THE DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS
FOR REMOTE RURAL SCHOOLS IN LESS DEVELOPED
COUNTRIES

AIDS TO PROGRAMMING UNICEF ASSISTANCE TO
EDUCATION

UNIT FOR
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UNESCO
PARIS
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THE DEPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR
REMOTE RURAL SCHOOLS IN LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

In less-developed countries schools in remote rural areas are likely to be poor in quality. One important aspect of this in certain contexts is the comparatively low quality of teachers and the high rate of teacher turnover in rural schools in these areas.

It is likely that contributory factors are the ways in which posting and transfer procedures operate, inadequate preparation and support for teachers and their own characteristics, values and interests. For purposes of analysis, two models are suggested which illuminate the policy assumptions behind different strategies used to try to remedy the situation. The rural deficit model tends to encourage the use of compulsory posting and incentives while the rural challenge model searches for better ways of preparing teachers for service in remote rural schools.

From analysis of the literature, the author suggests that there are four interrelated features of contemporary teacher-education programmes which have potential and should be developed if good teachers are to be attracted to and retained in remote rural schools. These are field-based preparation, team work in training, community support of training and the recruitment and preparation of local teachers. A few examples of schemes employing these principles are described briefly.
I. INTRODUCTION

Imagine the scene:

- teachers so haphazardly informed as to mar young lives by poor methods, lack of instructional materials or unconcern;

- teachers who are 'so tired' from doing nothing productive that their major stimulus is only the monthly pay cheque;

- potential readers, young and old, hungry for books about anywhere or anything;

- children whose weight and complexions reflect improper habits of eating and sleeping;

- pupils sharing diseases by drinking impure water from a common dipper;

- filthy inside toilets attracting disease-carrying flies;

- school-buildings unsuited for instruction or community use because of their location;

- bare classroom walls, pot-bellied stove and eroded school grounds;

- classrooms needing: new paint, roofs that don't leak, and a pleasing atmosphere.¹

This is a portrayal of schools in East Kentucky in the United States of America in the mid-1950's but it could equally well be about the situation in many other parts of the world today.

For in rich and poor countries alike schools in rural areas tend to be disadvantaged compared with those in urban and semi-urban areas. In rural areas school-buildings and other facilities are often inferior, support services for the health and welfare of pupils are few and, despite favourable teacher-pupil ratios in some circumstances, teachers are unable to offer a varied, specialist and up-to-date educational experience to their pupils. Rural school children drop out earlier and achieve less well in school than their urban brothers and sisters. In
addition, in many poor countries which have yet to achieve universal schooling, access to schools in rural areas, particularly at the higher grades, may be very limited.

Inequalities in access to and opportunities within school for urban and rural children are especially important problems in less-developed countries because it is in the rural areas that the majority of people live. Of course, some rural schools are better than average and some urban ones worse. Likewise, the characteristics of rural areas differ widely. But the fact is that there are, in general, greater disparities in the quality of schooling between urban and rural areas than in developed countries. Policy-makers see these inequalities as threats to national unity and social justice, and obstacles to economic and social progress. By improving the quality of disadvantaged rural schools, they hope to overcome some of these problems.

This paper addresses some of the problems in the deployment and training of teachers in disadvantaged schools in the remote rural areas of less-developed countries. It summarizes some of the lines of enquiry which the author is following in current research, identifies gaps in knowledge and makes certain policy recommendations for improving teacher retention and quality in remote rural schools.

Remoteness may be characterized by the constraints imposed by geophysical features like deserts, mountains, water, vast distances, difficult climate and hostile terrain. It may be compounded by a lack of communications technology to overcome such constraints. This is a particularly important fact in poor, less-developed countries.

Remoteness is also, of course, partly a psycho-cultural phenomenon. For communication is a two-way process: if people do not want to cross the desert or the river, they will stay at home.
Geo-physical remoteness and psycho-cultural isolation are often associated. Remote rural areas are in a very real sense on the periphery, far from the centres of political, economic and cultural life - and in today's world this usually means cities and towns.

In densely-populated cities it is easier to provide equal access to school, a uniformly rich diet of curriculum relevant to the needs of the pupils and a fair distribution of the teaching force. In addition and very importantly, good quality schooling can be had for the maximum economies of scale. On the other hand, the provision of good quality schooling in remote rural areas is difficult to achieve and very costly. This is particularly so when the school population is sparse, scattered, pastoral or nomadic.

II. RECRUITMENT OF TEACHERS TO REMOTE RURAL SCHOOLS

Recent research has concentrated on how teachers may become more effective in the classroom and what competencies they need in order to enable their pupils to fulfil their potential.

But a prior question concerned with teacher quality has been neglected; that is, how to attract good teachers in the first place and then how to retain them in the classroom. In remote rural schools this is often crucial - for schools are likely to be small, with one to three or four teachers only. If poor teachers are recruited, they can make a disproportionately adverse impact on pupils; and if teacher turnover is high, small schools are disproportionately destabilized.

These problems were noted in the USA as long ago as 1928.

...In the rural schools teaching personnel is still transient and unstable...the proportion of beginners in the rural schools is as high as 30 or 40 per cent and the annual turnover in the one-teacher school is more than 50 per cent.\(^2\)

We cannot have better rural schools until they are staffed with better teachers.\(^3\)
Studies published in English since then have mostly emanated from the remoter and less hospitable areas of North America and Canada. If there have been any conducted in less-developed countries, they must still be buried in the files of ministries of education. One aspect of the author's research is to gather case-study material on problems of the recruitment of teachers to remote rural schools in varying contexts as a basis for workable low-cost policy proposals.

