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ABSTRACT

This study involved focus group interviews with 12 experienced Egyptian teachers working in academic and vocational secondary schools, comparing their perspectives on the implications of a 1999 educational reform which converted many vocational/commercial schools to academic schools and sought to reduce the need for extra-school, private tutoring. The study examined the reform's impact on: (1) the quality of secondary education and the postsecondary educational and occupational opportunities for students from different socioeconomic backgrounds and (2) the social status and income of teachers working in different types of secondary schools. Teachers' views on the effects of the 1999 reform differed, depending upon whether they conceived of schooling as promoting social mobility or social reproduction and whether their ideologically informed conception of professionalism emphasized remuneration or the service ideal. Far more students in academic schools than commercial schools were classified as academically above average or outstanding, and far more students in commercial schools than academic schools were classified as academically below average or weak. Teachers strongly criticized the absence of improving teachers' socioeconomic status as an objective of the reform, and they called for a new vision of teachers as intellectuals who deserve high remuneration and social reward. (Contains 45 references.) (SM)

Voices of Teachers in Academic and Vocational Schools: Perceived consequences of secondary education reform in Egypt

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Abstract: *The study draws on focus group interviews with 12 teachers working in academic and commercial secondary schools in Egypt. The objective is to compare these teachers' perspectives on the implications of a 1999 educational reform, which converted many vocational/commercial schools to academic schools and sought to reduce the need for extra-school, private tutoring. The focus is on the reform's impact on: a) the quality of secondary education and the post-secondary educational and occupational opportunities for students from different socioeconomic backgrounds and b) the social status and income for teachers working in different types of secondary schools. Teachers' views of the effects of the 1999 reforms differ depending upon 1) whether they conceive of schooling as promoting social mobility or social reproduction and 2) whether their ideologically informed conception of professionalism emphasizes remuneration or the service ideal.*

Introduction

Enhancing educational equity and improving the quality of secondary education (grades 10 to 12) are the core objectives of the most recent (1999) educational reform in Egypt. The strategy framework of this reform portrays a bright picture of the future, including: a) expanded and more equitable access to higher education by converting 315 vocational/commercial secondary schools[1] to academic secondary schools, from which students are most likely to enter universities; b) improved curriculum and assessment by developing common core courses (Arabic, English, mathematics, science, and social science) and incorporating the use of technology into the classroom practices and student assessment methods in both types of secondary schools; c) enhanced teacher performance through in-service training programs in the use of technology; and d) increased parent, community, and private sector involvement in the management and funding of schooling at local and state levels (Ministry of Education, 1999; World Bank, 1999).

[1] Commercial schools, rather than the other two types of vocational schools (agricultural and industrial), were targeted for conversion because there is less demand for commercial school graduates (i.e., service workers) and a greater supply of public and private commercial schools in Egypt.

The reform was motivated at least in part because of an economic and unemployment crisis in Egypt. For example, in 1997 unemployment, particularly among graduates from vocational secondary schools, increased dramatically (World Bank, 1991 &1999a). The reasons were said to be the poor quality of vocational school programs, the low level of knowledge and skills of its graduates, and a mismatch between the education system and the labor market, especially with the changes in employment opportunities that occurred after the implementation of a comprehensive Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Program (ERSAP) beginning 1991 (World Bank, 2000, World Bank, 1999b; Program Planning & Monitoring Unit, 1998; Arab Republic of Egypt, 1999).[2]

The reform may extend educational and socioeconomic opportunities for at least some of the predominantly lower class population of students who were previously enrolled in vocational secondary schools because they likely are attending academic secondary schools under the reform.[3] Students admitted to vocational secondary schools are those whose scores on the Basic Education Certificate Examination do not qualify them for admission to academic secondary schools. These students and their parents feel that their education is "second-class" (Richards, 1992, p.4). Generally, vocational education and manual work in Egypt are seen as attributes of losers (Sayed & Diehl, 2000). Moreover, most of the graduates from vocational secondary schools neither enroll in the university nor are they likely to be employed in the formal economy.[4] In contrast, a majority of academic secondary school graduates have guaranteed access to university education and have a better chance of employment after completing their education, even if they do not attend or graduate from a university.[5]

The decision to improve curriculum and assessment in secondary schools was made based on

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[2] The World Bank approved an ERSAP loan to Egypt in the 1991. This was the first policy-based Bank loan to Egypt, being part of a larger donor package of assistance, including a Stand-By Arrangement from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and debt reduction from the Paris Club (World Bank, 2000, p. 6). The major objective of this reform was to allow the private sector to achieve rapid, efficient, and sustainable growth. The ERSAP promoted a shift from a centrally planned economy with a dominant role played by the public sector to a market-based and export-oriented economy in which the private sector plays a leading role (Al-Mashat & Grigorian, 1998; USAID/EGYPT, 2000).

[3] In contrast to the 1999 reform, the Egyptian government's previous educational reforms during the 1980s and 1990s were directed to increase the proportion of vocational schools versus academic schools. The earlier reforms were designed as response to the economic transition toward privatization and the increased demand for skilled workers. Under the pre-1999 reform system approximately 65% of students at the end of the preparatory level (grades 7 to 9) were streamed into vocational secondary school with little chance of accessing university education, while less than 35% were streamed into academic secondary schools and virtually guaranteed a place in a university (Ministry of Education, 2000). The 1999 reform's goal is for 50% of the students to attend each type of secondary school.

[4] Employment of graduates from vocational secondary school is officially estimated at 20% (Gill & Heyneman, 2000).

