology and philosophy in the definition of aims and means.

Drawing on the tradition of the progressives, Kohlberg restated Dewey’s formula: “Development as the aim of education”. If democracy is an advanced moment in the gradual emancipation of the individual (as Piaget had postulated), then the development of the individual as the aim of education is a major step forward in the concept of educating for democracy. To justify this assertion, Kohlberg had to make two assumptions: a) That higher stages of development are better; and b) That a deliberate intervention – education – is necessary for the individual to proceed to higher stages.

Rejecting both traditional standards and moral relativism, Kohlberg, with Dewey and the progressives, favors “ethical principles formulated and justified by the method of philosophy, not simply by the method of psychology” (22). In fact, it is an integration of both methods that allows him to overcome the dilemma indoctrination versus ethical relativism. The

ethical principles are universal, impartial modes of deciding or judging and not concrete cultural rules. Kohlberg sustains that by studying the evolution of moral reasoning one arrives at the construction of generalizable principles. These rational ethical principles – like the Kantian maxims of respect for human personality (“Act always toward the other as an end, not as a means”) and of universalization (“Choose only as you would be willing to have everyone choose in your situation”) – are freely chosen by the individual because of their intrinsic moral validity. They are the “natural” (though not spontaneous) result of development and should be the final arbiters in defining educational aims. The role of education should be to favor the active stimulation of the development of these principles. Although necessary, it is not enough to make schools more just (through equal opportunities of access to education and through democratic relationships and procedures inside the school). It is also necessary to educate so that just and free people will emerge.

The second Kohlberg assumption is that deliberate intervention – education – is necessary for the individual to develop to higher stages. Piaget has advocated cooperative relations among peers and between non-authoritarian adults and children as a means to foster the development of an autonomous conscience. He had further admitted that authoritarian relationships such as those that characterized the old society or the school advocated by Dürkheim could reinforce the moral dependence of the child and block its evolution to an autonomous mind. But his stress on the spontaneous relations of children out of school and on the spontaneous development of children did not allow him to deduce the need for deliberate and intentional intervention. To the issue of adults who did not seem to have attained the formal operations stage, Piaget would answer that “the possibility of does not mean its actualization”, i.e., that they had the possibility of using them but this did not mean that they actually used them. Although this is an important distinction to keep in mind, it became more plausible; in the last years that the spontaneous interaction of the individual

with the outward world wasn't enough to attain higher stages and that deliberate intervention to promote development to higher stages was probably necessary. Not to accelerate development, as Kohlberg clearly states, but to "avoid stage-retardation" (23) and to overcome "d calages" (i.e. to insure that the new possibilities spread to other areas of thought and behavior).

Educational interventions could consist of exposing individuals to a disequilibrating problematic situation (one where the individual's schema of explanation would not fit) and to slightly higher-level solutions or responses. As often happens with psychologists, Kohlberg's first educational proposals were directly derived from his instruments of diagnosis of moral stages: his hypothetical moral dilemmas, which were built for every age and could be introduced at any school level. A step forward in the collaboration with educators and with the experience of the values clarification approach underlying it, it became apparent that real historical dilemmas - in the History or Social Sciences courses - or fictional ones in First Language Classes were an appropriate means both to lead students to a deeper understanding of the historical or fictional situations involved and to a reflection and discussion on moral issues.

More recently, and unlike most psychologists, Kohlberg's collaboration with educational psychologists like R. Mosher and with educators themselves moved the focus away from the moral curriculum to the hidden curriculum of the school and to the formation of a participatory democracy - or, as it is called in this school of thought, of a "just community" (24) - as the context for moral discussion and moral education, reencountering, now on educational grounds, the tradition of self-government of the progressives in the United States and most experiences of democratic education in Europe.

In a reply to the criticisms of a school administrator (25) Kohlberg states more clearly the reasons for this evolution and his present ideas on what moral education should be. He agrees with his critic that "even though

moral reasoning is important for action... it is not enough as ...' moral behavior consists, in part, of unconscious patterns of behavior learned through modeling and osmotic interaction with the culture'". (26) Hence, it is important to address the hidden curriculum and the moral atmosphere of the school. Faced with a real issue, the teacher has to take a stand, to advocate for a certain moral content. To avoid this "advocacy approach" from becoming an indoctrinating one, Kohlberg argues the establishment of participatory democracy in the classroom or in the school thereby linking "justice to a small political community based on equal political rights".

Moral education for Kohlberg could then consist of:

1. An elective course in ethics, combining moral dilemmas discussions with an introduction to moral philosophy - for highschool juniors and seniors;

2. The integration of discussion of moral dilemmas in Social Studies and English. If the aim of Social Studies is to achieve a minimum of civic literacy (which is operationalized by Kohlberg as "the capacity to sign the social contract, represented, for instance, by the Constitution and the Declaration, with informed consent") than this presupposes "mastery of a fourth stage of moral reasoning and some awareness of a fifth stage represented by the thinking of the founders, and the idea of a social contract establishing government to preserve basic human liberties"; (27)

3. A democratic government in schools. Recognizing that the experiences in this area are very recent. Kohlberg advises to proceed with caution. A possibility seems to be to divide the school into "houses" of 60 to 100 students. The general weekly meetings should be preceded by small group discussions with teachers where students can study in some depth the issues and the implications of their decisions.

Apart from these measures, there should be no moral education an no moral education teachers: " It is not clear that the whole realm of personal, political and religious values is a realm which is non relative, i.e., in which

it there are universals and a direction of development” and “it is not clear that the public school has a right or a mandate to develop values in general ... Value education in the public schools should be restricted to that which the school has the right and the mandate to develop: an awareness of justice or of the rights of others in our Constitutional system. (In this sense) Moral and Civic education are much the same thing” (28)

But all teachers should have some practice thinking about moral issues and know some answers given by philosophers and psychologists. And the whole curriculum should be oriented towards a consideration of values just as the whole process of education should be oriented towards human development which includes moral development.

And so we are back to Dewey’s formulation: “The aim of education is the development of the individual to the utmost of his potentialities”, having gained, in the meantime, a psychological foundation for this aim and a richer and more complex image of what are the potentialities of all individuals and of what development includes. A richer and more complex picture but not an integrated one: Sprinthall warns that there is no single developmental theory that may serve as “an adequate framework within which to comprehend human growth.” (29) More directly related to the educational problems, Sprinthall and Mosher further remind that there exists a lack of knowledge “by which to order experience to stimulate consecutive development”. (30)

Even remaining in the moral development realm, Kohlberg’s theory, and particularly his vision of the higher stages (which could stand as provisional goals for moral education), do not go uncontested: Gilligan and Murphy, while interpreting certain apparent regressions of older subjects in Kohlberg’s scale, establish a different, higher aim: a more dialectical, contextual and relativistic mode of reasoning which encompasses formal reasoning and “compassion, tolerance and respect.” (31)

In her recent book In a Different Voice (32), Gilligan points out that Kohlberg’s criteria for development - as well as those of most other well-know psychologists - were derived from studies with males, and asserts that

her work with women calls into question “current maps of development” and offers a new vision of human growth. Because moral judgments pertain to conflicts in the relation of self to others, a difference in the construction of that relationship would lead to difference in the conception of the moral domain. She considers that in Piaget and Kohlberg as well as in Freud, the world is viewed as composed of separate individuals with conflicting claims who find in morality - equated with justice - a mode of regulating conflict by agreement. The world of women, however, would be characterized by a grater sense of connection and caring, by more concern for relationship than for rules.

Gilligan often gives the impression of questioning the whole developmental concept when she talks of a “hierarchical bias” or when rejects assumptions that there is a universal standard of development and a single measurement along which differences found can be aligned as higher or lower, better and worse. (33) But, in fact, that Gilligan proposes should be seen as a expansion of Kohlberg’s theory so as to encompass both men’s and women’s development, both development as progress in separation and development as progress inhuman relationships, both the language of rights and the language of responsibilities.

A possible answer to this request will be given by a third figure - Robert Kegan - who proposes a whole theory of ego development by plunging again into the Piagetian source and integrating in the developmental constructivist approach the contributions from psychoanalysis and humanistic psychology, particularly the point of view of the self, the view from the inside. For Kegan too, growth involves a process of differentiation, of decentralization, of “emergence from embeddedness” in a human context. But he also stresses the more forgotten counterparts of this process: “decentralization”, the loss of a center, involves “recentration”, the recovery of a new center: “emergence from embeddedness” (differentiation from a human context) favors more extensive human environments to be in relation with and new fusions in new human environments; egocentric stages

are followed by sociocentric stages; stages that favor differentiation are followed by stages that favor inclusion and both yearnings deserve equal dignity.

Kegan proposes to take the balance between subject and object (the relation between self and other) as the common ground for several developmental theories. He describes growth as the “very creating of the object (a process of differentiation) as well as our relating to it (a process of integration) (34). The following table illustrates this idea using the authors referred to in this thesis:

Comparative Table

	Stage	St.1	St.2	St.3	St.4	St.5
Piaget	Sensovimotor	Preoperationa 1	Concrete Operational	Early formal operations	Full formal operations	-----
Kohlberg	-----	Punishment obedience orientation	Instrumental orientation	Interpersonal concordance orientation	Societal orientation	Principled orientation
Maslow*	Psychological survival orientation	Psychological satisfaction orientation	Safety orientation	Love, affection, belongingness orientation	Esteem and self- esteem orientation	Self-actualization
Kegan	Incorporative self (subject- reflexes object-none)	Impulsive self (subj.- impulse perceptions obj.-reflexes)	Imperial (subj.-needs, interests, Obj.- impulses, perceptions)	Interpersonal (subj. the interpersonal) Obj.-needs, interests wishes)	Institutional (subj.-identity, ideology O.-interpersonal mutuality)	Interindividual (S-interindividuality O-identity ideology)

*Maslow is only referred to in Chapter Five

These stages are always followed by periods of instability. As a clinician, Kegan is more concerned with these moments of transition, confusion and crisis as they are experienced by the self: “Crisis is not the seemingly unresolvable problem but the way this particular problem is precisely suited to inform the ... balance that something is fundamentally wrong about the way one is being in the world. Any real resolution of the crisis must ultimately involve a new way of being in the world.” (34) Therefore, change involves a repudiation of oneself, a feeling of loss, a separation anxiety, a crisis with its double meaning of “danger” and “opportunity”, a tension between self-preservation and self-transformation - of a qualitatively new kind each time.

As to the stages of development, R. Kegan sees the first three stages occurring normally during childhood and early adolescence (see table), but from then on he finds no easily supplied age norms. Still, he does point to a fifth higher stage, beyond psychological autonomy and philosophical formalism, a stage of inter-individuality (which reminds the author of Gilligan’s female higher stages), where persons become, above all, members of one human community, and which requires abandoning both stage four’s reliance upon the group, the standard, the convention, and a transitional phases of ethical relativism.

But it is on the functions of human contexts in the development of the individual that the author finds Kegan’s most fruitful contribution. Kegan stresses that the human environments must serve at least three functions: they must securely hold, support without constraining (the confirming function), they must let go, contradict, so as to assist in differentiation from them (the disequilibrating function), and they must remain so as to be reintegrated as “other” in the new organization of the self, they must give a sense of continuity and at the same time allow for a new relationship with the individual.

The functions of school - for children, for adolescents and also for young adults such as student-teachers - can be derived from these three

functions of the human contexts. Perhaps even more so for the young adult because, according to Kegan, social life in present day America - and this can certainly be extended, perhaps to a lesser extent, to other highly urbanized cultures - does not provide the community context (36) that could help the person to recognize him/herself throughout the losses and recoveries of development.

In this framework, the role of education could not be merely to provide discrepant situations, situations that will inform the student of the limits or contradictions of his/her way of constructing the world as developmental theories usually propose and which is consistent with Kegan's second function of a human context. But the student is not always a person in equilibrium requiring a disequilibrating intervention capable of promoting growth. The student will also be a person in disequilibrium seeking support and a holding environment or wishing to return, in a new relationship, to the former context.

A COMMON THREAD

A developmental approach in education for democracy can have two meanings. In a narrow sense, it means the moral education of students to attain a stage of moral reasoning where they can fully understand the principles underlying democratic Constitutions, mainly the reciprocity principle, and behave accordingly. In a larger sense, it is like a common thread that underlies the three trends: Critical understanding, citizen action and moral development. It means an attitude of respect for the student, which involves knowing where and who he/she is and what he/she knows and can do, learn and become, and providing an education that can help his/her development.

THE MORAL DEVELOPMENT SENSE

- Stages

Even among the authors within the moral development trend there are many disagreements especially concerning the final stages of this development. Kohlberg himself lately seems to have reviewed his initial theory, giving up his sixth stage (which could remain as a more advanced stage of a particular type of intelligence - a moral philosophical intelligence) (37) and delaying the fifth stage to young adulthood. But in relation to childhood and early adolescence common views seem to be attained which could orient educational action. As to the later stages, in spite of the mentioned disagreements, there is a common view of development as moving towards greater flexibility decentralization from self, reciprocity and empathy and this could be enough to guide education without any need for final stages.

- Means

Most developmentalists agree with a democratic organization of the school as an ideal arrangement for promoting the exercise of participants' moral reasoning and to counter-balance the authoritative tendencies of educational settings and procedures. Different forms of democratic organizations are being tried: the school as "just community" where each member of the school is entitled to one vote, establishes the norms and rules of the school and decides on the sanctions to be applied to those who violate them; the "fairness committee", composed of students and teachers, which is the inclusion, in the school, of judiciary body before which anyone in the school can bring complaints: or Mosher's Brockline model which emphasizes the democratic elements and gives less importance to Kohlberg's communal-collectivist elements (38). Differences also occur in relation to pupil's ages: Most of these attempts have started in highschool and are spreading to elementary school although often following opposite patterns - from the school to the classroom (in secondary institutions), from the classroom to the school (in the elementary institutions).

