Perspectives of Professional Development for Primary School Teachers in Madagascar.

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ABSTRACT:

The inventory of fixtures about the professional development of teachers will be dealt with in a few pages. A historical glance will enlighten the current context of the job of a teacher and her/his development. Then, the lined perspectives and the opportunities offered by the EFA plan will be discussed. We are talking about perspectives because it is a project, actually launched but suspended. Finally, we will see the issues around its implementation and the question which arises due to the democratic break and the crisis that follows. As the Malagasy educational system is largely inclined to be a French system, the same organisation of teacher training is found in Madagascar. It is after the year 1972 that this choice was questioned: the nation wanted to decolonize, democratize and malgachize the educational system. Nowadays, the main concern has changed; the school has developed in its size, mission and needs. The in-service training is unavoidable to make up for the lack of teachers due to the swelling of the school students using the perspective drafted.

1. INTRODUCTION

Saying that the quality of teachers and their know-how brings the efficiency of a school is asserting evidence. Schools with bad teachers will not play their role, and would even be a danger for future generations. However, teacher training is very costly and requires a long time, a correct estimate, a minimum of continuity and stability.

At the outset of the third millennium, the Malagasy education system experiences deep turmoil due to the adhesion to the Education For All (EFA) and the adoption of the Madagascar Action Plan (MAP), the President Marc RAVALOMANANA's programme for the Millennium Development Objectives (MDO). The result is the booming of student numbers, particularly in primary schools, a new policy and new priorities, a reform of the structure and pedagogical innovations. These changes suddenly came out without any new classrooms or new teacher provision. But this time, the means are found and available. These unexpected upheavals are recurrent in the history of education in Madagascar every time there is a change of political system. Actually, during the fifty years of independence, schools have been the centre of political issues and campaign promises.

In these few pages, I am going to talk about the current situation of professional development for teachers. A historical perspective will make clear the current situation of the profession of teacher and her/his development. Then the outlined scope and the opportunities shown in the EFA will be discussed. As it is a project, we will talk about perspectives, effectively launched but suspended. Finally, the implementation and the questions put forward due to the democratic break and the resulting crisis will be addressed.

2. PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS, THEIR EVOLUTION AND THEIR TRAINING

The first schools in Antananarivo were created in 1820 by missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS). At the end of the royal period, there were 120,000 students in the kingdom and half of them in Imerina. They all went to denominational schools divided into Catholic (28,000), Norwegian (37,000) and British (55,000) missions. About 3,000 teachers were trained on site, and most of the time trying to combine the training with the pastoral work. They were paid by the parents and the congregations, often in rice. Schools were denominational, paying and compulsory.

2.1 Teachers of the colonial period and their training (1896 – 1960)

Indigenous instruction experienced a first upheaval at the beginning of the period of the colonization. The schools status changed, they became state schools and non denominational one; its purpose was to serve the colonization; French was legally imposed as a teaching language; and the teachers were not trained for all these. The colony wanted to train its own "elite". Experiences were shared: the Ministry of Colonies was there for that. Thus, during the first months of the colonization, the school *Le Myre de Vilers* was created, an equivalent of the *William Ponty* in Dakar. The history and the trends of their former students are the evidence of their efficiency, considering the missions they were assigned.

The first measures taken by General Gallieni, General Governor of the colony, were to set a French instruction based on language learning, the opening of state schools, and engaging soldiers if teachers were lacking! Three levels of instruction were created: first degree for rural schools, second degree for regional industry and agriculture schools, and third degree for higher schools. The choice of the subjects is not innocent: at the end of their studies, students will possess a rudiment of French language to be able to communicate with the new administration, some competences necessary to receive orders, but not general knowledge which would enable them to think which would create frustrations and "indigenous" revolt!

One of the first preoccupations of the Colonial Administration was to find teachers, so as to annihilate the important influence of the missionaries. Gallieni, as the pacification advanced, decentralized the creation of Normal Schools set up with some difficulties in every circumscription: Analalava, Fianarantsoa, Mahanoro and Antananarivo. The motto was the "policy of races", which means "to train civil servants from coast regions to counterbalance the massive presence of the former teachers of the country, the Merina" (You 1931 p224).

The successor of Gallieni, the General Governor Augagneur dissolved the Regional Training

Schools and centralized the training of teachers in a unique institution, the *Le Myre de Vilers* school in Antananarivo. This decision is explained by the desire to stimulate the competition between races; and this grouping facilitated many things: less cost of training, easy control, documentation and stimulation of the trainees. And to reduce the cost, mostly all the civil servants were trained at *Le Myre de Vilers* School: apart from the Normal Section, there was an Administrative and Railway Section, Post and Telecommunication Section, Topographical Section, Public Works and Medical Sections. The length of the studies kept changing until the year 1930 when it was fixed at two years for all sections, expect in the medical field, which lasted for 3 years (You.1931.pp.235-236).

The teacher trainees were recruited among those who held the Second Degree Certificate (CESD). For the first time, the competition was saved for the students from Regional Schools with regional contingents, assimilated to racial policy; nowadays the expression "positive discrimination" would be used. This principle was maintained during the First Republic (1960-1972).

The teacher trainee got a scholarship and must follow the boarding school regime and have an outfit of clothes and things necessary for a future civil servant. The administration takes everything in charge; school things, books....The trainee must commit her/himself to work for the Colonial Administration for ten years. This system allows the emergence of children from modest families. The competition from the regional schools gives access to honoured, prestigious and those considered professional to farmers' children from remote villages.