[5] In the school year 1998 - 99 the Supreme Council of Universities decided to enroll 81% of total general secondary school graduates (261,923) in the universities and 19% of the total graduates in the public and private higher and middle

educational specialists' criticism that students are assigned to academic or vocational secondary schools or to university or non-university institutes on the basis of a single examination score, which can be raised significantly by exam specific-tutoring and present memorization-based assessments (Program Planning & Monitoring Unit, 1998).[6] The reform may reduce students' general reliance on private tutoring by emphasizing the use of technology in teaching the common core courses, curriculum-based assessment, and student report profiles. In the academic secondary schools, instruction has been organized around textbooks and an examination syllabus, lecturing as a teaching technique, an emphasis on detailed review of content before each set of examinations, and memorization assessment exams. This arrangement made private tutoring essential for students' achievement. The Ministry of Education considers the wide spread practice of private tutoring in secondary education in Egypt as introducing an element of social bias, which partly defeats the democratic purpose embedded in the constitutional provision of free public education (Program Planning & Monitoring Unit, 1998). However historically, in Egypt, "schooling was never entirely free [even during] the best of times: a parent had to pay a tiny entry fee, buy a school uniform, provide a bite of food. ... Moreover, what is disastrous is the need for private tutoring" (*Economist*, 1999, p.11). For students attending academic secondary schools in 1992-93, for example, family expenditure on tutoring and additional books varied between "14.3% to 10.6% of family annual income in rural to urban areas, [respectively] are spending on private tutoring and external books" (Fawzey, 1994, p. 36).[7] Because of tutoring, the per-child cost of education is higher for the family than for the state/government, especially in grades 11 and 12 in academic secondary school.[8] The

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institutes (Al_Ahram Daily Newspaper, July 24, 1999).

[6] The reform includes designing the common core courses, curriculum based-assessments (e.g., students' abilities to organize and carryout a project through the use of technology) and to use the student report profiles with the school based-assessments in order to provide a wider range of information about student's achievement and ability (World Bank, 1999b; Arab Republic of Egypt, 1999). The idea here is "to publish student results in percentile profile format based upon available final exam sub-scores (i.e., 90% math, 99% Arabic, 82% social studies, 89% sciences, 62% English). This would improve student-career fit. It would also cause the university system to be more responsible with the student selection process" (Darnell, William 2001, May 19, via e-mail respond). Moreover, the provision of computer technology for classrooms, with an emphasis on utilizing these technologies for improving teaching and learning would enhance teachers' abilities to evaluate their students and to use a standard that is appropriate to the new curricula in order to reduce reliance on private tutoring (World Bank, 1999b; Arab Republic of Egypt, 1999).

[7] Note that tutoring fees are more expensive in the cities than villages based at least in part on the differences in economic standard between the areas (Fawzy, 1994, p.37).

[8] For students from low income families who need extra help and can not pay for tutoring, the Ministry of Education began in 1968 to organize additional classes known as "Reinforcing Study Groups." Initially, these classes were free, but then a small fee was charged beginning in the 1970-71 school year. The fee has doubled during the last two decades, so that by the 1990s many students from low income families could not pay for either the private tutoring or the Reinforcing Study Groups program (Fawzey, 1994). As a result, academic secondary school became out of reach for many students

proportion of students from low-income families who can afford to pay for private lessons were much less than from middle and upper income families. Given the emphasis on rote learning, the ability to pay for private tutoring becomes a determinant of academic success. An indication of the biasing effect of private tutoring is that 80% of students of lower class origin got poor grades at the Academic Secondary Certificate Examination upon which access to university education is based (World Bank, 1991). Thus, if the reform is successful in reducing the need for private tutoring to succeed in the examinations, it may reduce a source of inequality of educational opportunity.

The reform may also have a positive impact on some teachers, those teaching core academic subjects whose employing organization is shifted from a commercial/vocational to an academic secondary school. This is because the relative prestige of the two types of secondary schools differs substantially, and such differences have important implications for the status of teachers in academic schools compared to their colleagues in vocational schools. As Hargreaves (1997) observes, both students and their parents perceive the academic school teacher as the one who helps students succeed in final exams which have significant implications for post-secondary educational and employment opportunities.[9] As is the case in other countries (Connell, 1985; Lortie, 1975.), in Egypt those who teach vocational subjects or who teach in vocational schools have less social status. Moreover, in Egypt vocational and academic subject teachers working in vocational school tend to have lower incomes than academic school teachers because the former group does not have opportunities for private tutoring since the exam performance is not a high priority in the vocational school and students in these schools are usually less able to pay for tutoring. Thus, to the extent that private tutoring persists after the 1999 reform, academic teachers who are shifted from vocational to academic secondary schools may be able to increase their income.

At the same time the 1999 reform may reduce the status and income of some teachers. Clearly, part of the prestige of academic school teachers has derived from them and their students being – or at least being perceived to be – a select group. By increasing the number and proportion of academic schools (as well as students and teachers) the 1999 reform may deflate the average status of

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from low socioeconomic background and tutoring became a "parallel school" (Fawzey, 1994, p. 22) that exists outside and inside school walls.

[9] Students' final grade in a given subject in secondary school (Grade 10, 11, and 12), which influences strongly their post-secondary education and employment opportunities, is based on the combined score on a national examination administered at the end of Grade 11 and 12. Students can also improve their grade in some subjects if they retake the exams during the summer. The importance of exam performance for future opportunities means that there is a great demand for private tutoring, not only during the school year but also during the summer vacation.

academic secondary school teachers. Also, to the extent that the need or demand for private tutoring is reduced, academic school teachers will lose a significant source of income on which they have previously depended.