Other specific means to promote moral development involve role-taking activities (stressed by Sprinthall), the analysis of moral issues (both to be identified in the curriculum and in the real life of the class or the school), the analysis of moral dilemmas with exposure to moral thinking of different stages, an optional course of introduction to ethics (suggested by Kohlberg), or the organization of opportunities for real social service (proposed by Mosher (39), thus establishing a bridge with F. Newman's "citizen action").

THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH

As to the larger sense of the developmental approach it seems to the author that it encompasses the narrow sense (moral development) and also the other trends of education for democracy. To consider who, where the student is, what and how he/she knows or what he/she can do, learn and become is both a condition of effective education and a condition of real, everyday democracy.

Ralph Mosher seems to agree with this view, for example when he considers the first step in curriculum development to be "some hard thinking about the clients" (40) and only after to define the objectives of the proposed curriculum or educational experience. Or when he states as a goal for the future of the "school-within-a-school" "to make certain that being a member of SWS means that one is treated as an individual - is truly known, cared about and supported by the faculty and by many other people. To care deeply about other people (and to be cared for by them) is not only a developmental need for adolescents. It is a deep, persisting human and social need that is worth learning well" (41).

For Lickona and Paradise also "a democratic school environment ... is one that tries to provide the conditions that best support the development of all students. It is an environment where students are actively encouraged to speak up, to ask questions, to make their voices heard. It is an environment that attempts in a dozen different ways to

foster in children that they are important and respected, that somebody cares”. (42)

In this moral general development approach, classroom democracy is also advocated but the stress is again:

“... to value the viewpoint of the child. That means two things: finding out what a child’s viewpoint is and attempting to acknowledge or incorporate that point of view in some way” (43)

Finally, the functions of an educational context that can be derived from Kegan would go in the same sense: only if the individual feels supported, recognized, acknowledged, confirmed, can he/she separate from the environment and reject the old self to change and grow; and only if the old environment remains but relates in a new way to the individual can this one feel safe enough to dare that separation and to dare coming back for a new relation. Thus the school must support and confirm the student and the school must recognize the growing student and allow for different ways of relating to him/her.

The functions of an educational context will be further specified in Chapter Six. Here it is enough to stress this general attitude of respect for what the student is and of provision for what she/he can become as a necessary condition for all possible interventions in the sense of education for democracy. And for the author, this general development attitude has often been lacking in Portuguese education including in the new experiences of education for democracy. Chapter Four will try to prove this assertion so as justify a developmental approach to teacher education that may improve this situation.

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CHAPTER FOUR

PORTUGAL: THE FORGOTTEN HUMAN FACTOR

Examined in the light of this classification of tendencies in “education for democracy “, the Portuguese educational experiences launched after the 25th April can be easily identified as belonging to the first two trends¹. “Critical Analysis” may find its equivalent in the attempt to introduce the subject “Introduction to Politics”. The means of using “public controversies” as Oliver and Shaver proposed were not there, but the aim of developing a critical understanding of concepts and procedures was similar. The Portuguese model focused mostly on presenting contradictory theoretical views of the concepts and procedures analyzed.

The second trend, Education for Citizen Action, was the one that seems to underlie most innovations introduced after the 25th of April, some of which were suspended during the “normalization period”, while others, like the “gestão democrática” (the democratic management of schools) received legal confirmation. The third trend, Developmental Education, could not be found in any of the Portuguese innovations except as a concern for cognitive development in the new programs of the primary school.

However, it is the author’s conviction, which she will demonstrate in the next pages, that without a developmental concern, even the “second trend” experiences (education for “citizen action”) will not provide successful education for democracy.

The introduction of the interdisciplinary area of “Civic and Polytechnic Education” and particularly the creation of the intermediate year of “Civic Service” clearly fit into F. Newman’s proposed aims and means.

¹ The other Portuguese educational experiences launched under the banner of “democratization” and that will not be discussed now have more to do with establishing the conditions for a democratic education than with preparing students to live in a democratic society.

However, several important differences must be acknowledged; some concern the process of implementation; some concern the conceptualization itself. As to the process of implementation, Newman's curriculum has not, to the author's knowledge, been put into practice as such, but several experiences of what is called "Youth Participation" may serve as terms of comparison (1).

First, it must be said that there is quite a long tradition, in the U.S.A., of youth activities organized by entities other than schools. When schools take up youth participation activities they can draw on this experience. Their implementation seems to be usually in a small scale and with considerable preparation both of the students and the adults involved and with plenty of specific supporting material. There is also a concern with the continuous evaluation of these programs. The programs are usually for volunteers (even F. Newman, although considering "citizen action" a "top priority" for schools, advises to start out on a volunteer basis). They usually last for a short time, are often linked with the curriculum and, at least in principle, always have a theoretical component of preparation and reflective analysis of what's being done.

The Portuguese experiences of "Civic and Polytechnic Education" and of the Civic Service" offer quite a different image: There was hardly any tradition of organized youth activities except in the very politicized organization of "Portuguese Youth" and in some Catholic organizations very much associated with the old church. The decision to implement these new programs was taken a few months before they were launched as obligatory activities for all 7th grade pupils and for all students wishing to enter University. These activities were to last a full school year. The staff charged with organizing these experiences was small and not always fully occupied this assignment. A closer look at the organisation underlying these experiences may give a clearer idea:

CIVIC AND POLYTECHNIC EDUCATION

For the implementation of the “Civic and Polytechnic Education” two recently created secretariats were involved. One was charged with the general reform of secondary education, and the second with preparing teachers for this reform. This second secretariat organized, in July 1975, some teacher training sessions, lasting for a week, and attended by two teachers from each region. These teachers “passed on” their experience at the district level in September and October and finally, throughout the last three months of 1975, the “district teachers” organized training sessions in each school. It should be added that 13.5% of these secondary school teachers had not finished high school themselves; 58.5% had at least three years in University; and 23.8% had completed their training as teachers (2).

There was no time to prepare any materials. Some theoretical texts were distributed on the aims of the new reform, on the concept of linking school and community and intellectual and manual work. A few television programs, which were of the responsibility of the author, tried to explain the aims of the innovation and presented discussions among teachers and students on how to implement them (3) but the first films actually showing experiences and alternatives were ready when the experience closed down and were never broadcast on national television (4).

The whole school year of 1975/76, when the experience took place, was, politically, a very tense and disturbed year. In schools the allocation of teachers was severely retarded and classes began sporadically throughout the whole school year. Civic and Polytechnic Education, not being subject to evaluation, was often considered of less importance. A few schools did manage to organize some activities between November and January 1976; others as late as May and June.

What is amazing is that in such conditions some interesting programs were initiated - from the construction of games for schools of special education, to the farming and exploitation of a piece of rented land with children organising themselves as a cooperative, and to a cultural inventory of a forgotten neighborhood in Lisbon (4). But in most schools, as A.M.

Bettencourt who conducted an in-depth study of this innovation has shown (5), either nothing was done or the activities engaged followed the model of the old Portuguese Youth program. The content of the activities was, as usual, easier to change and most activities did concern the “social and productive world” as the instructions suggested but the type of activities (mostly visits to factories...) and the methods used followed the old patterns.

THE CIVIC SERVICE

The Civic Service idea had to face even more difficulties. Although the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, it was to take place out of school and mostly in institutions related to other ministries. There were no local or regional entities nor agents charged with its implementation. A small staff of twenty people (including typists and service boys) had to organise a complete structure throughout the country capable of finding work activities, lodgings, food and transportation for about 15.000 students.

It is true that as early as November 1974 an interministerial commission was charged with studying the Civic Service project. In May 1975 the service was legally created but on a voluntary basis. However, in July 1975, a decree law (363/75 of July 11) because it declared Civic Service to be obligatory for every student intending to enter University beginning that same year, changed the nature of the project, and severely damaged its potential.

The staff charged with organizing the project also had to face, as they later complained, the disinterest of most ministries, the hostility of the workers’ unions (afraid that this mass of non-paid workers would increase unemployment and tend to lower wages) and of the students themselves who had to wait one full year to enter University, even when, in some cases, they did agree with the aims of the project. Efforts to win public opinion support were not made. For most people the Civic Service appeared as one more “madness” simply intended to solve the problem of the excessive number of applicants to University (In October 1974 entry into University had been

closed. This doubled the number of applicants in 1975). Also, as Conceição Pinto has shown (6), the number of applicants to University would have been much higher anyway since those were the years where the effects of prolonging obligatory education through the two years of preparatory school, started to be felt.

Again, what is amazing is how, in these conditions, anything was realized. No evaluation was undertaken. The students involved in these activities were asked to write reports, but these reports are not available and the Information Bulletin published by the organizing committee only included, as they explicitly stated, the positive comments. Therefore, the author prefers to refer to a study, done by herself and a colleague (7), on a very specific population: the seventy students who were enrolled in her classes in 1979-80 and 1980-81 in the 4th year of the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon (Department of Education). Out of these 70 students, five had entered University before 1974 and were not involved in the Civic Service. Out of the sixty five who were subject to the C.S., 20 did not actually do it for several reasons: eight were exempted (four because they could prove they already worked, one because he enrolled in a professional training course; one because he already has a University degree and could enter directly into another faculty; two to be able to care for sick parents). Out of the twelve who, though obliged to the Civic Service, were not actually engaged in any activity, seven were not even called upon and five, although called and given tasks to execute, could not start them for lack of human and material resources. Therefore, forty-five (about 70%) did accomplish some Civic Service tasks of extremely different durations: from single week to eight months, the majority between three to five months.

The Health Sector

The tasks these students executed were in the areas of Health, Social Affairs, Literacy campaigns, Sports, animation, Cultural affairs, Extra-curricular activities of children. Agriculture and Fishing - which corresponds

very closely to the general distribution of students given by the Informative Bulletins of the Civic Service. In the Health sector, the students were placed mostly in hospitals and health centers doing some nursing and para-medical tasks, helping with research, accompanying the patients and/or working in the archives. This is the area where the Civic Service appears to have been the most satisfying. Several reasons for this can be identified in our student's responses: they were integrated in services that were already functioning and where they were well received because their work was felt as useful and because it was understood that they were in a training process. Therefore, they were given very diverse tasks so that they could get a general overview of what life and work were like in these institutions. They themselves felt useful to others and to themselves since they felt they were learning. Within the obligatory character of the Civic Services they had volunteered for Health work. Most of these students had wanted to enter the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Sciences was just a second choice after being refused in Medicine because of the implementation of the "numerus clausus" (an enrollment quota system) in 1976. An example from a student report will illustrate this analysis:

"At last, in March, the letter from the General Direction of the Civic Service arrived telling me to present myself at the Hospital of S. on the next Monday. I was extremely glad to be able to do the Civic Service in a hospital because that corresponded to my choice. This way I could have a more real contact with the world of Medicine... Our timetable ran from 9 o'clock in the morning to 5 in the afternoon ... In the beginning our work was to work on the patient's files and to watch what the nurses did: give shots, apply elementary treatments, take X-rays, etc.. Later, we started to learn ... I learned to dress wounds and to make stitches. I watched childbirths ... I saw autopsies: the doctor would explain as we were watching the organs ... Sometimes I would go to the Hospital of P. where I could

watch operations. My Civic Service was a rather positive experience which I'll never forget.”

The Social Sector

In Social sector, most of the students worked in nursery schools and kindergartens. Their appreciations of these experiences varied from those who considered it a somewhat traumatic experience to those who found it very rewarding. Many complained about the way they were received:

“The employees of the Centre did not accept us. Generally they would settle on anything that went wrong to blame us as member of an “elite”... On the other hand, when there were general meetings of the employees, we were left to take care, all by ourselves, of all the children in the Center.”

Feeling blamed for their status as “students” and “used” whenever convenient, some still thought they did learn through the contact with children from the slums – “the discovery of a fascinating world”.

Adult Literacy

Six students from the population were placed in Adult Literacy activities. Although this had been a very sought after activity it was the least gratifying for the students. As reasons for this, they referred the inadequacy of a one-week training received and the tasks they actually did:

“We received a week’s course on the alphabetization method of Paulo Freire but then we were supposed to teach adults at the 4th grade” or “English to Capeverdian who wanted to emigrate” or “6th grade Math to adult workers”.

For one student who did teach reading adults, the experience was still frustrating:

“The experience was great during the week of preparation, but when into practice we realized that that preparation was far from enough. This and the problems that started coming up (difficulties in obtaining classrooms’, lack of material) and the absenteeism of the adult students made it rather frustrating”.

Sports Animation

Six other students were charged with doing “Sports Animation” in rural areas. Their opinions ranged from utter rejection to enthusiasm. One of the enthusiastic ones gives an excellent example of the cultural confrontations of students in this type of activities and of their lack of preparation for them:

“We received a three day course on several sports ...: badminton, basketball, handball, football and volleyball ... We arrived at V. (a small village in the North. We started speaking with people and asking them if there was a field anywhere where children could play ball. They answered indignantly that they didn’t even have bathrooms; that children had to work in the fields and at home to help parents and that for play, it was quite enough the time they spent at school ... When we said we could give them the necessary materials and could have a field prepared for ball games, they answered that if we had so much money to waste then we should do something useful for the village like electrifying it or making canals water for the homes and that if we wouldn’t we might as well leave V.

We went away without getting anything and feeling very confused. The needs people had had nothing to do with our tasks. And we knew they were right. We also felt that they didn’t trust us. They didn’t even look us in the eyes. On the other hand, we, as a group, did not exist. We were five people who did not know each other. At first sight, the only thing we had in common was our wish to go to the University... The relations between us were awkward: we were all “playing defense”, none spoke up; none opened up because we knew that we were condemned to stay together for three months ...But the incident in that village improved the atmosphere. Trying to find a new method to contact the population, we started getting to know

each other; we started investing in the work, and we emerged as a group.”