It is true that the regime of a boarding school allows for the stifling of personalities, but cohabitation in a microcosm of young people from different regions of the island ties friendship, builds individualities and sets complicities. It is the boarding school *Le Myre de Vilers* that constituted the body of the Social Democrat Party of the first President, Philibert Tsiranana. However, some works, not always well-documented, reproached the Normal School *Le Myre de Vilers* to have made obedient servants who lost their initiatives. What must be retained is the parallel that trainers made with Normal Schools in the Metropolis. The director, the personnel and later the teachers are all French civil servants and not soldiers like Gallieni. The training of a teacher from the school *Le Myre de Vilers* or *William Ponty* is not very different from those from the Metropolis. The teaching is done in French. The subjects for the future teachers are composed of the classical basics which have added to their school organization and practical pedagogy. The follow up of teachers is assigned to inspectors of primary schools and it consists in controlling the norms application rather than counselling. The working condition of a teacher does not allow innovations.

2.2 Teacher training during the First Republic (1960-1974)

Being a former student of the school *Le Myre de Vilers*, the President, Philibert Tsiranana considered instruction as his priority. During the first tenure when the Republic benefited the rest of the FIDES (French Fund for Development), the efforts were focused on the "*Cours Complémentaires*" (JSE) which was changed into "*Collèges d'Enseignement Général*" (CEG),

secondary schools and then onward to "lycées" (SSE). During the second tenure, the efforts were focused on the rural schools, frequently in the frame of "travaux au ras du sol" (local based works). These reforms, often done disorderly because being pushed by the demographic outburst, had as an effect the breaking up of the teacher's staff.

During the first years of independence, each province had a normal school which trained entitled teachers with the *Brevet Elémentaire* (BE equivalent of O level) and the CAE (Certificate for Pedagogical Aptitude). Admission was done at the end of primary school. The first six of the competition are received at the *Ecole Normale des Instituteurs et Institutrices* in Antananarivo. Following the boarding school regime, the normal colleges prepared the students for the Brevet. The professional training lasted one year to obtain the CAE.

The great demand for teachers caused the large recruitment of contractors through the creation of the "Centres Pédagogiques du Premier Cycle" (CP1C): training centres that train teachers devoted to spend the first three years in primary schools in rural areas. The required level for the recruitment is the first two years of a college; actually they are mostly students who failed the final exam of the college. The training lasted for 9 months. Those contractors are the least qualified among the teacher staff. Not having the status of civil servants, they still have the opportunity to enter it by passing the CAE as autodidacts or by attending private courses given by Primary School Inspectors.

The creation of CP1C had the effect of dismantling the teachers staff: the "colleges normaux" (training colleges) become "Centres Pédagogiques du second cycle" (CP2C); training was extended to 2 years; trainees are recruited among those holding the BEPC (Certificate for completion of college) aiming at the obtainment of the CAE after two years of training. They are supposed to work in Primary Schools. They mostly composed the teachers' group. The Normal School system of training, which is generalist and professional, begins to be given up as it is too long and costly.

At the outset of the Independence, the *Le Myre de Vilers* School changed its name and became the *Ecole Normale des Instituteurs*. Later on, one Training School, which was meant for female teachers, was created in Avaradrova. The boarding school systems, as well as the provincial quota system were maintained as is the province quotas (12 for each province in each batch). The two *Ecoles Normales d'Instituteurs et Institutrices* train:

- Teachers holding the BE or BEPC and the CAE (for example, the case of the training college).
- Teachers holding the baccalauréat and the *Certificat de Fin d'Etudes Normales* (CFEN). Considered as the elite of teachers, they are recruited from among BEPC holders. The training college prepares them to obtain the baccalauréat during two years of professional training, the first year for the obtainment of the CFEN and the second, on site, in a college or in the second cycle of primary school to obtain the *Certificat d' Aptitude Pédagogique pour l'Enseignement Primaire*. But with the increase of *collèges*, they are sent to the secondary school (Razafimbelo, 2004).

The idea of the reinforcement of competences of in- service teachers appeared at the *Institut National de Recherche et de Formation Pédagogiques* (INSRFP) which was created in 1966 with the help of the UNESCO, aiming at helping teachers and stimulating them to innovate their practice, particularly the *instituteurs* (primary school teachers). "Pedagogical counsellors" are also trained, a different corps from inspectors. At the same time the INSRFP designed pedagogical tools. The architecture of the building was designed for the pedagogical innovation. It offers four types of training:

- Training of pedagogical counsellors for primary schools who will be future trainers in CP2C and CP1C, above their duty of pedagogical counsellors. Their training lasts 3 years, on site training included.
- Training for JSE teachers. They obtain the CAP/CEG.
- Training of inspectors for Primary Schools
- Training of "professeurs certifiés", for SSE teachers.

The breaking up of teachers into many categories stimulates a climate of emulation among teachers. The access to professional diplomas is open and allowed emulation, but no institutionalized in-service training is organized. Candidates to CAE and CAP are all exceptional autodidacts.

The First Republic invested a lot in the education system and set the goal of bringing the country to development through schools. It was strongly helped by the French Cooperation which shared the curriculum, gave the books, and supported coaching and training of trainers. But, the irony of fate, the First Republic fell with its own success, because of the demonstration of students who claimed a deep reform of the system in 1972.