Policies and practices for deploying teachers vary widely. Often developed countries can afford to rely more on the principle of voluntary recruitment to schools, for there is no critical teacher shortage. But in most less-developed countries there is usually a greater element of compulsion in posting and transfer procedures. This is often the only way the authorities, faced as they are with overall teacher shortages, can fulfil their responsibilities to provide teachers in all schools, including the least desirable from the teachers' point of view. Such devices include the compulsory posting of all newly-trained teachers to rural schools for a period of years, the requirement of service in rural schools for eligibility for promotion, and strict limitation of the numbers of teachers who may be given preferential treatment, e.g. married women.

Comparative data on the efficiency and effectiveness of policy and practice for teachers deployment for remote rural schools needs systematic analysis:-

Where compulsory posting is the rule, the question must be whether teachers are attracted to rural schools, whether they are prepared to be posted to remote schools rather than drop out of the profession altogether, and then whether they are retained in them for a useful length of time.

For people considering teaching as a career, whether or not they are compelled to teach in remote schools, when and for how long may well be decisive factors in their career choices.

Comparative studies of mobility rates for teachers in schools on a continuum from urban, semi-rural to remote rural are one way of gauging the efficiency of posting and transfer systems in filling vacancies in the remotest rural
Attitude surveys of teachers and student teachers towards the posting and transfer system in operation can throw further light on their efficiency.

III. TEACHERS IN REMOTE RURAL AREAS

Teachers in remote rural schools seldom spend their lonely evenings writing for public consumption about their experiences! The evidence which exists for the developed countries, such as it is, suggests that the majority of teachers teach in remote rural schools only very reluctantly, especially if they are non-locals. But the reason will differ with the context:

In one area the climate may be good, the cost of living low and the long road to the city passable all the year round. In another, the teacher may feel like a stranger, the school-buildings may be poor and the necessities of life hard to come by. Similarly the attitudes and interests of teachers may differ. Young women, newly married, and lacking experience and professional confidence, might welcome the chance to teach in their home-villages, while ambitious senior teachers might want to move to the town to further their careers.

Four broad categories of factors are suggested which influence teachers' and would-be teachers' attitudes to teaching in remote rural schools. These are personal and family, social, economic and professional. In practice, of course, they overlap.

Personal and Family Factors

Many teachers are reared in towns and cities or are educated and trained in them. They may therefore be uncomfortable living in remote rural areas and be ill-equipped to do so. The migration to a remote rural area may mean a dramatic and disturbing change of scene. Amenities which teachers are used to regarding as basic necessities may be lacking; housing may be difficult to find and sub-standard. All-weather communications with towns may not exist. In addition, teachers who want their own children to have good schooling, particularly at secondary level, may have to make a hard choice and send them away to school.
Social Factors

Isolation is often quoted as one of the penalties for the teacher in a remote rural school: it is a matter of wide separation not only from family and friends but also from familiar forms of entertainment, cultural and religious organizations, clubs and other leisure time activities, which are part and parcel of the urban life-style. In addition, teachers may perceive themselves as strangers among rural people and be unwilling or unable to make contacts in the community. Gone are the days for the most part when the teacher was a member, often a leading member, of the local community. Today, as government servants, the teachers' main duties are to the State which employs them. They have few natural ties with the community and the relationship can be ambiguous and problematic. Even the young person from a remote rural area may prefer to leave it for the wider world and may be unwilling to return to teach there.

Economic Factors

Teachers in rural schools tend to be younger and less experienced, and thus have lower salaries than those in the towns. But even where salaries are the same, teachers in rural areas may find the cost of living considerably higher than in the towns. They may be used to a style of living which means that they rely on goods imported at great expense from towns. In addition, they are largely consumers rather than producers of the necessities, whereas the local people may well produce much of their own food, weave their own cloth and build their own homes. Travelling expenses for children who go away to school and for the teachers who visit urban friends and relatives may be high. Job-opportunities for teachers' spouses may be poor and the income foregone could be a great loss, especially for low paid and younger teachers.
Professional Factors.

Remoteness and isolation affect the quality and quantity of professional facilities available to teachers. Teachers in rural schools may be frustrated by the lack of classroom aids which in towns make their work easier, more varied and enriching. The official curriculum may appear irrelevant to the needs of rural children. Inspectors and advisers may visit only rarely, requests for classroom materials may take many months to process and even salaries may be paid irregularly or not at all. In addition, lack of contact in the community may mean that the teachers are unable to encourage the sort of parental support for their pupils which would earn them respect and status. Many rural schools are so small and isolated that teachers may lack the varied contact with other teachers which urban schools can provide. There are fewer opportunities for professional contact through teachers' centres, in-service activities and social gatherings. Teachers in rural schools may feel bypassed and forgotten by the profession. For the ambitious there may be an extra frustration in not being able to get their work sufficiently noticed and recognized by the authorities.

Until more evidence from case studies and surveys exists, we have no means of knowing which factors are crucial in determining teachers' willingness to serve in remote rural schools. A host of hypotheses suggest themselves, a few of which are outlined. It may be that economic factors are crucial in attracting or deterring teachers from service in rural schools while the socio-cultural environment of the rural school is crucial to their retention.

It may be that economic factors influence most of those teachers whose reference groups are the higher-paid professionals in other fields rather than their peers.

Personal and social factors may be more important the less economically developed and the less 'modernized' the country concerned. Kinship and communal ties may be more crucial to teachers
in countries where the impersonalizing forces of industrialization and bureaucratization have as yet failed to bite deeply.

Similarly we could suggest that the greater the degree of racial and cultural pluralism, the greater the reluctance of teachers to serve in schools remote from home.

Where professional factors are concerned, two alternative hypotheses suggest themselves. The first is that the greater the level of professional development of teachers, the less willing would they be to serve in remote rural schools - for opportunities for professional activity outside the classroom would be harder to come by and classroom aids more limited. Alternatively, the greater the level of professional development of teachers, the more willing they would be to accept the challenge of coping with conditions in remote rural schools. We shall come back to these points below.