The 1999 educational reform might be perceived differently by different teachers employed in academic and commercial schools prior to 1999. Teachers may celebrate or criticize the 1999 reform depending on whether or not they view the reform as expanding educational opportunities for their own or other students from various social class backgrounds. Their appraisal of the reform may also be related to how it is perceived to affect their own and other teachers' social status and income. Teachers who worked in academic schools prior to 1999 may tend to evaluate the reform negatively. They may view the expansion as diluting the overall quality of academic schools and, thus, diminishing the status of those who teach in them. Commercial school teachers of general studies subjects (Arabic, foreign language, science, mathematic, and social science) will continue teaching these courses in the converted schools, thus enhancing their social status (by becoming academic school teachers) and income (through being paid to do private tutoring). In contrast, commercial teachers of specialization subjects (i.e., accounting, basics of commerce, basics of the economy, government accounting, statistics, and insurance law) may be employed in another commercial school or work in an administrative staff position in the converted schools; neither of these options would significantly improve their social status or income.

Questions of the study

This study addresses a major question:

1. What are the similarities and differences between academic and vocational (commercial) school teachers' perspectives on the secondary education system, during both the pre-1999 and post-1999 periods, with respect to:
    a. their assessment of the secondary and post-secondary educational opportunities provided to students enrolled in different types of secondary schools
    b. their perception of job opportunities available to students enrolled in different types of secondary schools
    c. their evaluation of the quality of secondary education provided to students from different social class background attending different types of secondary schools

d. their view of their own and other teachers' social status and income, which depend on whether they work in an academic or vocational schools and whether they are able to engage in private tutoring.

Theoretical Issues and Related Research

Sociologists argue that education systems tend to be stratified in the sense that student assignment to different schools or tracks/programs (e.g., academic versus vocational or honors versus regular) determines the character and the quality of education that students receive and the future education, occupations, and incomes they attain (Arum & Beattie, 2000; Hallinan, 2000; Oakes, 1985).

From a functionalist perspective, educational stratification necessary because occupational positions need to be filled with persons who have either the native ability or who have acquired training necessary for the performance of the given occupational role (Arum & Beattie, 2000). Schools among other social institutions and organizations in any given society select, distribute, and shift the individuals. "The essential purpose of this [kind of] control is to distribute the individuals so that each is placed according to his[/her] talents and able to perform successfully his[/her] social function" (Sorokin, 2000, p. 19). From this view, schooling provides a meritocratic mechanism for allocating individuals to occupations, allowing for upward social mobility of capable, motivated children of parents with lower occupational statuses (Collins, 2000). For functionalists, educational reforms are initiated when there is a need to realign the system to better match the requirements of the changing economy, with changes in the economy and in education are seen as benefiting the society generally (Ginsburg, 1991; Sedere, 2000).

In contrast, in their analysis of educational stratification, conflict theorists highlight that unequal power and wealth among social class, gender, and/or ethnic groups are reproduced through schooling (e.g., tracking, curriculum differentiation, and testing). Pierre Bourdieu (2000, p. 56) argues that there is relationship between the academic success of children and the social position of their family and between the position filled by the children and their parent. Within stratified society, each social class has its level and type of "cultural capital." These "differences in 'cultural capital' led to inequality in educational achievement and related occupational attainment...Privileged members of society...were rewarded by both school personnel and employers, who coded these [members] as being more worthy and deserving" (Arum & Beattie, 2000, p.4). As Maureen Hallinan (2000, p.220)

mentions "academic achievement is related to students' background, minority and low-income students are disproportionately assigned to lower tracks." It is the way in which the hierarchical structure of society is reproduced through education. From this view, the meritocratic ideology embodied in disseminated through schools helps to legitimate hierarchical relations in education as well as society (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Morrow and Torres, 1995). For conflict theorists, educational reform is undertaken in order to protect or increase the educational, political, and economic benefits that certain groups enjoy at the expense of other groups (Ginsburg, 1991).

It is not only scholars who differ in their perspectives in analyzing schooling and educational reform. Teachers also vary in viewing schooling as promoting social mobility or social reproduction; with their perspectives being shaped by their personal experiences as students and family members and by their observations of and interactions with the students in their classrooms. For example, in his examination of how a group of preservice teachers conceive of the nature and legitimacy of extant class, race, and gender relations in schools and societies, Ginsburg (1988) categorizes the perspectives of preservice teachers interviewed into three general orientations: first, teachers emphasized schooling's role in reproducing inequalities; second, teachers highlighted social mobility as opposed to social reproduction and third, teachers concerned about individual attitudes and prejudice, and not with structural forces (Ginsburg, 1988, pp. 167 – 168).

In addition, teachers draw on the ideology of professionalism in different ways, such that some accord more importance to economic benefits of being a worker, while others frame their lives as teachers in line with an ideal of service (Ginsburg et al, 1980, Ginsburg, 1988). The ideology of professionalism is a dynamics concept (Larson, 1977; Ozga, 1988). In its dynamics, professionalism involves major characteristics: a) remuneration: "a monopoly of the market for 'expert' services [which are provided by individuals and groups who are in this case professions]" (Ginsburg et al, 1980, p. 159); b) autonomous or authoritative power: "professions are strongest in their claims to autonomy that can claim independent self-control both on the basis of technical knowledge and indeterminate, experience-based, skill" (Lawn and Grace, 1987, p.164); and c) elevated social status: professions would gain high social status when professional autonomy is defined clearly and promoted by the specialized and theoretical knowledge base and by high reward, as for example in medicine and law (Abdal_Haqq, 2001; Burbules & Densmore, 1991; Ginsburg, 1996). That teachers may draw upon the ideology of professionalism as they interpret their current situation or the situation implied by an

educational reform does not mean that teaching is a "profession." Some scholars maintain that there are some major characteristics of profession that are missing from teaching particularly "a sufficient degree of autonomy and self-governance" (Abdal_Haqq, 2001; Goodlad, 1990; Levine, 1988). Moreover, it may be that as a result of educational reforms or other actions by the state teachers may experience what from a "Weberian" perspective would be called "deprofessionalization" and from a "Marxist" perspective would be termed "proletarianization." "Deprofessionalization[10] constitutes an opposite movement to professionalization through which workers remuneration, status, and power/autonomy are diminished relative to other groups of workers as well as managers, employers, and state elites" (Ginsburg, 1996, p. 134).