2.3 The school of the National Democratic Revolution

Didier Ratsiraka launched the National Democratic Revolution and inspired from the students' movement in May 1972, he decolonize, democratize and malgachize the Education System. To democratize means to give the same opportunity for all Malagasy children to have access to knowledge. Malgachize means to adapt the content of the knowledge taught to the Malagasy realities. In the Revolution Chart (Ratsiraka.1975), Didier Ratsiraka promised a primary school for each *fokontany* (village), a college for each *firaisampokotany* (equivalent of a canton), and a *lycée* for each *fivondronampokotany* (district). But the Revolution, with its weak means, could not fund such a project. The revolutionary authority let the decentralized communities to take initiatives. According to their own means, the rural communities launched out school buildings with more or less success, as well as claiming for teachers. To satisfy that need, the National Military Service camp was institutionalized. Starting from the year 1977, every student, male or female, who got their *baccalauréat*, had to serve the Nation and teach in Primary Schools or *Collèges* for two years. Quantitatively speaking, the result was satisfying but unfortunately with a poor quality.

The Primary Schools changed and once more, gave up French as a teaching language. The initiative was a good thing and the results were promising but the means was very low and the

coaching less satisfactory. The malgachization policy faced the hostility of private schools, mostly the catholic ones. Many powerful detractors took advantage of the mistakes of the regime to sacrifice a whole generation with malgachization.

Concerning the training of teachers, the creations of the First Republic were abandoned: CP1C, CP2C, *Ecole Normale des Instituteurs, Institut Pédagogique*. The law for Education System of the Revolutionary Republic was passed in 1978; it was a system composed of three levels. The level 1 (5 years) corresponds to primary education, the level 2 (4 years) for the colleges and the level 3 (3 years) for the *lycées*.

At the beginning of the 1985 school year, the politics weakened. The authority started to be more attentive to denominational schools shifting to reform the content of the studies. At the end of the 1980s, Didier Ratsiraka negotiated a new orientation of the education system, and accepted the recommendations of the Structural Adjustment Programme on the necessity to freeze the recruitment of new civil servants. Thus, he could manage to get the funding from the World Bank for education (CRESED I *Crédit de Renforcement du Système Educatif*, phase 1) in 1990. This funding covers the adjusting of the syllabus, the designing and development of the curriculum and the in-service training of the teachers aiming at a new pedagogical approach.

A new turmoil in the education system was expected. Under the pressure of a popular demonstration starting in 1991, Didier Ratsiraka was obliged to change the Constitution, and lost the election in 1993 which found the election of Albert Zafy as the first President of the Third Republic (Razafimbelo, C. 1999).

2.4 Pre-service and in-service training during the Third Republic (1993-2002)

The political choices about education during Albert Zafy's regime are characterized by the will to reject the whole orientation of the previous regime. Inscriptions in Malagasy are changed on the gate of the schools and the French denominations such as EPP, CEG and *lycée* are back. The CRESED I programme was suspended for a moment until the year 1994. The freezing of recruitment was maintained and the in-service training was launched. The reason was to reinforce the competence of teachers who used to work with the malgachization, and now have to teach again in French. With the support of the PRESEM, a program of French Cooperation, experimental teachings were organized. Although talked about, concrete actions only started in the end of 1980s with the CRESED2 when Didier Ratsiraka came back to the presidency of the Republic.

A study of the education situation in Madagascar realized both by the Malagasy Government and the World Bank, finalized in 2001(Banque Mondiale,2002), gave the detail of the diagnosis of the system as a whole, identifying the main obstacles that slowed down the development of education and showing the main challenges that the system has to face. This study is followed by others; strategic studies and sideline studies to sort out a Strategic Plan for the Reform and the Development of Educational System in 2003.

Madagascar totally engaged itself in the designing and the implementation of the Plan to reach the global objectives concerning education that are specified in its Document of Strategy for the Reduction of Poverty: "to insure fundamental education for all the Malagasy people, Education For All, and to prepare and enhance human resources of the country" and "to insure the quality of instruction at all levels" (Repoblikan'i Madagasikara, 2003, p.49).

The situation of the teacher training institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa, that includes Madagascar, under the care of UNESCO in 2003 gives interesting data and more specific suggestions for teacher training.

It is obvious that every new president strongly expresses his will to improve the Education System, considered as one of the unavoidable means for development. It is shown as mentioned earlier that reforms cut off the policy of the previous regime. But in 2003, the international context and the world nations influenced national policies with the Millenium Objectives for Development (MDO) and the Education for All (EFA).

3. THE MILLENIUM PERSPECTIVES

3.1 Context

3.1.1 Global frame: MOD and EFA

The adoption of the Millennium Objectives for Development by the UNO in September 2000 will influence national policies in education towards universal primary schooling. The same year, Madagascar participated in the World Forum on Education held in Dakar under the care of UNESCO and adopted an action frame that engaged the 181 governments to bring in a basic education of good quality for all, particularly for girls. The funding institutions showed their dispositions to fund all policies that tend towards this. From Jomtien to Dakar, in ten years, EFA is confirmed and inspired without difficulty national education policies. Adhesion to EFA is often perceived and taken in as a condition to obtain funding. It seems that it is the funding that justifies the adherence to the EFA, with the risk of sticking all objectives to the requirements of funding.