IV. TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS

Common sense suggests that teachers' attitudes are influenced by the interplay between specific contextual variables and their own characteristics. It may well be that certain types of teacher are more willing than others to serve in remote rural areas. Surveys which investigate teachers' attitudes to rural teaching and correlate these with teacher characteristics will enable us to build up a series of profiles of teacher-types who may be most suited to rural teaching. Research in developed countries suggest that such teacher characteristics as age, sex, level of educational training, seniority, level of responsibility and attitudes towards teaching as a career are important variables. Other teacher characteristics which, conceivably, would be of relevance are marital status, number of children and other dependents, spouse's employment and the grade-levels taught.

Space does not allow a full analysis of all the possible scenarios here but in the light of the subsequent discussion it is useful at this point to dwell on the implications of teachers' attitudes towards teaching as a career for their propensity to be mobile. The model outline below was developed empirically in one particular context and needs testing in others. It provides, nevertheless, a useful starting point for further research.
The most mobile teachers are the GASers and the benefits-oriented teachers (GASing means 'getting the attention of superiors'). GASers tend to be males 'who seem to do just about anything to get out of the classroom', ambitious individuals who see classroom teaching as merely a step on the ladder to an administrative position; they are willing to take on extra-curricular tasks with a view to promotion. GASers are very mobile indeed until they reach a post of responsibility commensurate with their ambitions.

The benefits-oriented teachers are sometimes disappointed GASers; they are mainly interested in the benefits they receive from the system - such as vacations, short hours and opportunities to make extra income through moonlighting. Such teachers have some interest in their pupils, in teaching itself, and in career advancement. They are very mobile until they find a congenial post, but meanwhile they complain a great deal about salary, working conditions and other 'injustices'.

The less mobile are pupil- or subject-oriented teachers. The pupil-oriented teachers tend to be women who stay put: they are interested in the pupils and shun administrative and supervisory responsibilities. 'Dedicated' teachers centre their complaints on the conditions of work, like large classes and lack of materials, which adversely affect their pupils' opportunities. The subject-oriented teachers tend to teach at the high school and secondary level and many are natural scientists. Some leave teaching for other kinds of work or move into college-level teaching.

This sort of analysis indicates how crucial the relationship is between the motivations and career aspirations of teachers and the formal posting, transfer and promotion procedures in operation. Where the latter appear to thwart teachers' ambitions, informal procedures may subvert the formal system as teachers manoeuvre to attain their goals. There is, of course, no suggestion here that this particular typology of teacher-types would be applicable in all contexts. Rather the suggestion is that careful investigation of teachers' attitudes and behaviour with respect to their careers, as well as of their background characteristics, may prove useful predictors of their willingness to accept posts in schools in remote rural areas.
V. TEACHER TURNOVER.

We do not know at what point the comings and goings of teachers have significant effects on the schools, for the literature which exists is high on assertion but low on evidence. It is reasonable to assume, though, that a high rate of teacher turnover is destabilizing for schools.

A stable school staff may, of course, lead to a certain amount of stagnation, even conservatism, but the benefits of stability are, on the whole, likely to outweigh those of the variety created by a rapid turnover of teachers. Some of the possible effects on administration, school staffs, the community and the pupils may be briefly outlined.

Certainly, the higher the rate of teacher turnover, the more valuable time and effort must administrators and head teachers devote to the paper work and other tasks involved in transferring and appointing staff. The opportunity cost of this effort may be unacceptably high in systems where administrators are scarce and some of their important tasks have to be postponed or left undone.

In addition, it is likely that school staffs as a whole suffer in morale, cohesion and working practices when colleagues move on rapidly. Co-ordinating the curriculum becomes more difficult; establishing rapport with pupils is problematic; collegial relationships may be difficult to establish and maintain. High rates of teacher turnover in schools may well be associated with hierarchial and non-participatory styles of school management and with isolative teaching styles.

If local communities perceive that very few teachers are willing to stay and teach their children for any but the minimum amount of time, the potential for close and co-operative school-community links is likely to be low. In rural areas where schools are not highly valued anyway, the behaviour of the teachers may be critical in creating positive or negative school-community links. In areas where schools and their teachers are traditionally revered and respected, the unwillingness of teachers to remain in the community's school may be interpreted as rejection.

The community may become alienated, regarding
the teachers in general as uncommitted 'tourists', unsympathetic to rural life and culture. Teachers may be closely watched, every instance of absenteeism or unpunctuality noted and every moonlighter chastised. Teachers migrating to the city at weekends on holidays may be blamed for neglect, even though those who stay to participate in community affairs may be seen as interfering in matters which fall outside their proper duties as classroom teachers.

The most significant effects of a rapid rate of teacher turnover may, however, be on the pupils themselves. Common sense suggests a negative relationship of teacher turnover with pupils' achievement. It also suggests that the importance of the teacher per se would be greater in remote rural schools than in schools which can call on the support of a rich variety of educated people - as is the case in towns.

The comings and goings of teachers would also be more noticeable in scattered and small rural schools than in larger schools. In one- or two-teacher schools or in the lower grades of larger schools, where the teachers stay with pupils all day and throughout the school year, even sometimes moving up with them from year to year, the disruption to pupils caused by frequent changes of teacher would be considerable.

At higher grades the continuity of programmes leading to public examinations would be endangered. If teachers left their posts in the middle rather than at the end of the school year, the negative effects would be all the greater, especially if, as is likely in out-of-the-way places, replacement teachers could not immediately be found to fill the vacancies.