Moreover, because teaching, like other occupational groups, is heterogeneous with respect to status, working conditions, and material rewards, it is not surprising that teachers vary in how they evaluate existing arrangements and reforms of education. For example, Connell (1985) observes that the "divisions among teachers" involve not only the two major structures of social relations, gender and class, but also the "division of subject department." Connell argues that this division is bound up with the politics of the curriculum, where the hegemony is for the academic curriculum. Based on his interviews with secondary school teachers, academic and non-academic teachers are likely to have divergent perceptions and opposed interests on educational issues (Connell, 1985, pp.163 – 167).

Method

In this study, 12 teachers, having five to more than twenty-year experience of work in academic and commercial secondary schools, were interviewed in Cairo, Egypt in August 2001. The interviewees were selected to represent cases of core/academic subject teachers working in both types of secondary schools as well as commercial/specialization subject teachers employed in commercial schools. The study included three focus groups: (A) five teachers of Arabic, Chemistry, Philosophy and Sociology, Social Sciences, and Biology courses who were working in an academic secondary school; (B) three teachers of English, Mathematics, and Arabic who previously taught these courses in commercial secondary schools for two years before they obtained posts in the academic secondary

[10] As Ginsburg (1996, p.135) explains: "[deprofessiolaization is a process in which] political and economic elites sought control the curriculum and examinations and attempted to further restrict educators' autonomy... [They] remove teachers from effective participation in the politics of education generally and even in the processes of determining teachers' salaries, benefits, and working conditions."

school;[11] and (C) four teachers, including two teachers of Commercial Studies and two teachers of Computer Science who were working in a commercial secondary school (see table 1).

Table 1. Interviewees by Gender, Teaching Subject, Years of Experience, and Types of Schools

Teacher[12]	Gender	Subject	Years of Experience	Types of Schools
A1	Female	Arabic (Head Teacher)	27+	1975-82: Preparatory school 1982-present: Academic Secondary School
A2	Female	Chemistry	15+	1987-92: Preparatory School 1992-present: Academic Secondary School
A3	Female	Philosophy +Sociology (Head Teacher)	21+	1981- present: four different Academic Secondary Schools
A4	Male	Social Sciences (School-Undersecretary)	29+	1972-80: Preparatory School 1980-present: two different Academic Secondary School
A5	Female	Biology	16+	1986-89: Preparatory School 1989-present: Academic Secondary School
AC1	Male	English	17+	1985-88: Commercial Secondary School 1988-92: Academic Secondary School 1992- present: Academic Secondary School
AC2	Male	Mathematics	18+	1984-89: Commercial Secondary School 1989-present: Academic Secondary School
AC3	Male	Arabic	17+	1985-89: Commercial Secondary School 1989-present: Academic Secondary School
C1	Male	Commercial Studies (Head Teacher)	27+	1975-present: two different Commercial Secondary Schools
C2	Female	Commercial Studies	7+	1994-present: Commercial Secondary School
C3	Male	Computer Sciences (Head Teacher)	22+	1980-present: Commercial Secondary School
C4	Male	Computer Sciences	5+	1997-present: Commercial school

The interviews were conducted in August 2001 before the first 100 commercial schools (out of the 315)[13] were converted and been operating as academic schools. A "standardized open-ended

[11] They worked in commercial schools in the late 1980s, almost a decade before the 1999 reform.

[12] Teachers are identified by a letter and a number, indicating a specific teacher (1-5) who participated in a given focus group A: academic teachers; AC: academic teachers who worked in commercial school before their service in academic school; and C: commercial teachers.

interview" (Martella, Nelson, and Marchand, 1999) was designed and used to conduct the tape-recorded group interviews of two-to-five participants each. Two group interviews were conducted in "Shopra El_Thanawayia El_Aama," academic secondary public school. The first group included five participants (A1 – A5) and the second included three participants (AC1 – AC3). In addition, two group interviews were conducted in "Shopra El_Thanawaia El_Togaria," commercial secondary public school; each group included two participants (C1, C2 and C3, C4). Both academic and commercial schools are located in north Cairo in the "El_ Sahel" district and surrounded by urban, suburban and rural areas, from which their students are drawn. Interviewees were asked to specify and compare (pre-1999 versus post-1999 reform) their views on the secondary and postsecondary educational and occupational opportunities for their students, the quality of secondary education provided to students from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and the social status and income for themselves and their colleagues. Data were analyzed following a qualitative approach through which the transcribed interviews were read carefully and coded systematically (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 157).

Findings

The findings of study are organized to include: firstly, teachers' perceptions of the educational equity and quality for students in secondary schools pre-1999 and post-1999 educational reform; and secondly, social and economic status of teachers, ideologies of professionalism and tutoring, which is followed by their perspectives on the 1999 reform's impacts on their and their colleagues' socioeconomic status.

Educational Equity and Quality for Students in Secondary Schools

To begin examining teachers' views on the equity and quality of secondary schools in Egypt, interviewees were asked to classify the socioeconomic status[14] and the academic ability of students in their schools.

[13] In selecting the 315 commercial schools to be converted to academic schools the Ministry of Education has planned to include a representative distribution of the schools and students from the 27 governorates and to balance male and female enrollments and rural and urban enrollments.

[14] The socioeconomic status of students, in this study, refers to their parents' work, income, and class.