For Madagascar, in the past decade, two public declarations of political intentions were expressed: the Document of Strategy for the Reduction of Poverty (DSRP) in 2003 and the Madagascar Action Plan (MAP) in 2006. From the DSRP to the MAP, the space occupied by the education sector significantly changed. In the DSRP, education is put in the 3rd strategic axis of intervention: « susciter et promouvoir des systèmes de sécurisation humaines et matérielles et de protection sociale élargie ». It does not participate in the fight against poverty, it should be the beneficiary. The MAP adopts and operates the MOD. Education is a main challenge in the fight against poverty. It concerns engagement, the 3rd, for the country for development. Education is no longer considered as an end, but as a means for the fight to alleviate poverty.

It is in the aim of concretizing this engagement that a reform plan is adopted by the government in 2007: this plan casts the basis of a new organisation of the education system and it gives the political frame and the operational strategies including the change of the studies contents, teaching methods, pedagogical materials and the evaluation system of students (Bashir.2009,vii). This plan is approved by the funders in 2007 and launched in 2008 in Primary Schools.

3.1.2 Progression of the Education System structure

In 2004, formal education is organised in four different levels:

- Firstly, the Fundamental Education (EF) which lasts for 9 years and board children starting from the age of 6. It was divided into two levels: the first one is the fundamental education of level 1 Fundamental Education of level 1 (EF1) corresponding to an instruction of 5 years and tested for the obtaining of the *Certificat d'Etudes Primaires Elémentaires (CEPE)*. The second one is the Fundamental Education of level 2 (EF2) corresponding to the colleges and lasts 4 years ending with the obtaining of Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (BEPC).
- Secondly, the secondary education which lasts for 3 years and aiming at obtaining the *baccalauréat* degree.
- Thirdly, the upper education and university training
- Finally, the technical and the professional training which give training to young people and adults according to the real needs and evolution of the economy. They are done in *Centres de Formation Professionnelle* (CFP) which give a *Certificat d'Etudes et de Formation Professionnnelle* after 2 years of training and in technical and professional *lycées* dispensing a training of three years ending with the *baccalauréat technique*.

In 2006, the MAP lengthens the primary school to 7 years, while decreasing the college to 3 years and the lycée to 2 years (7-3-2). The acquired competences during the seven years at universal primary schools should allow future adults to develop themselves in real and modern working situations.

3.1.3 The boost of student numbers and the insufficiency of teachers

In ten years, from 1996 to 2006, the number of students in state primary schools has more than doubled, from 1,468,211 to 3,102,833.

Table 1: Enrollments 1997-2007

School years	97-98	98-99	99-00	00-01	01-02	02-03	03-04	04-05	05-06	06-07
Primary	1,468,	1,571,	1,708,	1,808,	1,892,	2,274,	2,715,	2,916,	2,983,	3,102,
state school	211	282	835	428	801	443	526	089	383	833
Primary	1,468,	2,018,	2,208,	2,307,	2,409,	2,856,	3,366,	3,597,	3,698,	3,835,
Total	211	707	321	314	082	480	462	731	906	716

Source : Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche Scientifique (2007).p.10.

The actions linked to the EPT lines have provoked an unprecedented occurrence in primary schools for ten years. Facing this outbreak of numbers, the Ministry of Education opted for the recruitment of non-civil servant teachers without training or "maîtres FRAM" to satisfy the needs for teachers.

Now, about 31,500 "maîtres FRAM" work in Madagascar. They cover about 60,000 teachers in the praimary schools, that is 53%. The "maîtres FRAM" did not receive any pre-service training. Once sent in schools, they attend training organized by the Circonscription scolaire

(school district) in the frame of Pedagogical days (3 to 5 days every two months). The pedagogical team of the *Circonscription scolaire* set up the content of the training based on the expressed needs of the teachers gathered during the trainers' visits at schools. Up to now, any professional status has not been fixed for the "maîtres FRAM; no social security and the grant is the same for all of them, either for a fresh or an experienced one. In the frame of the implementation of the EFA and the reform of the education system in Madagascar, the Ministry of Education will continue to recruit 2,000 "maîtres FRAM" every year for the first five years of primary studies in primary level and there would be neither training nor recruitment of civil servants for this level.

3.2 The professional development of teachers before the Madagascar Action Plan, (2002-2007).

For the fundamental education, the training of teachers is to be in charge of the INFP (National Institute for Pedagogical Training) and his regional centres, the CRINFP (Regional Centre of National Institute for Pedagogical Training). They are in charge of primary teachers training, the pedagogical counsellors and colleges' teachers. The INFP had 31 CRINFPs of which 19 could be used in 2006 whith a capacity homing 2,700 to 2,800 trainees.

Table 2: Pre-service training realised since 2003 and the current training

Training	Number of trained	Currently trained
	2003-2007	
Training of primary school teachers	5,836	
Training of Pedagogical counsellors for primary	57	407
school		
Training of <i>collèges</i> teachers	116	

Source: MENRS,(2007). p.91;

The 160 trainers are mostly *professeurs certifiés* trained at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*. The organisation and the arrangement of training for future teachers evolved since 2004 with the objective of training one type of teacher for primary schools to facilitate the planning for the sending of teachers to remote places. The table below shows the main changes in the training of teacher trainees.

Table 3 The arrangement of training for teacher trainees.