It is arguable that the emphasis on teacher turnover places unwarranted importance on the teachers' effects on pupils and that many other in-school and out-of-school variables must be taken into account as well. Certainly there is a complex inter-relationship between the teacher and all the other influences on pupils. In general, research findings in less-developed countries suggest that the support or lack of support which the out-of-school environment lends to the school is possibly as important as in-school factors in influencing pupils' achievement, especially in the earlier grades.
But we need to know much more about the kinds of support which are conducive to pupils' achievement and how schools can maximize community potential in this regard. Certainly one implication is that teachers must be motivated and able to enlist local support for schools in the interests of their pupils. As far as in-school factors are concerned, the research, such as it is, suggests that teachers are important influences on pupils. This, of course, is no more than what would be expected and a lot more needs to be known.

Research also concentrates on pupils' school achievement and neglects the affective outcomes of schooling, which are probably just as, if not more, important in remote rural areas where traditions of schooling are not firmly established and where spasmodic attendance and dropping out are commonplace occurrences.

There are a number of important and fairly well established research findings which suggest the importance of teacher quality for pupil achievement. The evidence suggests that pupils' achievement is positively associated with the teachers' cognitive ability. The training of teachers also seems to have a positive role to play in enhancing pupils' achievement, especially at higher grade teaching and for disadvantaged pupils. In addition, the length of experience of teachers tends to be positively associated with pupils' achievement, particularly for children in the lower grades.

From this sort of evidence, slim though it is, we can infer that pupils in remote rural schools are doubly disadvantaged. Not only do they often have problems in staffing their schools in the first place but also, as it appears, they tend to get the very teachers whose capacity to encourage their pupils to perform well in school is low - that is, the least able, least trained and often the youngest and least experienced teachers.

If teachers teach only very unwillingly in remote rural schools, it is probable that their attitudes to their pupils will be negative. Clearly, the more negative and neglectful the teachers the more likely it is that pupils will fail to achieve their potential. The research evidence on the relationships of teachers' attitudes to their pupils' achievement is not extensive, but the well-substantiated research which suggests that teachers' expectations of their pupils' performance affect that performance, has important implications here. If teachers from urban centres go to rural schools with preconceived notions about the low potential of their pupils, those children are likely to conform
to their teachers' expectations. When they perform badly in public examinations, the stereotypes and prejudices of teachers will receive confirmation. Furthermore, if teachers have low expectations of what they can do to improve the achievement of their rural pupils, it is likely that their own performance will be less than one hundred per cent. How we feel affects how we behave.

Research indicates that pupils' achievement is influenced by the amount of time teachers spend on professional activities outside the classroom, such as participation in curriculum development groups, lesson preparation and homework. If teachers lack the motivation to engage themselves fully, their pupils' achievement is likely to suffer.

VI. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The argument so far has been that schools in remote rural areas are likely to have particular disadvantages in attracting teachers: the rate of teacher turnover is likely to be high and the quality of the teachers low.

Thus, remote rural schools are heavily penalised in terms of the cost to administration, school-community relationships, the co-ordination and continuity of school programmes and, most importantly, negative effects on pupils' achievement and attitudes to school.

Policy-makers, as indicated earlier, are anxious to improve educational opportunities for pupils in rural schools and use a number of strategies to attract and retain teachers in remote rural areas. For analytical purposes contemporary approaches to the problems involved are described in terms of two competing sets of assumptions about the quality of life for teachers in remote rural areas. Finally, the policy implications are explored.
A. THE RURAL DEFICIT MODEL

According to what we shall term the rural deficit model, life in remote rural areas is nasty, brutish and short (especially for teachers): it is deficient in all the qualities which would attract teachers. When the problems of teacher recruitment are perceived from this perspective, two types of strategy follow naturally and sometimes are used to reinforce each other.

Compulsion

First, in order to staff remote rural schools at all, compulsory posting and transfer procedures are used. More often than not these require newly trained young teachers with little or no teaching experience to serve for a specified number of years in remote rural schools. As we have seen, such teachers are unlikely to be highly successful and for this reason alone may soon want to move on to other posts, having 'made their mistakes'. In addition, the bonding of teachers for one, two or three years may build into the system a high rate of teacher turnover; it implies that this is the maximum number of years that teachers should endure such schools and encourages them to seek early transfer.

A variant of this procedure is to require teachers to serve in rural schools at least once in their careers, or whenever called upon to do so. This system, in theory, permits the authorities the possibility of sending experienced teachers to rural areas. But in practice this may not happen, once all the legal exceptional cases have been allowed for and all the informal pressures from influential teachers have been accommodated. Even if the rules are rigorously enforced, teachers faced with the prospect of rural postings may resign from the profession when the time comes, thus exacerbating overall shortages.

The message relayed by such devices inevitably suggests that service in remote rural areas has to be enforced, otherwise no one would do it. Thus, young and inexperienced teachers must do a sort of penal servitude before their real professional lives begin, and those transferred to rural schools later in their careers see it as some sort of punishment or disgrace.

Incentives

The second type of strategy which follows from the rural deficit perspective aims to compensate the teachers for the hardships
they must endure in remote rural schools. Such devices are salary loadings, the provision of superior or subsidized accommodation, travel concessions, and medical and other subsidies. Associated devices include favourable opportunities for study leave, earlier long-service leave and possible accelerated promotion. If used instead of compulsory posting and transfer procedures, the incentives need to be very strong if they are to attract teachers; if used alongside compulsory posting and transfer procedures, such devices are pill-sweeteners.

Strategies associated with the rural deficit model may be successful as short-term devices in the sense that they induce some teachers to fill vacancies in rural schools and perhaps to stay in them longer than they might have done. But in the longer term they do not ensure the sustained energies of a committed and fairly stable teaching staff, which, it is argued, rural schools need if they are to serve their pupils well.