Table 2. Teachers' Perception of the Percentage of their Students with Socioeconomic Status Backgrounds

Teacher	Upper Class	Upper Middle Class	Middle Class	Lower Middle Class	Lower Class
A1	10	20	60	5	5
A2	5	15	20	30	30
A3	15	20	50	10	5
A4	15	15	45	20	5
A5	15	15	55	10	5
AC1	5	5	45	25	20
AC2	10	5	60	15	10
AC3	15	5	40	20	20
Academic School: Average	**11.3**	**12.5**	**46.9**	**16,8**	**12.5**
C1	0	0	15	30	55
C2	0	0	10	25	65
C3	0	0	20	25	55
C4	0	0	15	35	50
Commercial School: Average	**0**	**0**	**15**	**28.75**	**56.25**

As can be seen in table 2, on average, teachers in academic school considered that less than 30% of their students belonged to lower-middle and lower classes, whereas the vast majority (85%) of students in commercial school was viewed to be from lower-middle and lower classes. In contrast, academic school teachers considered more than 70% of their students belonged to upper, upper-middle, and middle classes. Teacher C4 considered "their parents' abilities to pay for tutoring would help them to obtain a high grade in preparatory level [grade 7 to 9] and to enroll in academic public school." While, commercial school teachers reported that none of their students belonged to upper or even upper-middle classes and only 15% of their students were classified as coming from the middle class. As explained by teacher C1: "students of parents with high socioeconomic status did not enroll in commercial school because their parents are able to enroll them in a private academic school if their final grade did not qualify them for public academic school." However, before elaborating in

such issue, it is important to present teachers' classification of the academic ability of students in both academic and commercial schools.

Table 3. Teachers' Categorization of the Academic Ability of Their Students

Teacher	Outstanding	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Weak
A1	10	30	40	10	10
A2	5	20	30	25	20
A3	10	20	30	20	20
A4	10	25	35	15	15
A5	15	20	30	25	10
AC1	15	35	35	10	5
AC2	10	30	20	20	20
AC3	5	35	25	25	10
Academic School: Average	**10**	**26.9**	**30.6**	**18.8**	**13.7**
C1	0	5	20	5	70
C2	0	5	25	5	70
C3	0	0	15	10	70
C4	0	0	10	10	80
Commercial School: Average	**0**	**2.5**	**17.5**	**7.5**	**72.5**

In table 3 we observe that teachers classified the academic ability of 36.9% academic school students as "above average" or "outstanding students," while 2.5% of the commercial school students were categorized as "above average" and none were perceived to be "outstanding." Similarly, 32.5% in academic school compared to 80% in commercial school were classified as "below average" and "weak" in terms of academic ability. Academic and commercial teachers varied in their explanations of the differences between students in both types of secondary schools, providing an indication of their perspectives on how the education system promotes social mobility or social reproduction. Some teachers viewed the stratification within the education system (i.e., the hierarchical arrangement of academic and vocational/commercial schools) as necessity because not all students have the same standard of learning skills and abilities. From this perspective students can be upwardly or downwardly mobile depending on their ability and efforts, and students in the two types of schools differ with respect to such efforts:

Teacher A1: Most students at vocational school are careless about their educational progress. They did not concentrate on their schoolwork from the time they were in the preparatory school; therefore, they did not enroll in academic [secondary] school. Whereas most students in academic school are more responsible for their school work, concerned about their future and eager for entering the university.

Teacher A2: Students in vocational school [generally] do not have the learning skills that would qualify them to enter an academic school or to continue into post-secondary education ... [although] there are a few vocational students who enter the university.

Teacher A3: My opinion is not different [than those expressed by A1 and A2]. From the time I was teacher at preparatory school, I was able to recognize the students who had learning skills and abilities that would qualify them to enroll at academic school and continue into post-secondary education.

Teacher A4: I agree; students at vocational school have poor academic standard. They do not value education, especially the academic subjects and may be this is why many of them were not able to enter the university.

Teacher A5: I have the same opinion; students get what they deserve depending on their efforts and abilities.

Teacher C2: Students in my school [commercial] have a poor academic and economic standard. Even if they need tutoring, they can not pay for it. They consider the commercial [school to be a] terminal educational level, [one they attend to] reduce their number of years of military service or give them better chance for marriage, but not [as a bridge to] post-secondary education. This was not my vision when I was student at a commercial school. Therefore, I successfully entered the "School of Business" then became a teacher. I have practiced tutoring for free to help the few students who were interested in and able to continue their education after secondary school and enter the

university. But generally, exam performance and tutoring are not high priorities among students in the commercial school.

For other teachers, the educational system, with its stratified programs and private wealth requirements for tutoring for exam success, is seen as structured to all but insure that inequalities in social background are reproduced as disparities in educational and occupational attainment. As mentioned earlier teacher C1 and C4 considered the family's income determines the type of school (public or private / academic or vocational) that their children would attend. Tutoring cost versus and parents' ability to pay is considered a main factor for promoting unequal educational and occupational achievement. For example, academic school teachers reported that the 85% of their students who get private tutoring tend to belong to upper, upper-middle, and middle classes families, while the 15% of their students, who do not get private tutoring are from lower class families.[15] According to teachers representing this perspective:

Teacher AC2: The curriculum [and assessment system] promote inequality. The rote learning, memory-based assessment, secondary school and university admissions determined by final exam scores, and the Ministry of Education's control over how students are allocated to types of school programs or university institutes ensures that private tutoring parallels the education system. Beginning in preparatory school [grades 7 to 9] students realized that without tutoring they could not compete for a place in the academic secondary school and then in the university. Free education does not really exist. Students of parents with higher socioeconomic status are able to enroll in academic schools and then universities. I believe the reason is not only because of their learning skills but also because of their parents' abilities to pay more than £E8,000[16] per year in tutoring fees. Does that reflect any equity or even high educational quality?

Teacher AC3: The Ministry of Education has developed a hierarchical education system with the academic school at the top, followed by the industrial school, and then the

[15] Therefore, teachers who do tutoring for fee may be considered responsible, partly, for the unequal achievement between the rich and poor students.

