English summaries

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This article is a narrative of how schools, particularly primary schools, have developed in East Africa since independence. Three questions are posed for the study: What do the independent States want out of education? What does the donor community want from its support for education? What are the power relations between the States and the donor community? The study regards mainly Tanzania and Mozambique, and there are also some outlooks to Zimbabwe and South Africa. The common traits are focused upon rather than the differences between the national and regional contexts.

Curriculum development in Tanzania and Mozambique have followed three rather distinct phases. The first one was to »Africanize» the curriculum. The academic ambitions for curriculum were high. In Tanzania, which became independent in 1961, a doctrine of Manpower development was the first doctrine to be launched in relation to the, by then, prevalent thinking in terms of »human capital theory». In the second phase, mass education for all became the leading doctrine, and a strong »political-patriotic» curriculum code dominated. The education doctrine was based on the assumption that primary education for all contributed to better social and economic development than higher education for the few. In the third and present phase, there is an acceptance of the fact that most pupils will not go to further education after the primary level. The hottest topic of the curriculum debate is about academic curriculum or life skills curriculum in the final years of primary education.

There has been an agreement between the governments and the donor community on the doctrines that seem rather to be an outflow of international trends, than strong imposition. When the Eastern block, the Non Alignment Movement and the West block competed for influence in East Africa before the tumbling of the Berlin wall, agencies of all three blocks favoured the same basic ideas but with differences in details.

Foreign aid support from the West has changed in methods and focus during the period from the nineteen sixties up to now. Early doctrines stressed »support on the conditions of the recipient party» and the form was distinct projects. The present doctrines stress recipient responsibility and sector development according to general development plans. The conditions have become firmer and support is connected to the structural adjustment pro-

grammes emphasising things like downsizing of government, decentralisation and so forth.

The tendencies for the future might prove auto critical foreign aid workers right, when they criticise the donor community for unfair imposition. Increased dependency on foreign aid support in combination with a more monolithic donor community will probably strengthen the power of the donors. The large bilateral organisations harmonise the activities with the UN-system and the World Bank. The current trend in aid projects to the education sector is to emphasise quality more than educational infrastructure. Contemporary projects concentrate on teaching aids and curriculum development including reforming assessment, educational planning and teacher education, that is to say an inclination to the inner work of schools rather than school buildings, furniture, writing pads and so on. We can foresee that efforts will be made to break the prevalent school traditions. We do not know what the consequences of a more integrative and student active primary education will be in East Africa. The Western societies from where these ideas emanate are different in terms of the social division of labour and the kind of solidarity that holds society together, and thus also in forms and ideals of upbringing.

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Three Swedish municipal school inspectorates are described and compared to the English state inspection, OFSTED. They operate under quite different contexts of governing, which makes their functions and effects different.

One important difference regards the ideology connected to inspectors' criteria of good instruction. OFSTED claims to be neutral about teaching processes, but refers to the results of the so-called effective schools-research for their choice of criteria. That can also be traced, but not very clearly, in the handbook for inspections (of about 300 pages). OFSTED can be seen to follow a code of intensification based upon traditional classroom instruction and subject specific teaching as opposed to thematic teaching. Two of the Swedish inspectorates do not publish their criteria, one has. All of them, however, can be seen as favouring progressivist and constructivist teaching, taking thematic studies as something good. It thus looks as if the inspectorates in the two countries have chosen to align with different norms of teacher professionalism.

One of OFSTED's aims is to judge if the results of a school are satisfactorily (or better, or worse) than what can be expected on comparison with national averages and results from schools which recruit children from about the same social strata. Swedish inspectors do not try to answer such questions, they focus almost totally on process quality.

Another difference is the stress inspection puts on English schools compared to Swedish schools. Of STED inspection is meant to drive bad teachers and bad schools out of the education system and to allow good teachers and good schools to be rewarded. Teachers' instruction is judged on a seven-grade scale, which is meant to influence headteachers' merit pay criteria. The idea is to apply market pressure on schools' behaviour, but at the same time to frame definitions of quality by strict state criteria upheld by national tests, examinations and the inspection. Local politics is kept short, and local inspection has to integrate OFSTED criteria and take on OFSTED assignments in order to survive.

In Sweden a system of governance is in place with a great local political responsibility. By cultural codes, and the homogenising influence of national tests, the variation in quality criteria still seems to be rather small. What differs however is the function inspectors take as a channel of communication between schools and local politics and administration. This function was most clearly seen in the city of Örebro, where the upper-secondary schools are inspected regularly, and where the political board of the city, during the inspections we studied, took a rather active part in interpreting the results of the inspection together with schools. Without making it official, the inspection report played the function of putting up a negotiating arena for the headteacher with his/her political board, and with his/her staff. This is not as clearly seen in Stockholm, where the inspected comprehensive schools are governed by political sub-boards for specific areas (so called SDN's), which are not as active in school governing. In the so called V5-municipalities (Grästorp, Götene, Lidköping, Skara and Vara) the inspectorate is built up by local headteachers, teachers and administrators, which stimulates a deep knowledge about quality criteria at that level, but we don't know how integrated local politicians are in this process.

Accountability is more loosely defined in Sweden and local responsibility is more pronounced. Therefore a more dynamic and interactional relationship between the partners in the inspection process is noticeable, at least in Stockholm and Örebro where the absence of a big handbook means less regulation of the process. We could follow an interesting change in the form of communication in Örebro as the inspectors changed their ethos during a series of five inspections. Ethos is revealed by a rhetorical analysis of inspection reports and their efforts to uphold to adjust to the audience. The change was due to the political board's intention to stimulate teacher teams at the schools. Teacher's objections to this were sometimes also supported by headteachers.

When the heterogenity of the audience thus became apparent the inspectors changed their style of reporting from a mainly objectivistic to a mainly reasoning ethos. The former means an attempt to upheld inspection trustworthiness by "giving the facts" and making judgements strictly according to official aims. The latter means an attempt to discuss matters and report on different views in order that the variety of stakeholders can be adequately represented. Even when the conflict about teams faded out the inspectors chose to continue to use this new ethos.

The Stockholm inspection reports show a blend of objectivistic and didactic ethos. By the latter is meant a personal tone, together with a willingness to discuss, show good examples and give advice in didactical matters. The didactic ethos is thus more helpful for those accepting the criteria taken as given by the expert, but is more problematic when it comes to dealing with conflicts about power in schools, the kind of problem the reasoning ethos was first constructed to handle. OFSTED and V5-reports show an objectivistic ethos, but while the former hides its specific ideology, the latter (by its published criteria) shows its ideology clearly.

From the study, the following conclusions concerning inspection feedback can be made. In order to be useful, for school development, the feedback need to be perceived as informative and supporting self-determination rather than being supervisional and controlling. Comparisons should more relate to previous situation at the school and less to performances at other schools. Feedback needs to be perceived as a message to individuals and teams and not only to a depersonalised school.