B. THE RURAL CHALLENGE MODEL

It was suggested earlier that teachers may be reluctant to serve in remote rural schools because they fear professional impoverishment and the lack of job satisfaction. In terms of facilities, classroom materials, professional activities and the potential of their pupils, teachers often reason that urban schools are superior to rural ones. The perspective offered by what we shall term the rural challenge model directly attacks this assumption. It suggests that for the teacher who is able to cope, the special qualities of the job in rural schools provides an intrinsic professional challenge and interest.

If, as this model implies, the teachers have the skills to get their pupils to learn, if they have supportive and rewarding relationships with local people, and if they have the facilities to enrich their classroom teaching, then they will not apply for transfer at the earliest opportunity.
Strategies associated with the rural challenge model are based on the assumption that teachers should be encouraged to see teaching in rural schools as a career-long prospect, that such a career should have just as much chance of professional recognition as teaching in urban schools, and that posting or transfer to rural schools is more a privilege than a duty. Such strategies focus less on compulsion and incentives and more on education and training:

Teacher education is geared towards helping students attain the personal maturity and self-reliance necessary to accept the challenge of living in remote rural areas. Training assists with the developing of teaching methods appropriate to rural pupils and with ways of forging positive relationships with the communities in which they are working. Much of the training has to be specific preparation for teachers' actual situations and implies support from local level trainers, administrators and community members at both the pre-service and in-service levels.

While the main focus of the rural challenge model is on the education and training of the teachers, other strategies are vital complements to this.

Teachers would be attracted to serving in remote areas for professional reasons if they knew that the authorities discriminated positively in favour of rural schools in terms of the improvement of school buildings and amenities, the supply of classroom materials, school transport for field trips and educational visits, ancillary helpers and resource centres.

Other professional 'incentives' are the provision of distance study facilities, subsidized membership of teachers' subject associations and subsidized opportunities to participate in curriculum development activities.

In addition, and very important indeed, the model assumes that career opportunities for teachers who opt to work in remote rural schools are as good as for other teachers, if not better.
This means that additional posts of responsibility are built into the structure of rural school systems so that teachers who wish to remain in rural posts do so without detriment to their promotion prospects. The posts of responsibility include not only administrative posts but those which enable the classroom teacher or the teacher with a special curriculum expertise to extend and develop that expertise in the classroom. Other senior specialist posts are concerned with the demanding pastoral and community responsibilities of teachers in rural areas.

In contrast to the rural deficit model, the rural challenge perspective presupposes that rural life is worth living and that teachers can gain intrinsic satisfaction and advance their careers deep in the bush or beyond the end of the railway line. The model aims to attract and retain teachers in remote rural areas. The kinds of 'incentive' which the model suggests are consistent with the policies of most national governments geared towards rural transformation, for they improve the conditions of teaching at the same time as they improve the conditions of learning for rural children.

There is no suggestion here that the sorts of strategies associated with the rural deficit model are exclusive of those implied by the rural challenge model. Doubtless in any specific context a mix of economic and professional incentives may be needed to staff rural schools adequately.

The danger is that in the interests of short-term expediency when vacancies have to be filled, rural deficit strategies may be used at the expense of longer term ones aimed at the transformation of disadvantaged rural schools. One obvious constraint on the development of rural challenge strategies is that it is costly to provide intensive and context-specific preparation for teachers, and especially so if the provision of support services is taken seriously. The model assumes that governments have the political will to divert resources into long-term rural development - and into rural education in particular. Furthermore, it suggests that teaching in remote rural schools can provide a worthwhile career if teachers are adequately prepared and supported. The rural deficit model on the other hand presupposes that any discriminating and worthwhile teacher will aim eventually, probably sooner rather than later, to move away from the rural area; a career in teaching must move upwards by moving outwards, away from the rural classroom towards the urban headship or education office.
C. MATCHING TEACHERS TO APPROPRIATE SCHOOLS

It has been proposed above that the motivations and interests of teachers should be taken into account by those responsible for posting and transfer. The two models outlined enable us to predict, ceteris paribus, how teachers of different 'types' are likely to respond to the different strategies implied by the models.

Table 1 indicates that compulsory posting and transfer are likely to have little effect on the retention of teachers of whatever type unless the conditions for them to fulfil their respective ambitions and interests are present in the schools to which they are sent. THE IMPLICATION FOR POLICY IS THAT WHERE COMPULSION IS USED, IT SHOULD BE COMBINED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE WITH A MATCHING OF TEACHERS TO THE KIND OF SCHOOLS AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS WHICH THEY FIND ATTRACTIVE.

Table 1. The Likely Impact of Various Strategies on Teacher Turnover in Remote Rural Areas

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<td>Compulsion</td>
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<td>Subject-oriented</td>
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|                  | Immaterial to turnover         | Immaterial to turnover           |
|                  | Immaterial to turnover         | Immaterial to turnover           |
The table also indicates that teachers will respond best to the types of incentive which match their interests and motivations. GASers, for instance, may enjoy certain monetary benefits while in rural schools but this consideration will not affect their decision to request transfer if promotion to administrative posts is impossible without a move. Benefits-oriented teachers will respond positively to incentives which enhance their conditions of service but not necessarily to ones which improve classroom facilities, while pupil-oriented teachers may not 'need' fringe benefits to stay in their posts as long as they gain job satisfaction and are assured of security of tenure in classroom posts. **THE IMPLICATION FOR POLICY IS THAT THE TYPES OF INCENTIVES ASSOCIATED WITH THE RURAL DEFICIT MODEL SHOULD NOT BE APPLIED IN A BLANKET FASHION BUT ACCORDING TO THE TYPES OF TEACHER WHICH THEY ARE INTENDED TO ATTRACT AND RETAIN IN RURAL SCHOOLS:**