[16] One US dollars equaled £E4.75 in June, 2002, so this amount (£E8,000) translates to US$1,684 per year in tutoring fees, which is higher than the GNI per capita (gross national income). The GNI per capita in Egypt in 2002 is US$1,490 (World Development Indicators Database, 2002).

commercial school at the bottom. When I worked in a commercial school, I noticed that more than 80% of students in commercial school are from lower and lower-middle class. They enrolled in commercial school because their grade in the preparatory level [grade 7 to 9] did not qualify them to enroll in academic or industrial school. Their parents could not offer the extra help they need through tutors.

Teacher C3: All students who obtained the lowest grade in the preparatory school final exam enrolled at commercial schools, which make [them schools] for the poorest students academically and economically. Students from lower income family could not pay for tutoring, improve their exam performance, and obtain good grades. Consequently, they are not qualified academically and economically for academic school and, of course, the university.

Teacher AC1: Most students in commercial/vocational school usually work in the informal economy [manual work] after school. They helped to improve their own and their families' income. They do not have the time or money that they could spend on tutoring or the Reinforcing Study Group program. These students' work is more important than education for both themselves and their parents. In contrast, parents of students in academic school [, who tend to have higher socioeconomic statues] are great respecters of education. Their children at school are children not at work at all because they have to spend their time between school and tutoring in order to continue their education after secondary school and particularly enter the university.

The following section examines what impact teachers in the sample perceived the 1999 reform would have on students from different socioeconomic background who in the pre-reform era would have attended academic or commercial/vocational secondary schools.

Teachers' Perceptions of the 1999 Educational Reform for Equity and Quality for Students

With any educational reform and under the notion of free public education, the government of Egypt repeatedly announces its commitment to promote equal educational opportunities at all levels or across programs in a certain level. Academic teachers AC2 and AC3 agree with their colleague in viewing this announcement "as an old song, which doesn't delight teachers or their students any

more" (Teacher CA1). Overall, the academic and commercial school teachers interviewed considered the 1999 reform as not being sufficient to achieve educational equity and quality for their students.

For academic teachers A1, A2, A3, and A4 increasing the proportion of students enrolled in academic schools will negatively affect the quality of academic school because it means decreasing the current score of final preparatory level examination that is required for entering the academic schools.[17] Taking into consideration the academic teachers' classification of their students academically, decrease the required score for entering academic school consequently will increase the percentage of lower average and weak students.

> Teacher A1: Increase the enrollment in academic school means accepting students of poor learning skills and abilities. These students will not be able to obtain high grade or compete for a place at the university. This definitely will reduce the quality of academic school.

> Teacher A2: More than 20% of academic students are weak academically; this percentage will increase under the reform, which will affect negatively the quality of academic school.

> Teacher A3: In my school, the majority of students from lower class usually obtained poor grade, dropped out, or transferred to one of the vocational schools. Increasing their proportion will not change these facts, but rather will put them under pressure by admittance to a type of education that is not appropriate to their learning skills.

> Teacher A4: In most cases the reform will decrease the quality of academic school by increasing its enrollment because it involves decreasing the final grade of preparatory level which was required to attend academic school.

Commercial teachers presented different perception of the reform. They considered the reform an emphasis on the poor governmental and social perception of commercial school and the

continuation of the hierarchal education system where commercial school at the bottom. The four commercial teachers (C1, C2, C3, and C4) recommended changing the admission policy, providing equal access to, university and non-university, higher education to both vocational and academic graduates, and restructuring secondary education.[18]

> Teacher C1: converting hundreds of commercial schools to academic school is advancement toward not only educational but also social and economic equality. The majority of graduates from commercial schools do not continue on to post-secondary education. Moreover, they are unemployed because of the decrease demand of service workers in the labor market. Though the reform may promote a kind of equality, it will not change the social perception of vocational [commercial] school as a second-class education. To be realistic, educational equity and quality within and between academic and vocational schools would be achieved through restructuring secondary education and changing its admission policy. It is not just increasing the enrollment in academic schools or integrating technology.
>
> Teacher C2: Graduates of the four types of secondary education [academic, industrial, agricultural, and commercial] should have equal access to the university and non-university higher and middle institutions based on each type of school specializations. But to make the academic school the major gate for entering the university and increase its enrollment to achieve equal educational opportunities merely re-emphasizes the low and poor vision on the vocational school, especially the commercial program.

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[17] The Ministry of Education determines the score that is required to enter the academic secondary schools annually. The required score is usually around 70 to 65%. Students obtained less than 65% are enrolled in the vocational secondary schools (industrial, commercial, or agricultural, the priority is to the industrial schools).

[18] However, restructuring secondary education was discussed extensively during the development of the reform strategy. The option of merging the vocational and academic streams, which commercial teachers asked for, was rejected as inappropriate by the Ministry of Education. There are two reasons for the rejection: first, the lack of resources in the education system. In spite of the fact that many nations have implemented a comprehensive secondary school system based on core and elective subjects with vocational/academic programs incorporated a single school, there has been considerable debate about the efficiency of such a system. (Program Planning & Monitoring Unit, 1998). Second, merging the vocational and academic streams would be politically infeasible (World Bank, 1999b, p. 5). With million of students enrolled in vocational and academic secondary schools, as one specialist put it, "any major change in the system structure would inevitably affect hundreds of thousands of families and could provoke political resentment" (Richards, 1992, p. 10).

Teacher C3: The reform does not include any changes in admissions policy. Even under the reform students of lowest grade will enroll in vocational school. The 50% of graduates from preparatory school, who under the reform enrolled at vocational school, will continue to be the poorest academic and economic students particularly at commercial school.

Teacher C4: Secondary education should be restructured. The Ministry of Education should change this tracking system, involving academic versus vocational schools, to a comprehensive education system.[19]

Academic teachers AC2 and AC3 agreed with AC1 that curriculum content and assessment method need to be redesigned at all educational levels in order to develop student creativity, critical thinking, problem-solving, etc. Otherwise, the unfair competition between poor and rich students will continue under the reform because there are limited places at the university and high demand for tutoring in the academic school. The reform will not reduce students' reliance on tutoring which is a "parallel school" of a barren education system and rote learning in all levels.