She concludes her analysis in the following terms:

“The things that went wrong, like the initial difficulties in contacting the people were due to our ignorance of rural life and we couldn’t even imagine that there were people with different patterns of life than our own. We thought that the differences between the rural and the urban populations were their different economic conditions but we had not realized what this involved in social and cultural terms...”

Cultural Activities

Three students from our population worked in “Cultural activities”. Two were placed in libraries cleaning rooms and bookcases or organizing the files. Their evaluation is rather negative, and the reasons for their frustrations are quite clear. M.V., for example, had asked to be placed in a specific service that dealt with children. And so she was, but in the library:

“It was a work without any direct contact with the children ... and what I wanted was to deal directly with them. Besides, it was a “dead” work; very few people asked for books and only very unfrequently ... For all this it was a work that didn’t please me and which I found almost useless. I entered at 9:30, had lunch between 12h and 2h30 – which made me wander around uselessly for two hours – and got out at 5:30. I speak of the schedule it opened my eyes to those type of jobs where one has to be there even if there is nothing to do. I realized how the professional – and sometimes also personal – unfulfillment of these employees made them so mediocre, so nasty... I can say that from the work itself I learned nothing but I did learn a lot about people.”

Other Activities

Some of our students were placed in preparatory and secondary schools according to their wishes since many of them intended to become teachers. But, again, the schools couldn't or didn't know how to occupy them fruitfully. They were mostly placed in empty libraries organising files. In one case, help was asked for pupils with some difficulties, and this work was much more satisfying. No one was asked or given the means to actually organize extra-curricular activities, although this was the title of the project.

Finally, three students worked in the "Agriculture and Fishing" area: they worked in organisations charged with analyzing water and in making an inventory of the types of fishes existent in a certain area. These activities do not seem to have raised particular enthusiasm nor criticism.

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Comments are hardly necessary. It is plain that not only everything was done in a hurry and with little preparation, but also that the "human factor" was very much underestimated. Or perhaps, in another sense, this factor was overestimated. There was a belief that "good will", "good ideas", the "right attitude" would be able to overcome all organizational flaws, that "creativity" would flourish much more without models or specific instructions; and that action per se particularly involving social contact with "working classes", would automatically generate the intended results. It was forgotten that "good will" was not abundant, that we all had models but they were the "old" models, and that action for action's sake can often be miseducative – as Dewey had already warned us – or, at least, produce non-intended results.

In some cases, good ideas overcome the organizational flaws, creativity did flourish, and action was accompanied by learning. Apart from individual qualities that may account for this, there seemed to have been, in most these cases, the following favorable conditions:

The students were placed in well established organizations where they enjoyed a situation of what we called “integrated autonomy”, i.e., they were given responsibilities but they were also supported and oriented; where their work was seen, by those in the institutions and by themselves, as an educational process; when they felt useful and their work was appreciated by those who benefited directly from it and by their co-workers; when they were in a direct contact with people, often from different backgrounds, cultures and professions, specially if in a collaborative relationship; when their tasks were connected with their professional aspirations or with their choices; and finally, when there were some visible results from their action.

It is certainly not by chance that these favorable conditions were more often found in the Health sector, particularly in School-Hospitals, where the staff is used to combine actual work of treating patients with research and with student training. It is this educational attitude that was lacking in most of the “unfavorable” places. This is the educational attitude that the author considers affiliated in a general developmental approach to the student as somebody worthy as a person, as a worker and as a learner, i.e., for what he/she is and for what he/she will become.

It is this approach that the author finds somewhat lacking in the conceptualization of the Portuguese experiences as opposed to Newman’s “Citizen Action” or to the Youth Participation experiences. If we consult again the objectives of the secondary school reform (p.27) it comes out clearly that all the emphasis is placed on the community needs, problems and aspirations and that the student only appears as someone to be changed and transformed. A quotation from the Information Bulletin no.2 of the Civic Service states it very openly: “Only the direct and everyday contact with workers and work can help transform “student’s mentalities” (8) but no characterization is made of these “student mentalities” and the need to “transform” suggest a rather negative appreciation of them. This negative approach to students or, at best a “deficit” approach, contrasts with the

“developmental attitude” that seems to be present even in a non-developmentalists like F. Newman.

It is deliberately that, in this text, “environmental competence as an educational goal” comes before his political considerations on the need for this competence: “The rationale depend not upon a utilitarian socialization argument that such competence will help an individual perform specific adult roles. Rather, the case was built on the grounds that environmental competence is requisite to our identify as moral agents and to fulfilling a fundamental psychologically need” (9). Most texts reporting Youth Participation experiences, even if they are more politically than psychologically oriented, do start out with a chapter on adolescent’s characteristics and needs (10). It is this “human factor” that seems to have been forgotten in the organisation of The Portuguese experiences or negatively considered in their conceptualisation.

THE DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS

As to the other types of projects included in “citizen action”, they don’t deal with the political processes necessary to affect issues in the community but they involve the same kind of “environmentally oriented active competencies” Newman advocated, but they are only applied to the closer environment of the classroom and the school. It is also, as shown in Chapter Three, one of the areas to which the developmentalists have turned their attentions.

The democratic management of schools (see Chapter Two) was the first and most enduring achievement of the 25th April Revolution. The new system did go through several forms but it seems to have become rather stable although there is general agreement (11) that it is insufficient and unsatisfactory, particularly because it involves the teachers more than the students. The most important areas (concerning the choice of teachers, the budget and the curriculum) are all decided centrally by Ministry of

Education. To the school management councils (“Conselhos Directivos”) is left the everyday management: distribution of schedules and space, selection of students (both tasks within the extreme limit and constraints imposed by the usually excessive number of students to the existent buildings), establishment of internal norms and the resolution of conflicts.

These two last areas, limited as they may be, are important for the author’s analysis. As said before, education for democracy has been understood also as educating students to be able to participate in the establishment of norms of collective life and in the resolution of social conflicts. The legislation concerning the “democratic management of schools” had this aim in mind.

However, in small study done with a colleague (12) through a questionnaire given to three classes of the 7th grade (in the secondary school of Oeiras, in the suburbs of Lisbon) and through interviews with 20 older students from schools in the same area (Lisbon and suburbs), this does not seem to be case. In the population studied not one student said he/she had participated in the establishment of the norms that orient life in school, not even of those that concerned the classroom. On the contrary, majority of the pupils said they didn’t even know those norms except when they violated them. In some schools regulations are posted but are rarely read; in the others, students get to know them, little by little, as a school employee goes into class and reads some “communication” from the Directive Council. But in general, rules are only known when violated. This, and the fact that the rules are often outdated, is illustrated by this anecdotal account by a 9th grader:

“In this country where government and policies change every year, there should at least up-date school’s regulation. My school used to be a girl’s highschool. A friend of mine was flirting, and an employee took him to the Directive Council saying that it was forbidden. He asked to see it in the regulations, but they didn’t show him. Either that rule does not exist or it dates from the old days. We

only know what we can't do because the employees are always after us.”

We also asked them what they could do when they did not agree with something and their almost unanimous answer was “Nothing”. A few said that they might try “talking to teachers on the authorities”; only one suggested the creation of a student's association and another one talked of referring the issue to the student representatives of class. About the function and usefulness of these student representatives, their opinions were very different: about 50% said that “they do nothing”, while for the other 50% they help to keep order, they represent the class in the Directive Council and they do have a certain role in trying to solve problems of the class. An 8th grader mentioned that there were a few class meetings “but only to punish students. To discuss rules or whatever is isn't worth it. We never have chance of changing anything.”

A 10th grader associated this “world of prohibitions” with vandalism in schools: “When we can we abuse. Discipline should start by us. We destroy because everything is forbidden.” And a 9th grader linked lack of participation in the classroom with his own indiscipline: “I have nothing to do and I get bored. There is only listening and writing, information to be swallowed. So, to amuse myself and the class I do some jokes. We never participate so we have to find some ways of participating.”

THE FORGOTTEN STUDENTS

Although teacher or subject-centeredness is a well-known constant in schools everywhere, this seems to be even more so in Portugal. In a small inquiry the author conducted with the seventeen foreign students participating in an intercultural youth program in Portugal (through the American Field Service), their most common remark can be summarized in

the following statements: “In Portugal, we don’t go to school, we go to classes. And in classes, teachers talk too much and students too little.” (13).

This lack of attention to the “clients” of the learning process was again confirmed by the reactions of five hundred students (from 6th to 11th grade in several schools in the Lisbon area) whom the author asked to write about “The teacher they would like to have”. (14) In spite of quite a few differences between age groups (which will be considered in the next chapter) a common thread was found: again and again students expressed the wish to be heard and acknowledged:

“I would like a teacher who would discuss matters with pupils, who acted like a friend, and did not talk only about the subject matter (...) who would have some consideration for the student and vice-versa.”

(11 yrs, 7th grade)

“I would wish that when the teacher had some problem with us, he would say it so that we could solve it all together. That he would let us talk our ideas.”

(12 yrs, 6th grade)

“I would like more relationships between teachers and students so that problems could be debated”.

(15 yrs, 8th grade)

“A fair teacher who would let students speak, so that he would not be the only one to talk in the classroom. The teacher should not be one commands but a friend who teaches and helps students.”

(11 yrs, 7th grade)

Some even understand the impact of teacher’s attitudes in relation to them on their own future social attitudes:

“A teacher that could understand pupils so that these pupils, some day, later on, may understand anyone else.”

(15 yrs, 8th grade)

“The kind of teacher who doesn’t allow us to move a sheet of paper or pick up a pen does not help us to create the self-discipline that we will need later in professional life and also in our personal lives”

(16 yrs, 11th grade)

And some are capable of putting themselves in the teacher’s shoes while maintaining the need for the teacher to know the pupils’:

“I would like a teacher that wouldn’t make us feel very small and inhibited in relation to him (...) the first day is an important one both for the teacher and the student. Sometimes we forget that presentation day makes the teacher nervous. But we also get nervous if we meet a the teacher with a stern face who does nothing but talking instead of trying to know us.”

(16 yrs, 11th grade)

Of course, the teacher’s side of the matter is that they usually have more than a hundred fifty pupils each year and a wide program to “give”. However, there seems to be a general lack of awareness of student’s need to be recognized and valued. Evidence of this lack is give by the following fact: the Ministry of Education has determined that each teacher in preparatory schools should be responsible for two subjects thereby attenuating the transition from a one-teacher primary school to a one teacher-per-subject approach in preparatory school. Teachers’ were very disturbed by this demand since their academic preparation is usually a specialized one (for example, Math teachers only study Math in the university but in the preparatory schools are supposed to teach Math and Sciences). However, in distributing timetables, teachers are often given the two required subjects but to two different classes, thereby keeping the disadvantages (their lack of academic preparation for one of the subjects) and not making most of the advantages (the possibility of having the same class of students twice and therefore getting to know their students better).

Without being known, acknowledged as persons with knowledge, opinions and points of view of their own, how can students feel respected and valued? How can they develop these attitudes towards others? How can

they become democratic citizens, conscious of their rights and of their rights of others?

Being acknowledge and valued as persons is one of the dimensions of the developmental approach to education for democracy, an indispensable condition, so to speak. The other dimension concerns providing activities that will allow the student – all students – to learn and to become.

Empirical evidence of these two needs will be given in the next chapters.

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- (2) Gabinete de Estudos e Planeamento (1979). Ensino Secundário unificado – Relatório de avaliação do 7º ano de escolaridade 1975-1976. (Comprehensive secondary school – Report of evaluation of the 7th grade 1975-1976. Lisbon: Ministério da Educação. (p.17)
- (3) Brederode Santos, M.E. (1975-1976) Programs Falar Educação (Speaking of education) (television series). Lisbon: Instituto de Tecnologia Educativa, Ministério de Educação.
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- (5) Bettencourt, A.M. (1982). La liasion école-milieu-production à l'école secondaire portugaise (1975-76) (The relations between school, environment and production in the Portuguese secondary school (1975-76) Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Université Paris V, France.
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- (9) Newmann, F. M. (in press). Education for citizen action. Pre-publication draft. (p. 1-44).
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- (11) Afonso, Natércio (1984, Oct. 11), Das ilusões á realidade (From dream to reality); Clímaco, M. C. (1984, Oct. 11). A função de um Conselho Directivo (The role of a management board); Boavista, V. (1984, Oct. 11). Poder-se-à manter o actual sistema de gestão democrática? (Can the present model of school management be kept?), Diário de Notícias, Página de Educação. And Afonso, Natércio (1984, Oct 25). Gestão democrática e supervisão escolar no ensino preparatório (Democratic school management and supervision in preparatory school). Diário de Notícias, Página de Educação.
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- (13) Brederode Santos, M.E. (1981, April 7). Alunos estrangeiros em escolas portuguesas (Foreign students in Portuguese schools), Diário de Notícias, Página de Educação.
- (14) Brederode Santos, M.E. (1979, Jan. 16 and 30). Professores: Papões ou vítimas? (Teachers: Monsters or victims?) and No professor, um amigo (In your teacher, a friend), Diário de Notícias, Página de Educação.

CHAPTER FIVE

A PYRAMID OF STUDENTS' DEVELOPMENT NEEDS IN PORTUGUESE SCHOOLS: SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

The first manifestation of respect for students is to attend to their needs. Teacher education has to develop this attitude of attention and care for individual pupils. But both theories of child and adolescent development and empirical studies and pupils of certain age groups may help foster this understanding as well as orient school's organization and curriculum development to take into account the real – but often forgotten – “raison d'être” of schools: the pupils.