As Table 1 shows, the strategies of teacher preparation and support associated with the rural challenge model are unlikely to influence GASers and benefits-oriented teachers to stay in disadvantaged rural schools. On the other hand, pupil- and subject-oriented teachers are likely to be attracted and retained in rural schools given appropriate preparation and support. But these factors on their own are probably insufficient. In addition, such teachers must see opportunities to gain recognition and promotion in respect of classroom teaching at whatever grades they teach. **THE POLICY IMPLICATION HERE IS THAT RESOURCES AND RESEARCH MUST BE DIVERTED INTO PREPARATION AND SUPPORT FOR TEACHERS IN RURAL SCHOOLS AND THAT THE CAREER STRUCTURE IN RURAL AREAS MUST BE SUFFICIENTLY DIVERSIFIED TO CATER FOR THE AMBITIONS OF ALL TYPES OF TEACHER.**

The problems of selecting for teaching candidates with potential are well recognized even in countries which can afford to pick and chose. 12

*Countries with acute shortages of teachers have to accept all who offer themselves with qualifications at a suitable level, irrespective of the applicants' long-term potential. The emphasis must therefore be on the sound and appropriate preparation and support of teacher trainees. Thereafter, the careful monitoring of teachers' attitudes and behaviour with respect to their profession in the early and formative years of their careers may enable the authorities to match the teachers to the most appropriate vacancies with some success.*
While care would have to be exercised not to stereotype individual teachers as certain 'types', profiles of teachers could be built up. If the teachers understood that these were to help match their interests and ambitions to the available vacancies in schools, it is likely that they would co-operate in compiling them.

Of course, the matter would need very careful handling, for nothing would be more destructive of teacher morale and the growth of professionalism than the idea that 'secret files' were being kept and used as instruments of control. On the other hand, open files of teachers describing the development of their career interests and orientation at regular intervals would facilitate the sensitive and selective use of various devices to attract and retain teachers in remote rural posts - or in any other posts with 'special needs', for that matter. The spin-off for individual teachers in being encouraged to think about their future career development could be considerable. Such staff development activity would more than pay for the cost of administrative time involved.

D. TEACHER PREPARATION AND SUPPORT

In the context of the rural challenge model, certain strategies for teacher preparation and support are briefly outlined below as having potential for improving teacher quality and retention in remote rural schools.

The debate about what sort of preparation teachers need for rural schools is by no means a recent one, nor has it been confined to less-developed countries. But the issues remain remarkably constant and tend to focus around three groups of questions.

The FIRST GROUP QUERY the extent to which the roles and tasks of teachers differ according to whether they work in urban or remote rural schools. Relevant to this are further questions about how far and in what ways teachers' classroom tasks are affected by, say, multi- or single-grade classes or one- or many-teacher schools. A further issue is whether the extent and nature of teachers' duties in local communities differ in urban and rural areas.

The SECOND GROUP OF QUESTIONS concern the extent to which pupils in urban and rural schools have similar opportunities
for school learning and achievement - how far the out-of-school environment encourages or hinders school learning, and what teachers need to do to maximize in-school and environmental conditions for their pupils' learning. In addition, there is the question of whether pupils in urban and rural schools have or should have the same learning needs - how far, for example, the curriculum should be ruralized or vocationalized to cater for the occupational opportunities of the local area, and how far it should seek to widen the range of opportunities open to pupils. To what extent, therefore, do teachers need to acquire specific pre-vocational skills or even specialized vocational ones, and how far do they need generalizable skills for imparting a basic education to all children?

The THIRD GROUP OF QUESTIONS concern whether and to what extent the training of teachers should be specific to the context in which they may expect to teach in the near future or general enough to serve as a basis for functioning well in different contexts throughout their careers. The teaching of specific skills is less problematic than how to impart flexibility, versatility and adaptability. The debate is rarely couched in terms of training generalists and specialists. Rather it is formulated in terms of the need to give all teachers a basic education and training befitting a national teaching profession, while at the same time allowing for further training at later stages in their careers whenever teachers are in need of specialist knowledge and skills. For less-developed countries, the questions still remain whether young teachers need a specialist orientation towards rural schooling from the very beginning (since the majority of them will find themselves teaching in rural areas for a good part of their careers) and exactly what this orientation should consist of.

All over the world innovations are occurring in the training, education and support of teachers to meet the rural challenge, but descriptions of these experiments are uneven in depth and quality. They are also scattered among official papers, professional magazines and academic journals. One aim of the current research is the collection and analysis of case-study material from which lessons may be learned. To date, four related strategies of potential worth have been identified. These are the use of field-based training,
teamwork in the training and support of teachers, involvement of the local community and recruitment of local teachers and teachers' aides for local schools. Emphasis is given to innovations in less-developed countries where low-cost experiments are a necessity, though the literature on developed countries is far more extensive.13

E. FIELD-BASED PREPARATION AND TEAMWORK

Field-based preparation and teamwork are discussed together since the first involves the second if it is to be successful. Familiarization and the development of an affinity with the rural community and environment is increasingly seen as an essential part of teacher preparation. Schemes incorporating this range from short orientation programmes to college- or school-based training in rural areas. They cater also for pre-service and in-service needs.