	2004	From 2005			
Criteria for the	2 levels of recruitment:	BEPC+FRAM+2 years of class			
recruitment of	1) Option A: level of BEPC for the	practice to teach any level			
teacher trainees	(CP) 1 ^{rst} level				
	2) Option B: level of <i>Terminale</i> (last				
	year of secondary school) for teachers in CE				
	(Intermediary level) and CM (last level)				
Length of training	15 months (6 months of in class training and 9	12 months (6 months in			
	months on site	classroom and 6 months of			
		practicum			
Mode of training	The two batches received distinct teaching	The teacher trainees			

Source: MENRS, (2007) p.92

The arrangement of the training for the Pedagogical Counsellors in primary schools is organised as follows:

- Before 2006: pre-service training of 30 Pedagogical Counsellors trainees every year, with the following entering profile: practising teacher + baccalauréat CAE/EP, length of training is two years and five months
- Since 2006: arrangement based on the alternating of theory and practice, with the following entering profile: *Baccalauréat* + CAE/EP or CAP/EP + five years of experience as a teacher. The pre-service training lasts 3 years divided into 8 months in class, one year of practicum in the district or *Circonscription scolaire* and one year of practicum at the CRINFP (Regional Centre of National Institute for Pedagogical Training). The objective is that after the training, the future Pedagogical Counsellors have the ability to accomplish his/her functions anywhere they are sent afterward.

The in-service training is still punctual. Until 2006, it is organized and directed by the central services of the Ministry of the Education. The first arrangements of the in-service training are focused as we mentioned earlier on the Pedagogy by Objectives and the Curricular Approach. These pedagogical innovations happened during a moment when material and financial means were cruelly lacking. Any serious impact evaluation was not done about the introduction of this didactic choice. But it seems that opinions are various: the objectives formulation is really difficult, even impossible for teachers with bad command of French which again becomes the teaching language. Cascade training is a cause of loss of information and bias, because the trainers are badly trained. And this knowledge cannot be built from nothing, as happened in many primary schools. But the approach introduced a working method which was quickly adopted and generalized in other activities different from learning. When the Competency-Based Approach (CBA) rushed in as the new learning model of the millennium, it was perceived as best-adapted for Madagascar. Well-known experts in sciences of education like Xavier Rogiers and De Ketele (both from the University of Louvain, Belgium) were called by the Ministry of Education. The CBA was supposed to be generalized in 2005. The INFP and the central services of the Ministry of Education organised training of 47,000 teachers of first levels in 2005. In 2006, this very ambitious project (of the UNESCO) funded by the UNICEF organized the training of 21,000

teachers of intermediary classes, including some teachers of the fifth year. In 2006, training on Multiple Graded Class Management and Group Work Pedagogy for nearly all primary school teachers (52,600) was launched. We must say that these trainings were a failure because they were done in a rush. A conference on the MOD¹ showed the inefficiency of the approach because it has been badly implemented.

3.3 The Madagascar Action Plan (MAP) arrangement and its implementation (2008-2009)3.3.1 The 7-3-2 system

The innovations brought in by MAP concerned the length of primary education from five to seven years. The *Collège* cycle was reduced to 3 years, and the *lycée* to 2 years. The negotiation of this reform was very difficult, and it was rejected by the National Assembly, where the government had the majority, the first time. The denominational and private schools were hostile to this reform because it was imposed without discussion, and it risked disordering their organisation. The public opinion considered the lengthening of primary school to seven years as an underestimate of Malagasy children's aptitude. But, because of the use of focus groups and obtrusive publicity, the reform was accepted at last. But it was actually a passage by force rather than a negotiated agreement. In seven years, the learner should acquire the minimal competences that would allow her/him to enter the working and production world. With the failure of the CBA implementation (accused of preaching mastering of de-contextualized knowledge) and conformity to the UNESCO recommendations (which also recommended the CBA), the Situational Based Approach (SBA) was introduced. Competence is defined in terms of mastering situations. The development of competences and knowledge is spread in context, within and by an action in a situation.

New approach, new teaching syllabus, re-foundation of taught subjects, new tools, new textbooks, and new teachers were settled. Meanwhile, the personnel were initiated and trained with the new teaching syllabus. But this time, it was done progressively. However, there was still some rush due to financial problems and presidential promises.

The reform is supposed to begin in 20 experimental districts (CISCOs) and progressively go inward to the 111 CISCOs for the whole island. Table 4 presents the agenda for the implementation; it is simultaneous for the 1^{st} and 6^{th} year of primary school.

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^{1.} Colloque *Madagascar contemporain et les objectifs du millénaire pour le développement*, Antsirabe, 20-22 Septembre 2007.

Table 4: Implementation of the reform of Fundamental Education: (*Number of CISCOs and years of studies introducing the new curriculum*)

Years of studies		School year	r					
		2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2014/15	2014/15
1 st year	Nb of CISCOs	20	65	111				
	Step	Experim	Pre-gener	General]			
2 nd year	Nb of CISCOs		20	65	111			
	Step		Experim	Pre-gener	General	1		
3 rd year	Nb of CISCOs		•	20	65	111		
	Step			Experim	Pre-gener	General	†	
4 th year	Nb of CISCO			•	20	65	111	
	Step				Experim	Pre-gener	General	
5 th year	Nb of CISCO					20	65	111
	Step					Experim	Pre-gener	General
6 th year	Nb of CISCO	20	65	111			,	
	Step	Experim	Pre-gener	General	1			
7 th year	Nb of CISCO	•	20	65	111			
	Step		Experim	Pre-gener	General			
8 th year	Nb of CISCO			20	65	111		
	Step			Experim	Pre-gener	General		
9 th year	Nb of CISCO				20	65	111	
	Step				Experim	Pre-gener	General	1
10 th year	Nb of CISCO				1	20	65	111
	Step					Experim	Pre-gener	General

Legend: Nb: Number - Experim: Experimentation – Pre Gener: Pregeneralization-General: generalization Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche Scientifique (2007), p48

The funding was insured by a consortium of funders and successfully launched when the political crises surged at the beginning of 2009.