CHILDREN'S NEEDS

Pursuing the analysis of the 500 compositions written by preparatory and secondary school pupils on “The Teacher I would like to Have” (mentioned in Chapter Four) and on “The School I would like to Have”, the author did a content analysis of 216 of these compositions thus distributed:

- 1 class from 6th grade (Preparatory school), in Lisbon, 29 pupils;
- 3 classes from 7th grade (Second. School) in Almada, 26+25+12 pupils;
- 2 classes from 7th grade (Second. School) in Lisbon, 29+27 pupils;
- 1 class from 8th grade (Second. School) in Almada, 22 pupils;
- 1 class from 8th grade (Second. School) in Lisbon, 22 pupils;
- 1 class from 10th grade (Second. School) in Lisbon, 24 pupils.

A first analysis was done using categories built out of the material itself (1). Later, however, the author noticed how appropriate Maslow's pyramid of human needs (2) seemed and how it helped distinctions between younger pupils (6th and 7th graders) and older pupils (8th and 10th graders) to stand out. Sometimes an intermediate category for the 8th graders seemed

appropriate. It is the results of this second analysis that will be reported here.

Physical Needs

References to material aspects of school are dominant in all the texts from every school and every grade. These “material aspects” are directly related to physical needs: needs of space, of adequate furniture and material, sound and light conditions, protection from weather changes, cleanliness and hygiene, etc. But the ways pupils feel these needs are different if they are younger (6th and 7th grades) – where they seem to feel a very pressing lack of space – or older (8th and 10th grades) – who seem to be more concerned with the consequences of “material aspects” or “living conditions” on their learning. A few examples:

Younger pupils

“I wish that, when we
don’t have classes, we
had somewhere to play”
(6th grader)

“The buildings should
have better conditions.
To have a shower
I would rather have it
at home”
(7th grader)

“We should have somewhere
to go at least in Winter
when it rains”.
(7th grader)

Older pupils

“Buildings are old, there
isn’t any material, so
this become a play house”
(8th grader)

“I wish the buildings
would have better
conditions because in
Winter, when it rains, the
water falls in the
classrooms and no one can
have a proper class”
(8th grader)

Because of the working conditions here described it is rather understandable that these are the dominant needs. Still they seem to appear in a “purer” state in the younger pupils, while they seem filtered by higher needs in the older ones. To confirm this, 17 out of 26 students from the 6th grades ask mainly for more space, while 14 out of 24 10th graders ask for a smaller number of pupils per class. Examples:

Younger pupils

“That there should be
big rooms, enough for
all us (...) with big
fields, bigger gymnasiums.
(6th grader)

Older pupils

“That there would be fewer

students per class and all classrooms had material for classes. Lower numbers of pupils would benefit teachers and pupils”.
(10th grader)

It is also the younger ones who are more concerned with hygienic aspects (particularly of the bathrooms) and food (quality and price). The decrease in references to these aspects cannot be attributed to a better quality of secondary schools since 7th graders are already in secondary school and make the same complaints as the preparatory school pupils, but to the interference of higher needs, even though these basic ones look rather unfulfilled.

Safety Needs

These needs appear also mainly among the younger pupils, either in relation to out of school menaces or in relation to older – and stronger – pupils. Some examples:

“A school where we could be at ease without being afraid that our things could be taken or that big boys would infiltrate schools and give drugs to the smaller ones, because that is one of the biggest dangers”.
(6th grader)

“I wish there was a policeman at the school door (...)
I wish that our school was safe”
“I ask little from school, just safety”
(7th grader)

“That the older ones would not pick on the smaller

ones because we can't defend ourselves"
(7th grader)

"I wish I were in a school where we were all the same
age. I wish that there weren't big boys like in my
school because they take our things and beat us up".
(6th grader)

Affective Needs and Higher Order Needs*

The need for good relationships with teachers (already mentioned in Chapter Four), peers and employees is present throughout all the children's papers and in all age groups. Understanding and friendship from the teacher seem to be a value in themselves apart from being a condition to learn. However, there are interesting differences between younger and older pupils as to the type of relationship they would like to have with teachers:

Younger pupils

... "That teachers were
calm, not severe, not
bad-tempered, friendly
with pupils, capable of
making jokes, gay,
cheerful..."

(7th grader)

"Teachers should be
more understanding..."

* Sergiovanni and Carver (1980) mention that "when the theory is operationalised into practice, it is better to think of two levels of needs: a higher order and a lower order level". (3) In this research it was difficult to discriminate among the various higher order needs.

(7th grader)

“...That teachers were kind but also a little severe...”

(7th grader)

Older pupils

“...In school there should be more communication between teacher and pupil. As it is, dialogue, when it exists, is only on the subject matter...”

(8th grader)

“...That teachers and students were great pals...”

(8th grader)

“...There should be more conviviality between students and teachers...”

(10th grader)

The younger pupils seem to look at the teacher as an adult to whom they ask understanding and help. It is also the younger pupils who complain more that teachers miss too many classes or that employees treat them too abruptly. In other words, they seem to place themselves in a dependent relation towards the adult, while the older pupils aspire to a more equal relationship, which can be related to the needs for autonomy and independence which are manifest particularly among 8th graders:

“...That school would be freer, that there were no norms to forbid this and that. That pupils were responsible for their actions”.

“... a school with more freedom where students would not abuse”.

“...The students should have more freedom of expression”.

These “independence needs” are very much related to the needs for self-esteem and self-actualization.

These appear, in the younger pupil’s texts, in the wish for more diverse activities, particularly sports; in the older pupils, they seem to be more related to vocational and professional orientation and to the learning process:

Younger pupils

“... I wish I had a school
where we would have parties
at the end of each trimester
... where we had theater
activities, study visits...”

(7th grader)

“...teachers could give
subject matter with games
and other pleasant
activities so that we would
have pleasure in studying and
in coming to classes...”

(6th grader)

“... I wish there were more
time and space for sports
which would allow for a
physical and moral
well-being...”

(7th grader)

“... We could find pupils
to compete with other

schools in athletics,
football, volleyball, basketball, etc...”

(6th grader)

“... I wish we could see
films our free times
(...) Also a gymnasium,
we could do theater there.

I know all this costs
money, but what are Parents’
Commissions, Management
Committees and the Office
for?

(6th grader)

Older pupils

“... The aims should
go beyond study and
culture and have
practical applications...”

(10th grader)

“... I wish we had a
school where the
subjects could be
chosen according to
student’s interests
and aspirations...
that we could know
what are they for and
also that we could
try out what we learn.
Because for a student
to learn something and

not be able to see
whether it is true or
false is a very sad
thing...”

(10th grader)

“... A school where
each student, before
deciding on a
profession, could
truly choose...”

(10th grader)

“... A clean school
where one would really
learn and where
students would want to
go and did not have to
go...”

(8th grader)

“... that the school
would not be the bad
wolf that keeps
coming us and pestering
us...”

(10th grader)

What seems interesting in these descriptions is that, in spite of the persistence of basic needs throughout the age groups considered, persistence which is justified by the deplorable working conditions in these schools, still, higher needs do emerge, tend to increase with age and, for older pupils, seem to filter lower order needs. This conclusions would go in the sense of some critiques to Maslow’s theory (for Maslow, the most basic needs must

be reasonable satisfied before one is interested in the needs at the next higher level) according to which it is possible for various needs to be present and attended to simultaneously (4). From a theoretical point of view, these results tend to confirm a developmental approach to education: students – as human beings in general – need not merely to react to forces outside do themselves (as behaviorists would advocate), nor to forces inside of themselves (as Freudians would argue) but also to grow and to develop – even in the presence of adverse conditions. (5)

For teacher education, analysis such as these can bring teachers' attention to living conditions in schools – as Goodlad advises (6) – and still allow for considerable space for the teacher's role and responsibility.

STUDENT-TEACHER OPINIONS

The author presented this information and the results of that analysis of pupil's compositions to one of her teacher-training classes in the Faculty of Sciences. Although formally a pre-service course, in reality most of the 25 student-teachers were already practicing teachers. Two sessions were given to the informal discussion of pupils needs in Portuguese schools. What follows is a brief report of these student teachers remarks and suggestions.

Physical Needs

As to the physical conditions of schools, student-teachers found it difficult to create a structured and warm working environment with the present overload of students per building (“Schools built for 800 pupils have to accept 3000?”) and with the actual dimensions of schools (“In a school with thousands of pupils everyone is condemned to anonymity”). But if space cannot be “invented”, its use can be improved. And examples are given: the empty attic that was cleaned and arranged by pupils and teachers for extra-curricular activities; the staircase niche, for years used for trash, that was transformed for a pupils' meeting space; the court yard that could be covered for rainy days ... On the other hand, they found it urgent to press the authorities to collaborate between departments (schools' building

depends from at least two different Ministries) and with local authorities so as to urge for the construction of new buildings and for the inclusion of educational criteria such as these: that each class could have its room, its own “space”, so that pupils could feel responsible for the materials, the rooms and the furniture; and that common spaces would be provide (library, meeting room, refectory) and not sacrificed to more classrooms. These aspects seemed to them as important for younger as for older pupils, the difference being in a warmer and more spacious environment for the younger ones, and in more task-oriented, but still involving practice, experience, and diversity for the older ones.

Safety Needs

As to safety needs, they were generally in favor of building walls or other protections around schools, of an entry control and of police patrolling on the outside (“Will it feel like a prison? It all depends on the life inside”). They do recognize that the solution does not please older students who feel that it is they would end up being controlled. An exit control is only defended for preparatory schools. Their opinions diverge as to teacher’s intervention in fights between pupils. For some, a certain abuse of the weaker by the stronger seems inevitable, and they only defend the intervention of teachers in more extreme cases. Others think the teacher should always intervene. An agreement was achieved in the common recognition of a need to prevent violence through the organization of extra-curricular activities for which older pupils could also be responsible. First aid materials should also exist in every school – and they do often but are unused because the staff doesn’t know how to use them. The student teachers felt that first-aid courses for teachers, employees and pupils could be also a means to prevent violence by calling attention to the potential danger of certain behaviors.

Affective Needs

As to affective needs, the student-teachers analyzed the relationships among the several “inhabitants” of schools. They identified several reasons that could contribute to the tension existent with school employees. Employees were accused by pupils of spending their time “knitting”, of being “ill-mannered” and “disrespectful to pupils”: One of the reason for these complaints could have to do with selection criteria. Up to 1977, employees were personally nominated by the Minister of Education, which involved an almost feudal dependence relationship, often of political trust (“Before the 25th of April, teachers were afraid of the employees...”, said a student-teacher). The new employees entered on the basis of fixed criteria: priorities are given to women householders (single mothers, widows or divorcees with children). It is a socially legitimate criterion but one which does not take into account particular competencies for the job. On the other hand, the fact that these nominations are permanent while those of teachers – particularly in their first years – are not, tends to give employees a remarkable power in the life of the schools.

Another reason identified by the student-teachers has to do with the employees’ functions. Their functions were and they remain mainly control and repression. It seems to the student-teachers that the employees could play an important role in the prevention of problems by organizing games, acting as “cultural animators” and helping preserve traditional games. But to play this role, employees would need specific training. Employees’ lack of training is the third factor identified by the student-teachers for the difficult relations they seem to have with pupils: The employees start their functions without any previous training and having as their only model the old employees. To deal with their tasks differently, employees would need some training as “cultural animators” and in human relations.

As to the relations between pupils and teachers several aspects were analysed. All pupils complain that teachers miss classes too often. The younger ones regret it openly; the older ones seem to have mixed feelings: immediately they are glad but in the long run they would tend to interpret

this teacher absenteeism as a manifestation of lack of interest on the part of the teacher.

The question was raised in class: Is there really a higher degree of absenteeism among teachers than in other professions or is it just more felt by the “clients”? Student-teachers recognize that teachers do often miss not only classes but also the meetings where they are supposed to discuss matters related to pupils or to school management. For some, the main reason would be the lack of a permanent link to schools: most temporary teachers change schools every year, they are sent – late – to schools far away from the towns where they live, have to leave their families, to spend money on rooms or transportations. On the other hand, for the teacher, too, the school is not a very “affective place” (“It is not like home, it is more like a rented room”). For many teachers, teaching is not seen as a profession, but as a transitory state before finding a “real” job. Low salaries contribute to this lack of professionalism: most teachers fall back on moonlighting to earn some extra money (“Some give more classes at home than in school – and tax free!”). Feminization of the profession would aggravate this situation: A woman’s salary is still often looked upon as supplementary to her husband’s salary, making it difficult for teachers’ unions and associations to fight harder for better salaries and better work condition. On the other hand, in a society where home and family responsibilities fall almost exclusively upon women, it is natural that they have less time and energy to dedicate to their profession.

Confusion of values and of pedagogical models would be another factor contributing to nourishing a state of permanent distress on the part of the teacher, preventing him from harmonious relationships with the pupils and the school. Other factors would harm these relationships: the number of pupils per teacher – already referred to in Chapter Four – was mentioned again and again: an affectionate relationship with younger pupils, a peer relationship with older pupils... How can this be if they can’t even remember their names most of the time? However student-teachers believe that if

teachers were more aware of the importance of these aspects, and in spite of averse conditions, an effort could be made to individualize contacts with pupils and to communicate their interest in them. Helping pupils with more difficulties, promoting extra-curricular activities, organizing class meetings, “personalizing” subject matter – were some of the suggestions.

Consideration Needs

Between the support the younger pupils ask and the freedom the older ones demand, the teacher would have to know how to balance his intervention in order to favor growth. Participation activities (in the learning process, in the class and the school management) should be gradually introduced and not merely given when the older pupils demand it. Student-teachers certify that most pupils from every grade do not know how to study by themselves. They advocate the need for the teacher to promote in pupils the capacity of managing their own learning process which would include knowing how to ask questions, to formulate problems, knowing how to look for information appropriate to the problem (and reading a text to obtain information is a specific type of reading requiring also a specific learning), acquiring habits of personal work, etc.