In 1974, Tanzania made 1980 the year by which universal primary education (UPE) would be achieved.14 The annual output of teachers from the colleges was too small to meet the need for nearly twenty-eight thousand extra teachers, and the training programme itself was not geared to the rural context in which UPE would take place. In 1975, an imaginative new type of training was introduced which succeeded in manning all the extra classrooms and in orienting the training programme towards the needs of rural communities. Local people between the ages of seventeen and twenty-eight years with at least seven years' schooling were selected, once they had passed a character test conducted by community leaders and an academic test conducted by the Ministry of Education. They had three years on-the-job training in their own localities. For fifteen hours each week they taught in school under the supervision of class teachers and the other fifteen hours of their working time was devoted to study. This was facilitated partly through radio and correspondence courses run by various branches of the Ministry of Education and partly by face-to-face contact with local inspectors, itinerant teacher trainers and village tutors, most of
whom were ex-teachers. The latter met trainees in a centre twice a week, the others less frequently. Training colleges ran a number of short residential courses and a six-week programme just prior to the final examination. Local communities helped to supplement the trainees' small stipend with free housing and some provisions.

The scheme largely achieved its quantitative targets, though its qualitative worth is only currently being assessed. Certainly, trainees initially found local resistance from parents accustomed to conventionally-trained teachers. The scheme is nevertheless thought useful enough by the authorities for features of it to be incorporated into conventional training programmes. It exemplifies a field-based programme, manageable only through co-ordinated teamwork at central and local levels.

A number of projects recognize the crucial importance of the 'mobile' tutors in school-based training. The Nigerian Primary Education Improvement Project, begun in 1969, was an ambitious example. The scheme was initially devised to aid implementation of the new curriculum in the Northern States. It was an in-service programme giving close support and guidance to teachers in devising classroom materials and teaching the new curriculum. Mobile teacher trainers, based on teachers' colleges which acted as centres for the project, worked mainly in the sixty-six project schools. There they helped teachers individually and in groups to apply the lessons they learned in courses specially arranged to help them cope with the new materials. The mobile teacher trainers themselves were guided by the Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in a series of courses and workshops.

The project was an example of the way in which centralized initiative (often the only practicable one) can gradually be devolved and modified to suit local conditions while retaining its fundamental character. It provided a good example of working partnership between a University Institute of Education, Ministries of Education and an international agency.15
F. COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

In less-developed countries the involvement and co-operation of the local community in teacher preparation has been a major theme in policy if not in practice. Two projects (apart from the Tanzanian example described above) which put the principles into practice are the IPAR project in Eastern Cameroon and the Bunumbu Project in Sierra Leone.

The IPAR ("Institut de pédagogie appliquée à vocation rurale") is described in detail elsewhere. It was a large-scale attempt to improve the efficiency and appropriateness of primary schooling through revised curricula and teacher training. A new concept of the "instituteur-animateurs" or community teachers intended them to work in and with the rural community for its economic and educational development. The "Institut" held pre-service and in-service training for teachers, produced new materials for both serving and trainee teachers to use, and gave direction to the project.

The Bunumbu Teachers' College in the Eastern Region of Sierra Leone launched its innovative scheme for community education in 1974. The main change of direction from the conventional teacher training college pattern was its revision of the curriculum so that trainees would be equipped to teach children and adults.

These community teachers would spend two-thirds of their time teaching children and one-third teaching adults. But the teaching would not be a one way process. Integral to the scheme was the idea that people in the rural communities had useful knowledge and skills which they could pass on to others for community development. Thus, local craftsmen, farmers, parents and extension officers became teachers - of fellow members of the community and of the trainees with whom they worked co-operatively. The college itself was opened out as an education centre running a co-operative farm and producing curricular materials suitable for local use. A number of schools were linked to the college as community centres. Adult facilities were added to them so that they could serve as mobilizers of the educative resources of the
community. An important element in this scheme was the teamwork of the college and adult education personnel who, while remaining distinct, worked co-operatively to provide an integrated educational service for children and adults.

G. LOCAL RECRUITMENT

The far north of Canada has been the focus of various projects aimed at equalizing educational opportunities for the young people of this remote region.

In the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project (BUNTEP), 'a major policy consideration...has been to recruit students from the community involved. Partly this is in support of the notion of a community project but also housing is in extremely short supply in the rural communities of northern Manitoba'. Selection of recruits is a collegial affair but community representatives have a casting vote. Ability to do university work, personality traits, and the ability to communicate are taken into consideration. However, the major question that the committee asks is, 'Is this the kind of person we want to teach the youngsters of our community?' Trainees are mainly women. A significant number do not have high school education. On the whole, co-operating teachers have good relationships with trainees. Interestingly, there appears to be a strong connection between the degree of community involvement and support for the project and the personal growth of trainees. The reports on the BUNTEP project are worth detailed examination as an example of a large, complex (but costly) project which incorporates all the features identified here as important to the success of teacher preparation programmes in remote rural areas.

The Australian Aboriginal and Islander Teacher Aide In-Service Programme has over the last few years developed a scheme for training teachers' aides who come from the aboriginal communities in which they work. It was hoped that the use of aides would help to reduce the instability of staffing in schools where the annual turnover was between 70 and 80 per cent. There were already small cores of aboriginal aides who had been working in their local schools longer than any other members of staff.
Some of these long serving aides who had worked during the mission era, had carried considerable responsibilities within the schools and in many respects were very experienced members of staff. Furthermore, all aides had a far better understanding of the cultural and family background of their students than teachers and spoke the children's language fluently or could communicate effectively. The aides also revealed a significant understanding of the teachers' culture and background. It was factors such as these which made those involved in this in-service project re-examine the role of the aides and question whether emphasis should be changed sufficiently to enable aides to play a much more central part in schools. For example, could aides be used to create programmes and materials much more responsive to existing community life? Or could aides play a more significant role in helping new staff adjust and come to grips with the new cultural setting?

Most aides were not able to cope with conventional teacher training programmes because of their considerable academic limitations. A special approach was devised which was non-formal (not requiring literacy, etc.), drew on familiar aspects of daily life and culture, challenged aides to achieve tangible goals which they, the teachers and the community held in high regard and was short and intensive, creating as little disturbance to daily school routines as possible.