3.3.2 The institutional reinforcement of the INFP (National Institute for Pedagogical Training) and the CRINFP (Regional Centre of National Institute for Pedagogical Training).

The INFP and the CRINFP continue to insure all the trainings. For the INFP and the central service trainers, the Ministry of Education calls foreign experts to train the INFP and the central service trainers on specific, theoretical and conceptual training, curriculum development, Situtional Based Teaching (SBT) and textbook designing. After this training, the INFP trainers are going to train CRINFP teachers. This training is adopted down to the local level.

The training of pedagogical counsellors was momentously ceased in 2007 to allow the CRINFP to train the semi-specialized teachers for the newly formed primary schools.

It was necessary to increase the seating capacity of the CRINFP. The extension to 1,400 seats was already on the way with the support of the AFD (for about 7 new centres). The extension of 250 to 350 seats with the support of JICA was solicited. The INFP launched the pre-service training with available means for three batches of semi-specialized teachers.

3.3.3 The training of the semi-specialized teachers

If the primary school is lengthened with two more years, it was with the intention of making outgoing students to be citizens having the minimal competences to work, with the requirements of 21st century enterprises. It must be accepted that it is a daring choice and ahead of its time as nowadays public opinion is not acquired to this orientation. This discordance between political decision makers and the public opinion can be explained by the information level and education of the population. However the seven year primary school had difficulty to be accepted by public opinion, and the tendency is for maintaining, we must say, the inherited system from colonization, or for the better, the alignment to the current French system.

This choice to raise the primary school level with professional competences that can be counted cannot be appreciated except in the case where job demand exists. Neither schools nor schools managers can predict that. The semi-specialized teachers are divided into three semi-specialities: the first is going to teach Malagasy and social sciences, the second is specialized in sciences, mathematics and technologies, and the third for languages (English and French).

The training is supposed to serve the reform which is centred on the reorientation and the restructuring of the curriculum and the adoption of new methods and approaches. The traditional subjects of the primary schools are re-grounded and reduced to three: social studies and Malagasy, sciences and technology, French and English. The training was totally under the charge of the INFP. Workshops gathering all the INFP teachers with the support of the French Cooperation contributed to the elaboration of the organisation and the training programme.

The semi-specialized teachers are recruited amongst those holding the *Baccalauréat*, through competition for the new holders, and on demand and by curriculum vitae examination for the in-service teachers, whether they are civil servants or FRAM teachers, coming from *collèges* or primary schools. Taking into account the difference of level and of the teaching experience of trainees, they are divided into three categories; the civil servant teachers and the FRAM teachers from *collèges* (EF2), the civil servant teachers or FRAM teachers from primary schools, and the new *baccalauréat* holders. This categorization is done with the aim of using different modes and organisation for the training.

- The civil servant teachers and the FRAM teachers (coming from the secondary schools receive a short training in which they receive a complementary pedagogical training, with literary dominance or scientific dominance.
- The new *baccalauréat* holders must attend a long training (1 year)

The semi-specialized teachers will acquire the competences related to teaching/learning of 1^{st} to 5^{th} year students and those related to the reform for 6^{th} and 7^{th} year students during their

training.

They are semi-specialized because they teach one speciality (technology or social sciences and Malagasy or languages). But they also supposed to do the in-service training of FRAM teachers. The first batches are posted in the 20 experimentation CISCOs at the beginning of the 2008-2009 school year.

3.3.4 The in-service training of FRAM teachers

The FRAM teachers are auxiliaries without any qualification recruited on the parents' initiative. Not having any equipments or financial means to train and pay the teachers, the State, through the Ministry of Education, set up in 2007 an organisation of in-service training that would reach the recruitment of civil servants in the "instituteurs" (primary school teacher) corps. It will also allow an immediate recruitment of new teachers without any training cost or salary prevention. To lighten the parents' burden, the government decided to give the 'maîtres FRAM' a subsidy of 30 USD per month. In fact, parents find it difficult to pay those teachers called 'maîtres FRAM' due to the increasing price of the local needs. It is obvious to report that only 47.86% of the teachers at primary schools hold a pedagogical certificate. The EFA plan noted this good will of parents to send their children to school. But for the sake of norms and for the improvement and reinforcement of teachers' competence very quickly, the obtainment of the BEPC (certificate for the completion of the 1st cycle of the secondary education) is required for those whose teach in the first five years of primary schools.

The FRAM teachers are holders of the BEPC degree. They give up studying at the end of the secondary school and remain jobless for a certain time. Being out of work, they accept the disadvantageous conditions of a FRAM teacher. The possibility of finding a job represents for them an opportunity which is their source of motivation. The choice of getting a certificate in a short period of 2 to 4 years for the 30,600 teachers given is not a good idea in itself. But the imperatives of the project to reach the quantitative objectives do not go with the quality. However, education depends a lot on the quality and the competence of teachers. Actually, the recruitment is done in the proximity and most of the time; it is the people from the local place who are likely to be recruited. However, it seems that teachers are more efficient when they work away from their own geographic environment and keep a distance from students' parents. (Clignet & Ernst, 1995).