As to participation in school management as it is now established, student-teachers find that pupils don't seem to benefit much from them, for the following reasons: A too indirect form of representativeness (pupils in a class elect a “delegate”; the delegates from every class elect a “grade delegate”; all grade delegates elect a “representative” to the Pedagogic Council...); this representative has merely consulting functions and is generally not prepared to face a group of adults who generally ignores or rejects him/her (pupils are not prepared for these functions as they aren't even prepared to elect their delegate: “the delegate is elected not because he/she is the best fit for those functions, but because he/she is the funniest or the strongest...”). The time chosen for the meetings would be another negative factor: meetings are made only to solve problems, particularly

disciplinary problems, when opposing positions are already so extreme that agreement is very difficult, if not impossible, to reach.

Student-teachers think that it would be up to teachers to make pupils aware of the importance of these functions, thus preparing for the several elections; that teachers themselves should acknowledge the enrichment that pupils' contribution may bring to meetings where school Life is defined; that teachers should organize periodic meetings and prepare pupils for school management functions through periodic class meetings.

Self-fulfillment Needs

For the younger pupils, student-teachers propose the organization of extra-curricular activities – particularly sports – but they realize how much these activities depend on space conditions and on teacher's time. But they do know of examples of schools who have managed to organize their "Clubs of Mathematical Games", that get help from the Ministry of Education to have courses on theatre or that publish newspapers thanks to the collaboration of the teacher of Portuguese of Social Studies.

For the older students, student-teachers suggest making learning more interesting through a deeper relation with reality outside of school, with practical applications or with other subject-matters and through the improvement of the already existing "optional courses" and "vocational areas". The teacher should also play an "initiating role" introducing pupils to wider non-school cultural areas and stimulating their participation in creative activities or in socially useful ones. Students' Associations appear to these student-teachers as means particularly appropriate (more so than school management functions) to foster pupils' democratic education, their autonomy and the satisfaction of their self-fulfillment needs.

In summary, in the opinion of pupils and teachers, there are pupils' needs that school's present conditions do not satisfy. Some of these needs have to do with basic lacks in buildings or with the process of teachers' placement. Others, however, are more.

This small study, in the context of this thesis, served a triple function:

- As hoped, it served as empirical confirmation that students have developmental needs that should be attended to if schools are to foster in pupils a sense of worthiness and an attitude of respect towards themselves and towards others – a certain “education for democracy”.
- It served also to contextualize these developmental needs: development does not unfold spontaneously in an isolated human being, but through interaction with the physical and the social environment. The disagreements among researchers as to the characteristics of the developmental process are sufficiently important to require constant verification in different social contexts.
- Finally, it served to introduce the author’s approach to teacher education which will be further developed and exemplified in the next chapters. Here it is enough to stress that the role of the teacher-trainer is to introduce a “decentralization factor” – a different point of view, that of the pupils – and to recognize the knowledge of student-teachers (mostly already experienced teachers) to provide information on schools and suggestions for improvement.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- (5) Sergiovanni, T.J. and Carver, F.D. (1980). Ibidem.
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CHAPTER SIX

A DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH TO TEACHER EDUCATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

The last chapter, introduce as empirical evidence of pupils' needs in Portuguese schools, served also, as said, to illustrate the author's approach to teacher education. This approach can be included in current efforts that intend to apply the general approach of developmental education to teacher education. This approach is here defined as an approach that acknowledges and values the student's experience, knowledge, feelings, point of view, and provides conditions for his/her development. This will now be further justified and specified and will be followed by two practical examples.

THEORY

The application of this approach to teacher education can be justified on several grounds. First, adult studies are increasingly proving that:

- Adults can be do develop if given adequate stimulating interaction with environment (1);
- Adults at more complex stages function "in more human and democratic modes than those at less complex stages" (2);
- Teachers who were classified "at more advanced developmental stages were more effective as classroom teachers" (3).

Furthermore, the author assumes that:

- An approach that values the individual as worthy and promotes control over his/her life is more congruent with an education for democracy;
- If it is intended that teachers should have this respectful attitude towards children they should be educated in the same way. This does not involve strict adherence to the "isomorphism principle" (that teachers should

be trained in the same way they are expected to teach). The author feels that this principle has to be understood flexibly: adults can learn differently from children and to teach them exclusively as they are supposed to teach children can lead to an infantilization of teacher education that will benefit no one. This principle was formulated to counterbalance the tendency, often dominant in schools of education, to teach exclusively theoretically and through lectures – even when teaching about “active methods”. A certain coherence between content and means is obviously desirable and particularly so when students have not had in their school career opportunities to be exposed to different models and processes of learning. But an adjustment to adult-students is necessary if a developmental approach is to be used.

Therefore, because teachers – as all citizens and all students – are entitled to full respect and maximum conditions for development, because if they do develop more fully they will become more effective teachers, and because being the subject of a different educational experience they will be more likely to use different approaches with their pupils, hence a developmental approach to teacher education seems appropriate.

However, Floden and Feiman, having reviewed the literature on teacher development, were “struck by the loose link between the concrete practices or descriptions and the underlying theoretical framework”. (4) Without pretending to establish a firm “link”, much less to present any results or conclusions, the author does feel that her review of the existent literature has allowed her to identify five functions of an educational context, which have not yet, to her knowledge, been thus systematically identified and put into practice in developmental education efforts. These seem pertinent to teacher education and consistent with her own experience as a teacher-educator, and could be useful guidelines for the future E.S.E.’s (Superior Schools of Education).

The five functions of an educational context would be the following:

1. To support, to confirm the value of one’s experience, knowledge, affect, point of view;

2. To extend one's level of development to new areas of thought and behavior;
3. To ensure consistency between judgment and behavior;
4. To contradict, to provide for "disequilibrating" (i.e. unsettling) information that will lead the student to "decenter" (i.e. to reexamine) from him/her self, his/her perceptions and models and to search for alternatives that may encompass the "disequilibrating" factors;
5. To remain, to give a sense of continuity, but allowing for the establishment of a new relationship.

The author is more concerned with a context and a process of learning that will attend to these five functions that with products in terms of actual stages for which, as stressed in Chapter 3, there doesn't seem to exist, as yet, enough accurate knowledge. It is the author's conviction that it is in this perspective that can be found the link between the concrete practices and descriptions and the underlying theoretical framework that Floden and Feiman asked for (4). This is also to say that, if there is anything original in the author's approach, it has to do with identification and combination of these five functions.

In fact, attempts to support, to confirm the knowledge, the experience, the feelings, the point of view of the individual student (first function) are often found in the educational efforts derived from Humanistic Psychology. But the author feels that, important as they are, they often fall short from providing disequilibrating information that will lead students to review their own views, to reexamine their own self-perceptions or models. Attempts to disequilibrate the student (fourth function) are advocated by most developmentalists and have been put into practice, but it is the author's observation (and experience) that, if unaccompanied by attention to the other functions, they often merely contribute to creating feelings, of guilt, insecurity and dependency from "authorities" – be they teacher-trainers, school supervisors, older colleges or new researchers. Attempts to extend

one's level of development of new areas of thought and behavior (second function) and to ensure consistency between judgment and behavior (third function) are being tried with students in Kohlberg's "Just Community Schools", but are not mentioned, to the author's knowledge, in the literature on teacher education. And still, these two functions seem important to the author as she makes the hypothesis that even adults reasoning and/or functioning at higher levels of development may not function consistently at those higher levels when placed in new and difficult situations such as beginning teachers.

Finally, the functions "To remain and allow for a new relationship", derived from R. Kegan's clinical approach, doesn't seem to have ever been considered neither in teacher education nor in education in general. Still, it seems to the author that it summarizes and gives theoretical grounds to recent trends in in-service teacher education, which advocate the involvement of teachers, on a parity basis, with teacher-trainers and researchers in school improvement. This involvement recognizes teachers' everyday, concrete, "craft" knowledge and promotes in-service education for all the participants (teachers, teacher-trainers and researchers), and reduces the isolation of educational institutions. (5)

The fifth function would thus be enhanced, in schools of education that include, as a major task, in-service teacher training. In this task, teachers would be involved in research, curriculum development and initial teacher training. To the educational institutions, this could counterbalance – and build a bridge between – the often too theoretical approach of the teacher training institutions and the often too concrete approach of the schools, helping to improve both. From the beginning teacher's point of view, this could ensure a continuity, that is often lacking, between his/her training as a student and his/her practical training in schools; it could also ensure the support teachers miss in their beginning years when they face problems they never foresaw and feel isolated and abandoned in their classrooms. From the experienced teacher's point of view this could mean a

chance to develop further, to receive support and meaningful interchange on real problems, to feel valued as a contributor with an unique knowledge and perspective and to step away from school's everyday life. From the teacher trainer and the researcher's point of view, the activity with teachers could also mean a chance to develop (through interchange with another's perspective and contact with "real" life of the school), to test one's ideas in practice and to guarantee that research is pertinent to school improvement.

For all these reasons, the author defends firmly the importance of this fifth function in the school of education. Further research is obviously necessary both as to the practical forms it could take and to evaluate continuously its results.

Further research and theoretical examination is also obviously necessary for all the other functions and also as to the combination or proportion of the functions in different moment of a teacher's life. It is possible, for example, that a beginning teacher, already subject to an excessive number of disequilibrating factors, would not benefit at all from function four and would be much more in need of the application of function one (confirmation, support). And it is also possible that, on the contrary, an experienced teacher, having gained a certain maturity, would not benefit much from support and confirmation and would want a "disequilibrating" information or activity that would allow him/her to grow.

In spite of all there is yet to learn and research, an attempt is made, in the next sections, to see how these five functions could work in practice with a particular unit for an initial teacher-training situation. These attempt are obviously rather artificial as the first was tried out prior to the formulation of this framework and the second has not been tried out and was built to demonstrate a thesis, but some parts of it have grown from experience in teacher training with other units and the results or the description of that experience will be mentioned whenever appropriate.

THE PRACTICE

Example 1: Teacher Interpersonal Competencies

The example given in Chapter 5 of a developmental approach to teacher education benefited from the fact that most student-teachers were in fact experienced teachers with a “craft” knowledge of schools and pupils. But it is equally possible to use the same approach in initial teacher training. Student teachers, like everyone else, were themselves students and know, from experience, what it is to be a student, have opinions on the teachers they had and can analyse the effect certain behaviors have on pupils. It is this often “sleeping” knowledge that a developmental approach may try to awaken, to raise to consciousness to be analysed and to serve as a founding brick for the construction of further knowledge and competence. The role of the teacher-trainer is, at this moment, to create a supportive and encouraging atmosphere where student-teachers may feel at ease to expose themselves and their perceptions and to provide them with instruments to further their analysis.

This is why the author, in her teaching-training experience, usually started classes with some “ice-breaking” game, which allowed the participants to know each other better and to start forming a group. Next a presentation file would be given with included a question on their best and worst experiences in school. In general “worst” experiences, as remembered by these students, had to do with punishments, felt as unjust and humiliating, in primary school. Transitions from one school to another also appeared frequently: transitions from primary school to preparatory school, to the secondary school, and to the university – particularly when these transitions involved other changes: from home to the homes of other members of the family or to student-housing, or from a village to town. In university, the “worst” experience usually had to do with exams, particularly oral exams. It is curious that students hardly mention very unhappy experiences in preparatory and secondary school, (except for the transitional years). Could this be because of a less degree of sensitivity to possible injustices than was the case when they were younger, to a lesser degree of

dependency on one teacher (the fact that there are several teachers makes each one count for less), to a more respectful attitude from teachers in these grades (the punishments in primary school as remembered by these students are, in fact, unthinkable in other grades...) or to a more general affective neutrality engendered by these bigger, colder, more anonymous school?

On the other hand, most of the “best” experiences these students remember occur in secondary school and have to do with their relationships with peers or with a particular teacher. They are either an extra-curricular exploit (in sports, in arts...) that exposed the student to the admiration of peers or the acknowledgement received from a particularly admired teacher. In the last grades of secondary school (the complementary) students remember mainly teachers who “opened their horizons”, “contributed to their humanistic and scientific education”, gave them “non-school books to read”, insisted that they go and see particular plays or films, invited them “to talk at home”, were “stimulating” and trusted them”.

In general, what stands out most in the comments of the student-teachers is that the “best” and worst” experiences in school are experiences in interaction with peers and with teachers. Interactions with peers have much to do with the general atmosphere of schools and with opportunities provide by schools in different areas. Interaction with teachers depends mostly on teachers’ competence in interpersonal relationships (apart from their scientific and methodological competence which were not the subject of the author’s classes). Because it seemed more important for her student-teachers, it was in this area of teachers’ interpersonal competences that the author chose to work.

The next step was to ask student-teachers to concentrate their memories on teachers, to try to remember a particularly good teacher and a particularly bad teacher they might have had in their school career, to describe their behavior and to identify the effects of that behavior on the class in general and in themselves in particular. From the analysis of their responses it is possible to conclude that most of the good memories deal

with grades 10 to 12. Several hypothesis are possible: “good” teachers could tend to move to these higher grades; by these grades, the optional alternative courses mean that students are more motivated for subjects they have chosen and whose study they are interested in pursuing. But this preference could also be because these grades correspond to an “optimal period” in development where students are eager to relate in a new way to adults who are not their parents or other “significant others” who have dealt with them as children.