Teacher AC1: The reform should combine a substantial modification in the current education system, which focuses primarily on the curriculum and assessment method. The curriculum should develop and measure different learning skills [i.e., problem-solving, critical thinking, creativity, etc.] and not only memorization. Otherwise, any reform for educational equity and quality will be an illusion.

Teacher AC2: Along with curriculum depends on textbooks and memorization based assessment method, reclassifying the academic courses in both types of secondary schools or using technology in the classroom practice will not improve educational quality or reduce students' reliance for tutoring.

[19] "Graduates from preparatory level should be transferred automatically to the secondary level. In the first year [grade 10] of secondary education, students take core and elective courses. In the second year [grade 11,] students make their choices from different programs (art, science, mathematic, commercial, industrial, and agricultural) that are available in grade 11. Along with the students' choices the Ministry of Education or the local school district

Teacher AC3: Even if some students from lower class families enrolled in academic school, they will be unable to compete for a place in the university, because the majority of students in academic schools depend on tutoring to obtain high grades and there are limited places available at the university.

Social and Economic Status of Teachers, Ideologies of Professionalism, and Tutoring

Both academic and commercial school teachers are government employees. They are subject to the same salary schedule. The starting monthly salary for a teacher in public school in Egypt is £E120, which is increased gradually to £E430 after twenty years of service. In addition, and as an attempt to improve teachers' income, the government has dedicated 25% of the basic monthly salary as a subsidy.[20] Nevertheless, the increase in teacher monthly salary plus subsidy does not balance the inflation rates of the country (Al_Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 1991, p.529) as Fatma Fawzy (1994, p.32) observes, "teachers' low salary constitutes a pressure for practicing tutoring as a way to improve their income and provide their own basic needs." Indeed, most teachers in academic secondary school depend on the private tutoring as a major source for improving their income, whereas teachers in commercial schools have to depend on family resources or an additional job[21] to improve their income. The external monthly income of commercial school teachers in the sample varied from £E150 to £E350. In contrast, the monthly income from private tutoring varies from £E1425 to £E3325[22] depending on the teacher's reputation and performance. Thus, more than 90% of teachers in academic secondary school and less than 5% of teachers in commercial secondary school possessed a car, computer, cell phone, etc (Academic and commercial school teachers). Teachers said:

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could control the allocation of students at these programs based on a student report profiles with the school based-assessments of grade 10" (Teacher C3).

[20] This monthly payment (plus the subsidy) is not sufficient to provide three meals per day for a small family and it is considered one of the lowest government salaries. Teachers get the subsidy every three months (75% of the basic salary). If a teacher is absent from school for three days in a month without a medical excuse or permission, the subsidy for that month (25%) will be cut.

[21] For example, a teacher of computer sciences, who obtained a university degree, works as a data entry at a private company in the afternoon shift. There are also different types of job are mentioned such as taxi driver, cashier, and seller.

[22] Most of academic school teachers spend seven to ten hours after school in the private tutoring. Each private lesson includes three to five students. The cost of per hour tutor is paid individually by each participant. For example, if the cost of per hour of tutoring is £E25 the privet lesson for five students will cost £E125.

Teacher AC1: The only thing I know is to be a teacher. During my service at a commercial school, I could not work an additional job to improve my low income and there were limited opportunities for tutoring…At this time, I was not able to pay for my basic needs…my work at a commercial school was a nightmare.

Teacher C1: As a teacher of commercial studies, I do not have alternatives to improve my income except working in the informal sector or small private enterprises, which is also for low payment.

Teacher C3: The low payment for teachers helped deteriorating the social prestige of teaching profession especially in vocational education. After spending years in the pre-service and in-service education, my income is equivalent to a worker with high school diploma and it cannot offer my basic needs. Teaching profession is the lowest payment work; I'm wondering why this is the case.

Teacher A1: How could a teacher be creative if he/she cannot offer the basic needs for his/her family.

Teacher A4: The Ministry of Education should respect teachers' efforts for improving their own income and should stop its campaign against [private tutoring and] its employees because it can not pay for them the salary they deserved.

Teacher A5: I have been a teacher for more than 16 years. I am specialist in Education and Biology. I also have a Masters degree in Education. My salary is not qualified to my professional and academic experiences. This low salary expresses the Ministry of Education's poor vision of its employees. It is not the vision of high qualified professionals but low paid workers.

Academic teachers view private tutoring as a form of "external academic assistance for their students" especially for those who unable to understand and comprehend the subject matter in the classroom. They mentioned several reasons for the private tutoring: a) the over capacity of

classrooms (an average of 55 students); b) the extensive amount of course content to be covered in a class period (during 45 minutes); c) differences of learning skills among students; and d) the important of high grade in academic secondary final exam as a requirement for entering the universities. In spite of the fact that many governmental publications and academic studies in Egypt have reported the previous factors as reasons for the high demand for tutoring in secondary school (Fawzey, 1994; National Center for Educational Studies, 1989; Sorror, 1989), we agree with Harris (1982, p. 15) that "these immediate factors cannot simply be 'isolated' factors...They intricately tied up with...basic social and economic relations." As Teachers said:

> Teacher AC1: The government uses all its power against tutoring, at the same time it does not provide any substitute, which would improve teacher socioeconomic status or decrease students demand for private tutoring. I'll be more than happy to spend my time after school at home with my family but when the government gives me enough salary that would be suitable for my experience, efforts, qualifications and basic needs. If I do not have income from tutoring, I'll be between two options: die or steal and both are offense and prohibited. The Ministry of Education force its employees to a forbidden acts by deny teachers' rights to improve their status.