In addition to the FRAM teachers already at work, there are plans to recruit 2,000 new FRAM teachers every year and they are supposed to integrate the training organisation only after two years of activities! They will be paid Ar 760,758/year (\$350). After certification, they will be engaged as contractors and paid by the government with the same salary and social advantages as a civil servant of their category.

Table 5: Programme of certification for FRAM teachers

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2015
Number of FRAM teachers		36,118	38,555	40,896	43,205	50,035
Newly recruited FRAM teachers		2,068	2,437	2,341	2,309	2,250
Number of teachers registered for training	9,500	20,061	33,510	2,608	2,437	2,299
Number of teachers succeeding in training		9,025	10,484	9,101	2,437	2,299
Number of CISCOs targeted	45	91	111	111	111	111
Number of functional schools in the network	633	1,337	2,234	2,408	2,570	3,034

Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche Scientifique (2007), p.100

From the table, it is seen that the government cannot give a certificate but for only a limited number of FRAM teachers because of the weakness of the training organisation. And it can be doubted that even for those who are certified a budget will be guaranteed for them. It means to keep the group without a status and a corps of FRAM teachers for an undetermined time.

The content of the training programme for certification is articulated around modules, composed of 35 credits. Teachers who benefit from previous trainings cannot attend some modules.

Table 6: Professional competence for each module

Professional competence					
Level 1	Level 2 (to be designed)				
Module 1 Opening schools to the external world					
Rights and duties of teachers:	School project/ community project				
Act according to current regulations in their function					
Mobilize and include parents and community in the					
follow up of their children					
Module 2 Teaching and learning materials					
Produce two-monthly and a weekly plan based on	Learning and teaching materials				
different learning tools keeping account of the	Malagasy and social sciences				
allotted time.	Sciences, maths and technology				
• Designing activities and papers using various	Languages (French and English)				
learning materials.					
Module 3 Autonomous learner					
Group work and team spirit	Participation and creativity				
Micro teach including group work and managing					
multi-graded classes respecting learners' diversity					
Module 4 Criterion based evaluation and remediation					
Criterion based evaluation and remediation:	Criterion based evaluation, diagnosis and				
Produce an evaluation and remediation tools and	remediation				
implement them					
Modules 5 and 6: Languages and communication	Land 2. Malagan				
Level 1: Malagasy Level 1: French	Level 2: Malagasy Level 2: French				
Module 7: Teaching and learning materials	Level 2: French				
(2 modules at level 1 and 2, other modules at level 2)					
• Social sciences (history, geography, citizenship	• Social sciences (history, geography,				
education) inclusive approach included	Social sciences (history, geography, citizenship education) inclusive approach				
Arts	included				
Physical education	• Arts				
• English	Physical education				
- Digion	• English				
	- Diigiigii				

Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche Scientifique (2008) p.10

The certifying training process is organised in two times and should normally be finished within two years, at most in three years:

- In a class training (40% of the programme) with or under the supervision of the INFP. Funds are allotted to CRINFP for the training organisation. Keeping into account the burden, logistics and material pre-service training constraints of CRINFP for semi-specialized teachers, the CRINFP call for resource persons or external organisms to do the training in the vicinity of the primary schools;
- Individual training out of class (60%) which will be supported by distance learning with radio broadcasting, audio and printed papers. The coaching of individual training will be done in quality level groups. The quality circles will be organized in school networks and near schools to avoid teachers' long journey. They will be under the Chief of ZAPs' supervision (*Zone Administrative et Pédagogique*) and the assistance of facilitators who may be teachers selected by their peers or by the head teachers. Financial resources will be allotted to ZAPs (Local Administration Area) and districts for this out of classroom training. The Chief of ZAP will be in charge of the follow-up of the implementation of the operation and the organization of the networks, set up for a collaborative learning. The coaching evaluation team is a small group of specialists (2 to 3 people) which is organized to visit the networks at least once a month. The chief of the ZAP is part of the extended team, and stays as an administrative incumbent (organization, follow up, management, etc.) but helped by a team for a pedagogical support and thus participates in other ZAPs as well (MENRS, 2007).

The pedagogical team is accountable to the CRINFP but the ZAP chief is accountable to the district for the administrative activities. In 2008, the organization is set up, on paper. It is enough to send names of team members and a list for networks to receive a small budget. In September 2010, networks of the primary school teachers are set up.

Table 7: Modes of learning.

Training Responsible	Modes of training/learning	Modes of organization
CRINFP	In class training	Grouping in in-classroom training centres (during holidays)
ZAP	Proximal training	Grouping at ZAP level (Pedagogical days, negotiated time)
	Collaborative learning	Teachers networks
On site	Auto training	Valuing of experience acquisitions Autonomous work: -Production of documents to be put in the portfolio - Evolution of classroom practice

MENRS.(2008). p.14

The process of certifying FRAM teachers must follow three steps of evaluation. An evaluation by the CRINFP for 40% of the training based on in-classroom training, an evaluation by the ZAP Chief and the facilitators based on individual training out of class, and an evaluation

by head teachers based on the results of teaching practice.