Most of the bad memories refer to teachers in primary school and in university. Again several reasons may account for this: Could these be particularly sensitive periods in development? According to Kegan’s “helix of evolutionary truces” (6), we can see that entry into primary school and entry into college may correspond to two moments where the individual has to make a transition from a “psychologist favoring inclusion” to a “psychologist favoring independence”. The lack of continuity between the previous and the new environment (from home to primary school, from highschool to university) could make the already sensitive transitional periods more painful. Or perhaps these are institutions where distance between teachers and students is too great, where teachers are too inattentive to students’ needs? Or we might have to look for different reasons to account for this difference.

In the description of the “good” teacher’s behavior and effects upon students, students mentioned that he/se managed to create “a good atmosphere”, where “50 minutes classes seemed to go by in ten minutes”, where they “felt good”, where there was a “good discipline” that was felt as “created by all”, where students felt “at ease”, “participating freely”, “without any fear of expressing doubts and questions”. The “good” teacher “awoke our interest for the subject matter”, students received “a good preparation”, “learnings were acquired without undue effort” and felt “that what was done had to do with us”, “that we did it because we liked it and

not because we were obliged to”, “we felt we were learning a lot” and, in tests, “nobody cheated”.

From a personal point of view, the teacher made them “feel somebody”, “I realized I belonged to the school”, “I got a certain air of a person”, “I grew up”, “he made us feel ourselves”, “she gave us personalized advises”, “she gave me confidence in myself and in others.”...

Students mention effects of this relationship in the long range on their professional orientation (“It was because of him that I continued to study this subject in University”), as a professional model (“It’s like her that I’ll try to be when I give classes”) and on their general life (“she contributed immensely to my personality as it is today”, “she determined a lot about my future life”).

Although the quotations come from texts from many different students, for almost every “good teacher” described it is possible to find similar remarks: the “good teacher” teaches well, makes learning relevant to the student, creates a good, warm atmosphere in the class and a good relationship with each student, being able to promote his/her development as a person and exerting influence in his/her future education and life.

To pursue the analysis, the author reexamined the well-known distinction between “scientific knowledge” (the “good teacher” has to know his/her subject), “methodological competence” (the “good teacher” has to know how to communicate that scientific information) and “personal competences” (the good teacher has to have human qualities and to be able to establish a good relationship with students) which Gilles Ferry (7) summarized in the sentence: “To know, to know how and to know how to be”. The first two categories have been studied and do receive some attention in teacher-training institutions. The last one, however, raises more problems: how can one learn to “be”? Even more difficult: how can one teach someone else to “be”?

Rogers did take this challenge and made some pertinent proposals related to “how to become” based on his clinical experience but with

suggestions for teaching situations. Based on Rogers and al. (8) and on other researchers such as Trux, Berenson, Mitchell, etc, Carckuff (9) developed a sequential model of inter-personal competencies: empathy, warmth and respect would be the characteristics of the “facilitator” in an initial phase of “client’s self-exploration”; specificity, authenticity and self-disclosure, the needed characteristics for a phase of transition to action; and confrontation and immediacy for the action phase.

The author did not apply this model rigorously in its sequence, but just as an informal instrument of eight inter-personal categories that could help the students to analyse their own capacities and lacks in this domain pointing to areas for improvement (through a self administered test, which will not be described here) and, in the example being described, to analyse the behavior of their “good” and “bad” teachers.

After the self-analysis test and the study of the eight competencies, the students were asked to take back their tests and to analyse them using that instrument, trying to remember specific examples of their teacher’s behavior for each competency. They were also asked to register important aspects that seemed not to be contemplated by the instrument.

From these new assignments, the most important competencies – or, at least, those whose presence or absence was most easily identified – were the three first ones in the following order: respect, warmth, empathy. Next came confrontation. Self-exposure appeared several times but did not seem essential. Students had difficulty remembering episodes where specificity and immediacy were shown, either because teaching situations do call less for these competencies or because they were less sensitive to them.

As to the “worst” teachers, the incompetence that appeared more frequently was lack of respect for pupils. A more detailed analysis of the behavior through which these competencies and incompetencies manifest themselves follows.

Respect

Understood as considering pupils as worthy and trustful, believing in their value and potential, in their capacity to assume responsibilities, to solve problems and to improve, this seems to be the most praised and indispensable competence.

Lack of respect for pupils manifests itself, in the student-teachers' memories, through attitudes sometimes extreme such as physical aggressions (pulling pupil's ears, using the pointer to knock on pupils' fingers) and insults, other times less extreme but quite frequent: "Considering the pupil like an empty book to be filled", "giving long moral sermons", "ignoring pupils out of the classroom", "showing partiality to some and dislike for others", "menacing with punishments and failures", "systematically missing a class at a certain hour and never giving pupils notice", "being incapable of accepting criticism or suggestions" and particularly humiliating or ridiculing pupils in public for their ignorance but also for their appearance (often revealing prejudices of sexual or social nature: "You should be sewing socks", "you act like a girl", "Go and work in the factory, this is not for all"...). Lack of respect manifests itself also through inattention to pupils' work: "He would give us homework and then he didn't even read it"; "she corrected our tests in classroom (...) Once she gave me 11 and, after showing her that it was wrongly corrected she raised my grade to 16").

The manifestation of "respect" identified by the student-teachers refer exclusively to the "good" teachers and there was no instance of a "good" teacher who is not characterized by this competence. Good teachers recognize pupils out of the classroom and talk with them; the discipline in the classroom is created by all and not imposed only by the teacher. It is the discipline necessary for work. The manifestation of respect most often referred to has to do with questions and learning difficulties: Respectful teachers accept "pupils' difficulties as natural", "understand them", "do not leave a question unanswered even if they cannot answer it on the spot", "do not put aside weaker pupils", "value the positive aspect of a pupil", "trusted pupils' possibilities". Something pupils seem to be particularly sensitive to

is when teachers show them individual attention, making them feel “someone” inside the school: “She was interested in us”, “she made us feel that what we said mattered”, “he treated us like adults”, “she gave us individual attention...”

Warmth

Warmth is as often mentioned by the student-teachers as respect but there is one important difference: There are “good” teachers who were not “warm” and still students learned to appreciate them, like the “stern looking teacher who rarely laughed” but who showed interest in his pupils or “the teacher who was somewhat introverted and not expressive but we soon understood that it was out of shyness and not out of lack of affection for us.” But most “good” teachers remembered were “warm”:

“He was human, friendly, treated us like his children”;

“He was a friend to all”;

“She always looked calm and smiling, always showing interest in us”;

“She was always in a good mood”;

“A look, a smile, a caress were enough...”;

“She greeted pupils as soon as she entered the classroom, smiling, immediately creating a pleasant atmosphere”;

“A look that transmitted warmth, open, communicative...”;

He gave “life” even to mathematical operations...”;

These expressions used by the students include non-verbal forms of communication through which “warmth” is often communicated.

The absence of “warmth” in the “bad” teachers is also a constant reference:

“She did not know how to laugh”;

“Always with a heavy look, a drooping face”;

Always in a bad mood, angry, grumbling, never smiling...”;

“Sitting very erect, throwing us ferocious looks...”;

“The pitch of her voice was sharp, unpleasant, irritated...”;

A distant, superior smile...”;

“Aggressive to pupils...”;

“A stern expression and a pointer in the hand...”;

“He arrived in the classroom and did not greet nor smile to anyone...”;

“She never gave a class without being sitting down, without her face looking stern and unfriendly and the pitch of her voice was always sharp...”.

To the non-verbal forms of communication appearing in the “warm” teachers (the look, the smile, the caress) others are added here: the position, the objects held aggressively, the pitch of voice. Another remark is that although the “look”, the “appearance” of the teacher seem to be important to communicate “warmth” this has nothing to do with the age, the sex, the beauty or the way the teacher dresses.

Empathy

Empathy is here defined as the capacity to understand another person’s point of view and to communicate this understanding. This capacity was understood by students as meaning in more academic terms being able to adjust the subject to the interests and difficulties of pupils – and, in a wider sense, being willing to listen to them and to help with their problems. A few examples of the presence of this capacity:

“She made an effort to adjust the subject to our interests and to our professional choice...”

“It was clear that she worried about our well-being. For example, on Mondays we had class with her at the last hour; she realized that we were very tired at the end of the day and after so many classes and so she never explained new matters on that day; she would keep that hour for reviewing matter or to discuss some non-curricular issue.”

“He accepted many of our suggestions and tried to solve personal problems as long as that did not disturb normal class life.”

“She always tried to understand the difficulties pupils had, to know how they felt, not only about school but also on personal matters”.

“Even out of the classroom, she was always willing to help us. She received us in the same way even if it had nothing to do with the class”.

“He listened attentively to what we said...”

“He listened to our problems, understood what we felt and searched for a solution with us.”

“She encouraged us to speak up our worries.”

“The most important thing is that he was interested in us...”

“He knew how to listen and how to look at us. Sometimes, simply by giving us an assignment or a look we realized that he understood how we felt.”

On the other hand the absence of “empathy” is common characteristic in “bad” teachers. Just a few examples:

“She did not even try to understand anything having to do with us. For example, when someone arrived late, whatever the motive, he/she could not attend class.”

“When he scheduled tests, he didn’t care if we had others for the some day.”

“He knew very well that pupils did not like him nor his classes but that didn’t seem to worry him at all and he never tried to change anything or to talk about it with the pupils.”

“She ignored us completely as people with feelings...”

Confrontation

“Confrontation” was defined as the capacity to know how to defend one’s rights, to have them respected, to make pupils face their negative behavior and the negative effects of that behavior without humiliating them. This competence is often ignored by beginning teachers who tend to think

that it is enough to have good will to prevent problems. But, in their memories, “confrontation” comes right after “empathy” although it doesn’t seem to be an essential condition for the “good” teacher and is sometimes present in the “bad” teacher. Some examples of “confrontation” behavior in the “good” teachers:

“When we did something he did not agree with, he would discuss it openly with all of us;”

“There were two pupils in the back of the room who sometimes chatted while she explained some matter. She would interrupt her explanation to tell them to stop talking as they would miss the explanation, disturbed their colleagues and disturb herself preventing her from concentrating on what she was doing.”

“When one of us did something she disliked, she discussed it calmly without hurrying to any judgmental attitude”.

“He went straight to the subject, be it pleasant or unpleasant.”

“When a pupil did not bring his assignments she called his attention to it. And when assignments were handed she gave them back with her frank comments”.

“If a student failed in some way she told him/her so but in a way that he/she did not get hurt, rather with the wish to improve.”

Inability to confront the pupils with their wrong behavior is looked upon, in the “good” teacher, either uncertainly or as a fault.

Absence of this capacity in the “bad” teacher appears as a sort of consequence of the absence of the first competencies:

“She ran away from conflicts with pupils...”

“She demanded absolute silence; there wasn’t a chance for a behavior she disagreed with...”

When this competence is present without the first three (respect, warmth, empathy), it becomes an...incompetence.

Authenticity

Rogers acknowledges two meanings to this word: coherence between what is said and what is thought; and coherence between what is felt and awareness of those feelings. The students seem to have understood it mostly as coherence between words and actions and between thought and words. A few examples of manifestations of “authenticity” in “good” teachers: “She did what she believed in: classes out of the classroom, discussions on several matters including pupils’ personal problems. She always showed herself as she was.”

“She always said what she really thought.”

“He was sincere with us.”

“Although she was not very extroverted. She was rather spontaneous (the way she looked, she moved, she talked) which leads me to say that there was a coherence between what she felt and what she said.”

But “bad” teachers too, can be authentic:

“If he was in a bad mood, she showed it clearly”

“She was pleasant to her favored pupils and unpleasant with those she disliked”.

“Authenticity”, like the capacity to “confront”, only seems to become an inter-personal competence when based on respect, warmth and empathy. Some students can’t remember manifestations of this capacity among their “good” teachers but they do not mention any manifestation of lack of authenticity. “Bad” teachers, however, are often accused of being “cynical” and “hypocritical”.

Self-disclosure

Self-disclosure is here understood as the revelation of a personal delicate experience that might be of help to someone going through a similar difficult experience. It is not often mentioned in students’ a memories, but when it appears it is always a characteristic of the “good” teacher and never appears in the “bad” teacher descriptions.

Examples:

“He often told us of similar situations in his life, he shared his experience with us.”

“She told us of difficulties she had felt when she was a pupil and things became less dramatic.”

“He was an open person, he did not hide his failures and tried to make us understand that to fail is human.”

The lack of self-disclosure is little noticed by students and when it is noticed it is not a complaint. In fact, self-disclosure is a delicate competence to use as it can easily lose its helping intention and fall into mere narcissism.

Specificity

Specificity is here understood as the capacity of being concrete and of asking concreteness from the pupil-. It is the least referred to of the competencies mentioned by the students, but does appear sometimes in the “good” teacher:

“She would ask the pupil to reformulate their questions to really understand them.”

“When he doesn’t understand what is being said he asks questions until he gets it straight.”

This capacity is never mentioned in the “bad” teacher but its lack is sometimes referred to:

“If, when answering a question, a pupil gave the wrong answer or was confusing, he never asked further questions to try to understand what he meant, he would pass on immediately to another pupil.”

Its lack is sometimes mentioned in the “good” teacher as a small fault: “Often she was not very clear in her dialogues with pupils, not because she wanted to hide something, but out of shyness.”

Immediacy

Immediacy or capacity to discuss openly and immediately the relationship going on with another person, was never mentioned.