A scheme which shares some of the features of the Australian one was begun in 1975 as an experiment in providing low cost basic education for village children in Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a very poor, Muslim, rural country, and enrolment in schools is very low. Communications are often not good enough to enable very small children to attend distant primary schools easily. The Universal Primary Education Project was initiated by a multi-purpose co-operative, the "Meher Panchagram Shamabay".

In Panchagram, as in all rural areas, only thirty per cent of the girls ever enrolled in school and about eighty per cent of the boys. There was a very high drop out rate and for every
hundred who might enrol only 10 or 12 would be in the system five years later. Moreover, the local primary school could not have provided seats for all the students...Four feeder schools were built by the local community on land donated by the people. Eight women teachers and four ayahs were engaged from the local community to run the schools...The innovative features were community involvement, local donation of land, materials and labour, local untrained women as teachers, the provision of free books and other necessary equipment, annual medical inspection and provision of free medicines...There was a demand from the rest of the union for the project...A special feature of the extended area was lower salaries for less qualified personnel. Women were always given preference for appointment. At this stage almost 100 per cent of the children...were enrolled in school. Many who had never enrolled went to the feeder schools. Many drop-outs returned to school and numerous under-fives enrolled as well. Gradually in-service teacher training was established. The feeder schools open only 5 days a week. Teachers go to the project office twice a month on Saturdays for training...The feeder schools have helped to change the social outlook. When everybody is sending their daughters to school it is no longer a shame to do so. When so many women are working outside their homes as teachers and ayahs it no longer appears to matter that girls go to school...Even those few families who do object to their daughters going to the local primary school, have no objection to their continued attendance at the feeder schools.20

The Compensatory Education Project in Malaysia is also currently involved in improving educational opportunities for the children on rubber estates and paddy farms in less-developed rural areas.21 This is a scheme run by the Ministry of Agriculture and involving the Curriculum Development Centre of the Ministry of Education, alongside various voluntary agencies. There are three main facets to the scheme. One concerns experiments in helping primary school children overcome learning problems and is not of direct interest here. The other two components aim to develop pre-school centres in rural communities to involve parents in the
education of their children whose opportunity to do well in school is hereby maximized. The project is experimental and currently on a fairly modest scale. It makes use of that fact that rural parents, especially mothers, often have time on their hands after agricultural work is done. It has uncovered a high level of interest among parents in trying to help in their children's education, but they lack knowledge and confidence. In the early stages of the project, the project officers and field staff held seminars of an exploratory nature with "kampung" (village) parents. Various workshops and activities were attempted, but only when community facilities were found which were within easy reach of people's homes did these become regular features of the project. Primary school teachers helped to run workshops for parents. Mothers learned to make simple learning materials and were encouraged to take them home. Later, when regular teachers found the work too much, pre-school teachers were brought in specially. A hallmark of the scheme has been its flexibility and responsiveness to the emerging needs of the parents as they train themselves to educate their children.

VII. CONCLUSION

The above discussion is necessarily brief and selective. It fails to do justice to the richness and variety of schemes for teacher preparation for remote rural schools. It may also be argued that the strategies selected as useful for development in these situations are equally applicable for schools anywhere.

The point is, however, that such strategies are essential prerequisites in remote rural areas in a way that they are not in more accessible areas. Common sense and experience do suggest that the strategies are worth developing. At the same time they need to be monitored to ascertain when kinds of field-based experience, teamwork, community involvement and participation add up to a helpful training for the student and also, of course, what problems are involved.
Field-based experience and training is especially valuable for remote rural schools simply because they are remote: from the teachers' point of view, the remoteness is strange and threatening. The familiarity which comes from field-based training is intended to breed (not contempt, but) reassurance, confidence, involvement and the motivation to succeed in that environment.

Teamwork is particularly important in remote rural schools. Traditional college-based teacher training involves school teachers, administrators and the community only marginally in the training process.

Field-based preparation for teachers revolutionizes these relationships, for when the school becomes the centre, teamwork involving all who work in or on behalf of the school becomes essential to the coherence, meaning and efficiency of the programme. This is especially so in remote rural areas where a network of people must be collectively responsible for maintaining the programme, for the presence of college superiors can be only intermittent and is often infrequent. Thus, teamwork between those in the schools and college-based trainers is essential.

Community participation in training is especially significant in remote rural areas if we assume that participation brings with it a sense of involvement, or responsibility and 'ownership'. Schools are often perceived as alien implants on local culture or simply irrelevant to the lives of local people. Community involvement in teacher recruitment and preparation may improve this situation, educating the community about its schools and increasing the relevance of the curriculum which the schools offer local children.

Lastly, with respect to the recruitment of local teachers and aides for schools in remote rural areas, provided recruitment is not exclusively local so that parochialism is avoided, such a strategy can encourage community involvement in schools. In remote rural schools the pupils are likely to be from cultural, ethnic or racial minorities with a distinct way of life and, by virtue of their situation, out of the mainstream of social, political and economic affairs.
Locally recruited teachers have a special role as mediators between the mainstream culture of the school (as represented by non-local teachers and the nationally-prescribed curriculum) and the local culture of the pupils. They can increase communication and understanding between their pupils and non-local teachers and between school and community. In addition, in economically disadvantaged areas, teaching can provide valuable modern sector jobs for young people, which may encourage them to remain and play a vital part in their communities. In this way, local recruitment for teachers is a policy which allows the community to have a very substantial stake in the future of its own schools.

One further useful outcome of conceptualizing teacher preparation and support in these ways is that it blurs the distinction between pre-service and in-service training and between the training, education and continuing support of teachers. For once teacher preparation is based on the school and the locality, all involved—teachers, teacher trainers, students, community and administrators—begin learning from each other. Teacher training and education become a lifelong process.22
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