3.3.5 In-service training of civil servants

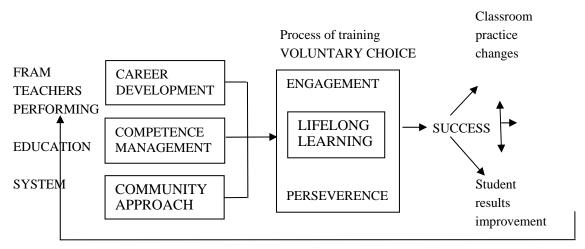
The in-service training programme for civil servants is limited to the experimentation training of the new curriculum and to the Situations Based Teaching (SBT) which they should use. However punctual training based on the identified needs at schools may be organized at the local level and initiated by the Chief of ZAP. An organisation for local needs identification at the schools is set up. Actually, there is no need here to differ civil servant teachers' training from FRAM teachers': all teachers should be trained and initiated to the new curriculum and the Situational Based Teaching (SBT). The cascade training used for the Competency Based Approach (CBA) is reused for the SBT; the senior trainers of the Ministry of Education and the INFP dispense training to the pedagogical team of the district (Pedagogical counsellors, ZAP chiefs, head teachers). This training started in 2008 in 20 experimentation districts (CISCOs), grouping teams by centres. Then the teams go in groups and train teachers of districts (CISCOs), by re-grouping again in order to be able to train a great number quickly. Civil servants and FRAM teachers are trained together.

The school networks which are created with the aim of encouraging interactivity between teachers make civil servant teachers and FRAM teachers work together. But the collaborative practice at the school level does not become a tradition. It may be explained by the low standard of living of the civil servants which forces them to do odd jobs during their free time. Moreover, there is a real problem of time, because they must be absent at least for three days a month to get their salary in the district capital. It must be pointed out that the new curriculum needs a previous training of all teachers from the primary schools.

Here the challenge is not won in advance: even the trainers did not have time to master the programme, and less for the SBT. But, the main problem comes from the long absence of proximal administrative coaching, which let free and easy ways to develop among teachers of the countryside. The financial difficulty is a very great problem that made teachers see their buying power melt. A civil servant teacher earns about US\$80/month whereas a sack of rice costs US\$25. If he does not receive an allowance for each training session, it is very difficult for him to come.

It must be pointed out that primary school teachers, as opposed to secondary school ones, have for a long time, this culture of in-service training and changes of classroom practice. They had to change teaching languages many times between Malagasy and French, move from the Pedagogy By Objectives to the CBA and now to the SBT. Politely they accept everything, but like everybody, they do not understand why things are changing.

The following schema is the synthesis of the teacher's action that leads to education performance.



Source: Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche Scientifique (2008). p.35.

3.3.6 Conclusion

At every street demonstration against the current authority, the educational system is always the focus of the debate. The MAP contestants succeeded in a coup, overthrowing President Ravalomanana. The future and the promises of the reform are seriously uncertain. The transition shows a tendency back to the departure: the system 7-3-2 is on a back burner; consequently, the experiment in the 20 CISCOs is suspended. The three batches of semi-specialized teachers are sent to collèges. No FRAM teacher is integrated in the "instituteurs" corps. The suspension of funding makes the payment of the promised allowance to FRAM teachers uncertain. The creation of new schools and institutions becomes a political instrument done without taking into account the available means. Teachers always serve and are served once again as a relay and a channel for political organisations in charge of the Ministry of Education to get a national coverage. The threat of being appointed to new posts and other sanctions are the main persuasion to make the most resistant to adhere. In 2009, the reform is partially implemented without coming back to the 7-3-2 system. The implementation meets a serious problem of organisation: the people in charge of the reform were replaced. The Ministry of Transition renewed all the staff in charge of the reform from the bottom to the top (directors, heads of departments, CISCOs chiefs, and sometimes head teachers). The documents which should be used to accompany the reform were either destroyed or vandalized. A great number of the vehicles are embezzled by some people of the new authority.

A positive note to end: the disposition is set up and does not ask to stir up a new departure.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFD Agence Française de Développement (French Agency for the Development)

BAC Baccalauréat (Senior Secondary Education diploma)

BE Brevet Elémentaire (Junior Secondary Education diploma)

BEPC Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle (Junior Secondary Education diploma)

BM Banque Mondiale (World Bank)

CAE/EP Certificat d'Aptitude à l'Enseignement/Ecoles Primaires (Teaching Ability

Certificate)

CAP/EB Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique pour l'Education de Base (Pedagogical Ability

Certificate for primary school)

CFEN Certificat de Fin d'Etudes Normales (Final Certificate for Training Studies)

CFP Centre de Formation Professionnelle (Professional Training Centre)

CISCO Circonscription scolaire (School district)

CP Conseiller Pédagogique (Pedagogical Counsellor)

CP1C Centre Pédagogique du Premier Cycle Primaire (Low Primary Pedagogical Centre)

CP2C Centre Pédagogique du Second Cycle Primaire (High Primary Pedagogical Centre)

CRESED Crédit pour le Renforcement du Système Educatif (Fund for the Educational

Strengthening)

CRINFP Centre Régional de l'Institut National de Formation Pédagogique (Regional Centre

of the National Institute of Pedagogical Training)

DSRP Document de Stratégie pour la Réduction de la Pauvreté (Strategical Document for

the Reduction of the Poverty)

EF Education Fondamentale (Fundamental Education)

ENS Ecole Normale Supérieure (Training school)

EPP Ecole Primaire Publique (Public Primary School)

EPT Education pour Tous (Education For All)

FIDES Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement économique et social des territoires

d'outre-mer (Investment Fund for the Overseas Social and Economical

Development)

INFP Institut National de Formation Pédagogique (National Institute for Pedagogical

Training)

JICA Japan International Cooperation Agency

JSE Junior Secondary Education MAP Madagascar Action Plan

SSE Senior Secondary Education

ZAP Zone Administrative et Pédagogique (Administrative and Pedagogical Areas)

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