In summary: From the analysis of students' memories of their own teachers the most important capacities for a teacher to create a warm and open atmosphere, favorable to learning and to development, seem to be respect, warmth, empathy and authenticity, respect being the most fundamental attitude without which the other inter-personal competencies are not possible. An important capacity in teachers was not acknowledged in the model: the capacity to open up horizons, to stretch the limits of one's imagination, interests and knowledge, the "initiating" capacity that seems to be very important in some ages, particularly in adolescence. In spite of this lack, Carkuff's model of inter-personal capacities proves useful as an instrument for students to analyse their "sleeping" knowledge made out of their own experience. But to become aware of one's knowledge and point of view as students (which would correspond to the first function previously identified – "confirmation") is not enough to guarantee success as a teacher. These student-teachers, even if they may have had some rather negative experiences in school, had not been so damaged that they were prevented from reaching the university and choosing to become teachers themselves. Possibly, for most, school was, after all, a rather gratifying environment. Therefore, their experience has to be completed by information concerning experiences from others that may lead them to get outside from their own point of view to include that of others less fortunate (This corresponds to function four – "contradiction").

From student to teacher is an important change of role for which students must be prepared if they are to trust their possibilities of success (This corresponds to function two – "extension" and to function three – "coherence"). The next steps are then to exercise students' inter-personal competencies, particularly those they find themselves lacking and that were shown to be more important for teachers (starting with exercises in attentiveness, observation and listening). A second strategy is also used to

provide experiences of teacher-pupil contact in a simplified situation (generally only one pupil or a small group supposed to help a pupil having some difficulties at school. The student-teacher's task is to:

1 – Observe as objectively as possible “their” pupils, distinguishing what is the result of their observation from inferences and from information gathered from other sources.

2 – Listen to the pupils, being attentive not only to the explicit message but also to the feelings they may manifest. Show the pupil – verbally and non-verbally – that the “teacher” is listening, is not judging and, if possible, is understanding.

3 – Manifest the several inter-personal competencies already studied in class and which might prove pertinent to the situation.

4 – Identify pupil's learning difficulties and place them in a more general framework, eventually using Maslow's “Pyramid of Human Needs” or other instrument that will prove appropriate.

5 – Formulate as concretely as possible the objectives to be attained.

6 – Define a helping strategy that will take into account points 4 and 5.

7 – Implement that strategy analysing and constantly reviewing its adequacy and promoting the necessary adjustments.

8 – Evaluate as objectively as possible, the intervention, its effects on the pupil and on the student-teacher him/her self.

9 – Present the case to the class.

To support this work, the author has organized class sessions with the following activities:

- Observation exercises for identification of indicators of non-verbal communication;

- Active listening exercises through the analysis of dialogues, transcribed interviews and role-playing situations;

- Analysis of a film (10) where the student-teachers observe a pupil, summarize the information on the pupil, distinguish several sources of information, analyse the inter-personal competencies demonstrated by the teacher, define the objectives of the teacher's intervention and identify his helping strategy;

- Study Maslow's "Pyramid of Human Needs" and some intervening techniques (Glaser's class meetings, Dreikurs' corrective techniques, etc.)

- Presentation and discussion in class of the "cases" of each student-teacher.

Eventually this last point – which is not delayed till the end but rather runs currently with all the others – could be considered to serve functions five – “to remain and allow for a new relationship”. Here, the educational context does remain in a supportive function but there is not enough of the establishment of a new relationship. This could only be enhanced if the student-teachers kept a formal link with the initial training institutions to which they would return in later years, with their in task acquired knowledge, and contribute to studying and changing the teacher training curriculum, to participate in the teacher-training, and to do research on schools.

The purpose of this section was to show that, contrary to Floden and Feiman's critique (see “Theory”), it is possible to find a link between description of concrete teacher-training practices and a developmental theoretical approach, if the emphasis is put not on actual stage advances but on the functions of an educational context.

In this case the author believes she has demonstrated this link even though the full theoretical framework of the functions of an educational context was not explicitly in place prior to the practices themselves. In the next section, an example will be imagined to purposefully apply these functions.

Example 2: A Developmentally Built Unit on Youth Participation

Youth Participation programs are here understood as programs that give young people the opportunity to assume responsible roles in the community.

The intent of this unit is to illustrate – inevitably in a rather artificial way – the five functions of a teacher-education context in a developmental approach that the author, as stated before, considers the main and the indispensable element in education for democracy. But of course this element does not exhaust all that is required to educate for democracy. Educating for democracy requires also the acquisition of information and skills – as demonstrated by the Oliver and Shaver’s and the Newman’s approach (see Chapter 3). To promote this acquisition, different approaches could be chosen leading to the use of a curriculum such as “Facing History and Ourselves”^{*} or to the identification of some current “public controversies” and building a curriculum around them. But, although disagreeing with wanting to make of everyone a transformer (contemplatives and other passive types also have a right to be appreciated) the author does agree that “environmentally oriented active capacities” are little fostered in school and, in Portugal, even less fostered out of school. According to the author’s analysis, experiences in Youth Participation programs, in Portugal,

* A well-known curriculum in American highschools and schools of education which uses the learning about the Jewish holocaust and the genocide of the Armenians to help reflect upon the role and responsibilities of the individual in society and to link an appreciation for justice and inter-personal understanding with an understanding of legal and political systems. (see Strom, M.S. and Parsons, W.S., 1982) (11)

do correspond to an adolescent's needs and wishes, as well as to his/her rights.

But such programs are few in number, have little tradition to draw upon, and usually forget the psychological characteristics of their "clients". Teachers are rarely prepared to recognize these characteristics and to know how to organize a program built on them. So this unit was chosen as an example of what a developmental approach could do to raise teacher's awareness and competence in Youth Participation activities.

The unit is built upon the knowledge each student-teacher has of adolescents' needs and characteristics, - because they were themselves recently adolescents, because they know adolescents from real life and from books, films and television series, and because they can learn about adolescents.

The first assignment would be for each student to remember and describe their own adolescence, guided by some questions such as these: "When do you think you "entered" adolescence? Can you indicate a precise moment? Was your adolescence similar to that of others you knew? Do you think there are characteristic traits of adolescence? Was your adolescence similar to that of today's adolescents? Can you remember your problems, your conflicts, your reactions, your dreams of those days? Try to go back: what music you heard, how did you dance, how did you react to your parents, teachers, bosses? How did you relate to the other sex? What books did you read, what fights, what secrets, which heroes you had, which films, what "stars" you loved, what letters you wrote, what world you wanted, what fears you had, how sure you were, how unsure you were?"

From the author's experience, this type of assignment is generally well accepted. But there might be students who do not wish to analyse and share their experience, because it is too painful or because it is felt as a violation of their privacy. This assignment could then be replaced by more impersonal tasks such as:

1. Interviewing adolescents on similar topics;

2. Observing, for a limited time, an adolescent and recording everything found pertinent;

3. Reading novels written by adolescents (ex. excerpts from the Diary of Ann Frank) or about adolescents (ex. Salinger's The Catcher in the Rye) and identifying characteristics, needs, problems, that seem specific to adolescents;

4. Reading several books that are successful among adolescents (ex. Ana Maria Magalhães and Isabel Alçada's collection of An Adventure in...) and trying to identify the reasons for that success. The same could be done with films or television series.

In class, the results of this analysis would be discussed together (This does not, of course, replace the need for the teacher-trainer to read and comment on each and every assignment written by the students). Theoretical interpretations of adolescence would then be distributed to confirm, to extend and to contradict these analysis. Theory and personal of fictional experience can illuminate each other in this process. The author remembers (in a similar work done on this theme but not leading to "Youth Participation" programs) the amazement of a student who had dropped out of school right after 6th grade to work on the land as peasant. Later on older brother had encouraged him to come back to study and he was now his last year in University. He had tried to remember his adolescence but nothing would come out. He didn't think he had an adolescence. He remembered his childhood, but then he had gone to work and he didn't think he had any of the specific characteristics and problems the others were mentioning. The author gave him Philippe Ariès's interpretation of adolescence as a result of prolonged schooling and he was probably the only student for whom it made real sense. The opposite process is also true: Piaget's description of the new cognitive capacities of adolescent and of his/her need to exercise them illuminates the tendency of adolescents to build unending theories and to ignore reality constraints. Psychoanalysis's views of adolescence may also help understand the conflicts with parents and the need for new relations

with other adults. The contradiction between those students – and authors – that tend to view adolescence and its problems as a result of cultural conditions and those that defend the existence of specific characteristics and needs can be overcome by Havighurst's concept of "developmental tasks" which allows for an integration of social and cultural conditions and biological and psychological characteristics.

Each student's perspective would thus be confirmed (function one) and still be extended (function two) and contradicted – through having to understand others' points of view, these others being peers in class, adolescents analysed or authors read – (function four) and further extend (through integration in a more general perspective).

The next assignment would consist of similar tasks on the question: "What can be done to promote adolescents' development? – which could be further detailed:

"When did you (or the hero in a novel, film, television series, friend...) stop being an adolescent? Have you (or..) actually stopped? What makes you say so? Can you remember (or notice...) any particular experience that made you (or...) grow up? In what sense? Etc."

The process in class would be similar to the after the first assignment, with each student reporting the results of his/her self-analysis, observation, interviewing or reading. The group would try to identify what experiences seem to promote growing up in adolescence. From experience, the author knows that these are usually experiences in autonomy (a trip abroad with friends but no adults, for example) and in responsibility (having to take care of an ill younger sister, for example). The influence of some adults other than parents and representing a different culture, a different way of life or different values (a very special teacher, for example) comes out often too. Participation in collective endeavors is also often mentioned (a theater group, a political activity, etc.).

After analysis of the common features of this growth – promoting activities, the question may be raised of what could the school and the

teacher do to foster them. Suggestions would be written out on the blackboard and discussed: Youth participation in classroom management and in school management, students' organizations and out of school activities would probably be mentioned.

A lecture on "Education for Democracy" could be introduced here. The need to educate for democracy and its links with adolescents' characteristics could be introduced in more experiential ways, in a manner similar to the one previously followed. But it is the author's conviction that at least adults can learn through lectures and that it is effective to vary the patterns of teaching and learning.

Students would then be divided into pairs with the assignment of studying an existing youth-participation activity:

"Who participates and who doesn't? What tasks are accomplished? What is the degree of autonomy, of responsibility? What are the aims of the organization? Of the tasks? In an adult in charge? What's his/her role, attitude, relation with the kids? Do the activities seem to fill real needs both of the kids involved and of those they are supposed to serve? Are the activities analysed, discussed, reflected upon, improved – among peers or with adults? Is there someone continuously evaluating the experience in order to improve it? Did the kids have any previous training? Do the activities allow for a variety of roles? For the learning and try out of new skills? How long to they last? Are there any visible rewards? Where do they take place? Would the student-teachers consider them a success or a failure? Why? What can be done to improve them? What do you think the kids are really learning?"

While this assignment was underway, further information could be brought into class both concerning the knowledge and skills necessary for democratically participating in Portuguese society (including the difficulties, limits and problems of that participation) and on different approaches that have already been tried in Portugal or that could be adjusted to the

Portuguese context. A session should also be held on the process being followed in class and on the developmental approach undergirding it.

Each pair of students would then report to the class the Youth Participation programs studied. Examination of the different programs would involve an appreciation of the objectives themselves, of the implementation process and of results. Attempts would be made to identify positive and negative aspects and to suggest improvements. Information would be given by the teacher-trainer on the National Commission of Resources on Youth (N.C.R.Y.) criteria – or on other criteria developed elsewhere – for Youth Participation programs:

- action in the community that meets a real need;
- opportunities to work in a collaborative relationship with peers and adults;
- a share in planning and decision-making;
- reflection.

For early adolescents other criteria are added:

- programs that allow for a variety of roles and activities;
- projects that are short-term or have a series of clear stages;
- projects that have visible rewards;
- projects that involve collegial relationships with adults;
- projects that have structure and flexibility.

These criteria could be used to assess the validity of the Youth Participation programs studied by the student-teachers and at the same time the validity of these criteria for the Portuguese situation would be checked.

Finally student-teachers would be asked to engage in short term Youth Participation programs:

- either directly as youngsters themselves (organization their self-governed school association or tutoring a child in a learning activity or being in charge of extra-curricular activities with a group of children, for example); or

- indirectly (as an adult responsible for Youth Participation program); or
 - by putting into practice the improvements suggested in their previous analysis of a Youth Participation program;
- or
- by organizing, in the School of Education, a center for research and support of Youth Participation programs.

Such center for documentation, research, support and evaluation of Youth Participation programs would be created in any case and would assemble, on a collaborative basis, teachers, teacher trainers, researchers, students and other possible agents in these programs.

This was intentionally a very concrete example that attempted to illustrate the five functions of an educational context – according to the developmental approach defined in this chapter. When building the unit on the knowledge, experience, affect and point of view of student-teachers, function one (support, confirmation) is being attended to; by promoting interchange among the group participants and assignments requiring contacts with youngsters, detachment from one's point of view is required and function four (contradiction) is attended to; by asking for an appreciation of present situation in schools and for anticipation of one's role as a teacher, function two (extension of one's current level of development to other areas of thought) is being addressed; by actually engaging themselves in a Youth Participation Program, function three (consistency between thought and behavior) is being accomplished. And the creation of a center for research, support and documentation would allow student-teachers to come back later in their teaching career to involve themselves in a new relationship with teacher trainers and researchers as possessors of a particular knowledge and point of view – thus function five would be achieved.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- (1) See Sprinthall, N. A. and Thies-Sprinthall, L. (1983). The teacher as an adult learner: A cognitive-developmental view. In Griffin, G. (Ed.) Staff development. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- (2) Sprinthall, N. A. and Thies-Sprinthall, L. (1983). Ibidem (p. 18).
- (3) Oja, S. N. and Spinthall, N. A. (1978). Psychological and moral development for teachers: Can you teach old dogs? In Sprinthall, N. A. and Mosher, R. (Eds.) Value development... as the aim of education. Schnectedy, N. Y.: Character Research Press
- (4) Floden, R. E. and Feiman, S. (1981, Apr). The relationship of adult development theories to teacher education. Michigan State University: Institute for Research on Teaching (p. 3).
- (5) See Griffin, Gary (1983) 8ed.) Staff Development. Ibidem
- (6) Kegan, R. (1982). The evolving self. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press (p.109).
- (7) Ferry, Gilles (1974). A prática do trabalho de grupo (Practicing group work). Porto Alegre, Brasil: Globo.
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- (10) L'école Buissonière (film). A copy is available at the Instituto de Tecnologia Educativa, Ministério da Educação, Lisbon.
- (11) Strom, Margot S. and Parsons, W.S. (1982). Facing history and ourselves: Holocaust and human behavior. Watertown, Ma.: Intentional Educations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Education for democracy requires: (a) Information – a critical understanding of institutions, processes, values, reasons for their existence, difficulties, possible alternatives; (b) Skills – particularly active, environmentally oriented skills that will allow the citizen not only to give informed consent to his/her representatives, but also to know and be able to intervene directly in public affairs; and (c) A level of moral reasoning that will allow citizens to understand the principles underlying the Constitution and organization of power in a democratic society. But first of all, education for democracy involves promoting an attitude of respect and reciprocity for others – whatever their race, social class, culture, sex, handicap or age – and providing conditions for the maximum development of every individual. This was described as a developmental approach to education.

It was demonstrated that in present Portuguese education, not only are there few efforts towards the acquisition of that information, skills and level of moral reasoning, but also that now, as well as in the post-revolutionary period where some efforts were made in that direction, the underlying attitude of respect for others (particularly students) was and is singularly absent. The lack of this developmental approach in Portuguese education was found to be the most serious gap in education for democracy.

Therefore, it is this developmental approach that requires more serious attention in teacher-education, both out of a consideration for future teachers as students and out of the need to develop in them democratic attitudes towards their pupils. Apart from the preparation of specific teachers for civic education, all teachers need to acquire a developmental approach to education, here defined as recognizing and valuing the knowledge, feelings, viewpoint of the student and providing conditions for his/her maximum development.

This approach, to be put into practice effectively, must be further operationalized. Three aspects may be considered:

- a) Developmental stages;
- b) Functions of an educational context;
- c) Means to promote development.

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES

In a developmental approach, students are viewed as actively organizing their minds to make sense of the world, through a series of qualitatively different and increasingly complex psychological structures: the stages of development.

The knowledge of the characteristics of these stages and of their sequence may help the teacher to understand the pupil, to adjust the curriculum, and to choose activities that may promote development to the next stage. However, it must not be forgotten that stages are merely scientific constructs, generally applying to age groups, that do not replace the individual attention to each student as a person.

Until adolescence, several theories exist that, though not coincidental, are not contradictory. Rather, they are complementary, calling attention to different aspects of development and leaving certain areas unstudied. After adolescence, knowledge of development decreases. Not only it is a more recent area of study, but also the search for final stages may be a dead-end street. The simple identification of a direction for adult development seems a more appropriate orientation and a certain general agreement is already available to guide, for example, teacher education. Still, much is open for study in this area, both as to the developmental needs of young adults like student-teachers, and to the developmental needs of professionals – like practicing teachers – in different moments of their career.

FUNCTIONS OF AN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Development occurs through qualitatively different stages with specific needs and characteristics. But there are also general needs and general functional mechanism that are common throughout the whole development process and to which human environments – such as educational contexts – must respond.

The author argues that the main link between developmental theory and developmental educational practices is to be found in these functions and has identified in the literature five functions of an educational context:

1. A Support and Confirmation Function

To be able to develop (i.e. to dare reject what one was and become somewhat different) one must be able to feel “safe”: to feel recognized, accepted, valued as a person.

2. An Extension Function

One does not develop equally and simultaneously in all areas. A function of an educational context must be to help the student stretch out what he/she has achieved in one area to different, increasingly wider areas.

3. A Consistency Function

This may be seen as a sub-function of function two, here applied to the area of behavior. There is not a single, linear, automatic relationship between reasoning and behavior. An educational context must not only acknowledge and confirm the students’ perceptions, feelings, viewpoints, must not only stretch them to new area of reasoning, but also see to it that there is a consistency between reasoning and behavior.

4. A Desequilibration Function

To develop, to change, one must be informed by slightly discrepant situations that one’s schema are not completely adequate to deal with the new situations. This is the function that has received more attention by developmental educators. The difficulty lies in finding the right degree of discrepancy: situations that are different enough

to inform one of one's inadequacy but not too different so as to be attainable

5. A Continuity Function

To dare change, one must not only feel safe enough and adequate enough, one must also know one may return to one's human environment and establish a new relationship with it. The parents who let their adolescent child go must remain as parents but be able to establish a new type of relationship with what is no longer a child. The school that encourages out-of-school activities to promote pupils' growth must remain to support these activities but acknowledge the new characteristics and needs this experience has achieved. The school of education that prepared teachers must remain as a place of support and challenge but recognize also the new craft knowledge the teacher has acquired on the job and establish new relations of professional reciprocity. Further research and study is needed to confirm these five functions here identified and particularly to establish the need for different balances between them in different moments of students' and teachers' life and career.

MEANS TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT

For each of these functions it is possible to identify different means that have been tried out or imagined:

For the Confirmation Function, for example, humanistic psychologists and educators have developed several means. The identification of inter-personal competencies referred to in Chapter 6 may be looked upon as a means for teachers to recognize the students as persons and to communicate this attitude to them.

For the Extension Function, moral judgment may be looked upon as an example of extending cognitive reasoning to the moral realm. More specific examples could be discussing moral issues involved in History,

Social Studies, Literature or the Natural Sciences as a means to extend moral reasoning to wider areas.

For the Consistency Function a continuous, reciprocal motion between reasoning and practice would be an appropriate means: to reason in anticipation of an action, to act, to evaluate, analyse and discuss that action. In teacher education it could mean, for example, the introduction of situations of progressively increasing responsibility with children constantly accompanied and followed by a supported reflection upon them.

For the Desequilibration Function more means are available and have been tried out because education has been mainly equated with this function. Providing information through books, lectures or audio-visual material could be looked upon as wanting to serve this function. What characterizes a developmental approach is to view this function as one among the others, to view the student as an active learner and to provide the appropriate discrepant situation. One cannot deny that information provided by more traditional channels can play a desequilibrating function but active, experiential methods have proved to be more effective means. Youth Participation activities, for example, have been found particularly appropriate to fulfill adolescents' needs for independence and responsibility and to promote their development. Although further study is necessary in this area, a unit to train teachers to understand and promote these activities has been included in Chapter 6.

For the Continuity Function, which is the least studied, no means are suggested in the literature. But recent trends in staff development that view the teacher as a collaborator – with a different but specific knowledge and view point – in educational research, initial teacher training, and curriculum development, point toward these means. School of Education should combine initial teacher training, educational research and staff development, thereby ensuring a continuity function with teachers, allowing for a collaboration in a different relationship of professional reciprocity.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SOCIAL ANALYSIS COURSE IN THE E.S.E.

In the Social Analysis class of the future Superior Schools of Education (E.S.E.), the described educational process could be reinforced by valuing students, by building upon their knowledge and by providing situations that may disturb their convictions and lead them to question themselves and reality. This can best be done by promoting experiential situations where they have to act (by calling upon what they know consciously or unconsciously) and where reality gives them a feedback on the adequacy of that act and knowledge. The difficulty lies in proposing situations that allow for students' autonomy and, at the same time, that are not too difficult nor allow for serious failure. Student managed activities don't involve too many risks of failure for students themselves and can be reflected upon in class. Their application to young children should also be discussed and visits made to classes and schools where children participate in management. (Since E.S.E. students are going to be teachers, awareness of this way of learning compared to other ways of learning subject matter should also be a matter for discussion. The epistemological basis of different ways of learning, their possible adequacy to different ages, subject matters and people should be looked upon in collaboration with the Psychology course).

Other activities could involve non-school institutions to be used as resources for learning, where E.S.E. students could be with children in a more informal relationship than the classroom and where they could be in a situation of integrated autonomy, i.e., supervised by a competent adult but responsible for their actions. A museum with activities for children would be an ideal institution to start with. This would be possible in Lisbon where there are museums that make very interesting efforts to become lively places for children and where students' help would be appreciated, useful and understood as an educational activity. Besides, aesthetic education is one of the areas where social differences are more obvious and where teachers themselves have more difficulties (An inquiry about primary school

teachers' needs done two years ago by the Ministry of Education revealed that the area of "artistic expression" was their main concern).

By respecting the student-teachers as persons (with specific characteristics and needs, with knowledge, feelings, viewpoints), by placing them in situations where children are respected (for example, schools and classes where children participate in decision-making, museum activities organized for children), by promoting the analysis of their own prejudices (the Rist article could be a good point of departure for this awareness and analysis), by promoting a helping relationship with a child from a different social and cultural background in a tutor-tutee experience, and by gradually increasing their responsibilities in a school and in a classroom (in collaborative relationship with an exercising teacher), the author would hope to develop in teachers an ethics of respect for children and for the teaching profession which seem to be basic to any education for democracy.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE E.S.E.

To choose adequate means for the E.S.E. to fulfill the five functions of an educational context that characterize a developmental approach to education, it is necessary to know who the E.S.E. students will be and what they are to become, as well as the community characteristics and needs of the areas where the E.S.E. will be placed. Although few data are available and the project of the E.S.E. itself has not yet defined quite a few aspects, some facts are known: The E.S.E. network will cover most of the district capitals of Portugal and will be charged with the initial training of pre-school and elementary school (grades 1 to 6 at least) teachers; with in-service training of the teachers of these same grades; with the training of "adult educators"; with educational research, support to schools and community development; and the two E.S.E. of Lisbon and Oporto will also be charged with the training of special education teachers.

The first main recommendation derived both from the essential functions of an educational context and from experience in teacher-training,

is that these tasks of the E.S.E. (initial and continuous teacher-training, research, support to school improvement and community development) not be separated. Only their coordination in the same institution may ensure that there will be consistency, continuity and interchange between theory and practice, between judgment and behavior, between initial and continuous training; that educational research will be pertinent to school improvement and to children' and teachers' development; and that initial training, research and school support will benefit from teachers' craft knowledge.

The second recommendation concerns the internal organization of the E.S.E. and derives from what is known of the future population of students-teachers. The students of the E.S.E will be mostly young adults, just coming out of highschool. If things remain as they are, they will never have had an education for civic awareness nor inspired by a concern for moral and social development. On the other hand, they will be in a period where relatively deep changes are possible and desired. For many, it will probably be their first step in a more autonomous life (coming from their home-town, leaving the family and the community, entering higher education, meeting people from very different backgrounds and experiences, and having future professional prospects). The E.S.E. should be, first of all, a rich human environment, full of student-managed activities and using all possible local resources, to promote students' development as persons and as citizens. By this mere fact they will be better teachers. This requires that the E.S.E. recognize and value student-managed activities, by giving them space and time, by adopting a more complete form of student participation in decision-making and by encouraging out-of-school activities.

The third recommendation derives from some generalities that are known about present practicing teachers, particularly their low social status (which is interiorized in a low self-image) and their professional – and often personal – isolation. To overcome these flaws, much does not depend from the E.S.E. But the E.S.E. can contribute to higher self-image of the teacher through a developmental approach to teacher education and by becoming a

center of enrichment and support. The E.S.E. can contribute to decreasing teachers' isolation through activities of school support and research directly at the school level and by promoting activities among teachers and between teachers and the populations. The "higher education" status of the E.S.E. will institutionally recognize a higher status to teachers, but this must be accompanied by a real support to teachers' personal and professional development and by a real recognition of teachers' knowledge. The involvement of practicing teachers in research on school improvement, in curriculum development and in initial teacher training, on a basis of professional reciprocity, seems to author to be the best means to achieve these aims.

The fourth recommendation has to do with the policy of integrating handicapped children in regular schools, which requires that all teachers be trained in helping children with specific disabilities and difficulties. However, the need for specialized teachers for more severe cases remains and this specialization should be recognized by a certificate of more advanced studies. Other specializations should also be created and certified which also be a means to give teachers a sense of a professional career.

The fifth recommendation has to do with the network of the E.S.E. and with their tasks of community development and of training adult educators. The differences between the areas served by the district capitals and between the district capitals themselves are too big to allow for any specific recommendation. But these are the very reason to recommend research on community characteristics, resources and needs as one of the priorities for educational research in the E.S.E. and to recommend, here also, a developmental approach: no community is without cultural resources, no community is without developmental needs and no community has a uniform type of culture or a uniform type of needs. Here, again, the attitude should be one of identifying, recognizing and valuing the existent resources, putting them to contribute for educational purpose and of identifying needs the E.S.E. may help fulfill.

The sixth recommendation concerns school improvement: That the school be taken as a unit in itself, which does not exclude the possibility of sub-dividing it in smaller, more manageable units. Innovation efforts have tended to concentrate only on one variable of the school (curriculum development or in-service teacher-training, for example). But the school is a place of work where several variables interact at the same time and which need to be dealt with simultaneously. The material aspects of school and the safety of children are aspects that need to be attended to urgently; a sense of belongingness, a democratic atmosphere, a stimulating environment are perhaps best attained, in present conditions of overpopulated schools, by dividing schools in smaller units of the “school within a school” type.

Finally, the seventh recommendation concerns education for democracy in more specific terms, which should be considered a priority of the whole school system and of other educational agencies (television, for example, could be considered an educational agency for these purpose). In addition to the developmental approach that should inspire the whole organization, curriculum and teaching in the E.S.E., provision should be made for research and programs on teaching strategies and content for citizenship education at various levels of the educational system, for adult education and of course for teacher education itself.

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