> Teacher AC2: Private tutoring became an initial and accomplished part of the education system in its primary, preparatory, and secondary levels. I agree it promotes a kind of inequality...but who is to blame? I'm not a criminal and I should not be punished because I improve my low income by helping my students obtaining a high grade. Both students and I are victims of a barren education system and rote learning in all levels...I do tutoring because it improves my income but even if I'm rich and some students ask me for tutor, I'll agree for my student's benefit.

> Teacher AC3: The government thinks teachers are responsible for the tutoring. This is not true. I spend sixteen hours daily between school and tutoring. I hardly find time for my family or even for rest. If the government increases my salary, I'll refuse to be a tutor but will that stop students' needs for tutoring. Teacher's low income is a reason for tutoring but it is not the only reason.

Teacher A2: private tutoring in Egypt became a social phenomenon that is constructed under the pressure of educational competition...Even outstanding students ask for tutoring, not because they need it to understand the materials but further to ensure that they perform at least as well on exam as their classmates...Students and their parents take pride in being able to pay for the private tutoring.

Teacher A3: Students have different learning skills and abilities; many students ask me for tutoring so they can obtain better grade and make progress. What is wrong with being paid for my efforts? I gave them my time, knowledge, and the help they need... Why is this viewed to be illegal and why is it forbidden by law?[23] Since this come without pressure and by students' choice and request; I consider tutoring an honorable form of work.

Academic teachers made distinction between their official and actual socioeconomic status. They classified themselves officially as belonging to the lower class because of their governmental monthly salary but with tutoring their living standard categorize them in the upper-middle class. The male teachers emphasized that with out the private tutoring they could not be able to have their current socioeconomic status. For example:

Teacher AC2 said: Teacher does not have any opportunities to improve his/her income except tutoring. I believe this is legal and honest thing to do since I do not force my students for tutoring. Being a tutor is exactly like a physician who visits patients at their houses or who owns a private clinic. As a teacher, I'm equal to any profession, I'm able to do my duties at school time and give private tutoring after school.

But the female teachers said, their spouses' incomes contribute significantly their high living standard and their practicing of tutoring is not for improving their income but rather for performing part of their academic duties toward their students. For example:

[23] Private tutoring for a fee is forbidden by a ministerial law and is considered an illegal practice since the mid 1990s. In the past, teachers were allowed to obtain permission from the Ministry of Education that allows giving private lessons

Teacher A2 said: I define my socioeconomic status in the upper-middle class because of my husband's high income; otherwise, I would be economically in the lower class. My salary alone can not offer the basic needs for my family but as a woman I'm not responsible for providing enough income for my family. This is my husband's responsibility. Therefore, I'm practicing tutoring just because my students ask for and need my help.

Teacher C2 said:

I'm not married and my salary is not enough for my personal expenditure. I always get money from my dad at the end of the month... I do tutoring for free because I know that my students need extra help and they can not pay for tutoring. I'm willing to help my students obtaining high grade in order to enable them compete for a place at the university and continue their education. They deserve a fair educational competition and equal opportunities.

Teachers in the sample based on their occupational and gender division draw on the ideology of professionalism in different ways, such that some academic male teachers accord more importance to economic benefits of being a teacher, while some academic and commercial female teachers frame their lives as teachers in line with an ideal of service (Ginsburg et al, 1980). The priority of economic benefits or ideal of service for teachers in the sample are shaped by the cultural orientation of Egyptian society. In the Egyptian culture, generally the male alone is "responsible" for his family income even if his wife or daughter is a worker. Along with the social and economic changes the female's economic participation for improving her family income became a necessity but still her option. However, both academic male and female teachers view themselves in their service at public schools and practicing tutoring as physicians who are able to service at the public health care and, at the same time, moderate their own clinic and visit their patients (Academic teachers A1 - 5 & AC1 - 3). Whereas, for commercial male and female teachers tutoring would help their students defeat the biased hierarchal system in education and society. Many commercial teachers have practiced tutoring for free in order to empower the predominantly lower class population of students who are usually enrolled in commercial school (Commercial teachers C1 – 4).

The following section examines the reform's impact on teachers and their colleagues' social and

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and (of course) paying the state tax for their income from tutoring (Fawzy, 1994).

economic status.

The 1999 Reform's Impact on Teachers' Socioeconomic Status

In response to my asking teachers in the sample about the reform's impact on their own and their colleagues' socioeconomic status, they expressed some concerns and questions. For both commercial and academic teachers the reform will not change the socioeconomic status for themselves or their colleagues. As teachers recommended strongly, this would be achieved by increase the remuneration of teaching profession along with the suggested modification of the 1999 reform.

> Teacher A1: Does the reform include any improvement in teachers' salary? If it does not, my economic status will not change. I might face some challenges with increase of the proportion of weak students in my classrooms, which could also decrease my performance as a teacher. I'll need to exert my efforts in the classroom. Thus, increase the enrollment in academic schools should include increasing teachers' wages.

> Teacher A5: I really can not understand how a comprehensive educational reform does not include any plan for improving teachers' income...Teachers are the major agents for developing qualified labor force in any society. They should be treated as intellectuals who deserve high payment. To ignore improving teachers' wages is to continue with the same vision of teachers as low paid workers. Along with this vision no expected changes will occur in my or my colleagues' status.

> Teacher AC1: I think academic teachers who work in the converted commercial schools will have higher social prestige and obtain higher income through increasing their opportunities for tutoring when they work in academic school. But generally, it seems improving teachers' social and economic status was a missing element during the development of the reform. The in-service training program is important to enhance my performance as teacher but I need a suitable payment for my experience, efforts, qualifications and basic needs.

> Teacher C2: I do not expect any problem with shifting teachers from a commercial school to another. I was among the last group of teachers who were hired by the Ministry of Education

in 1994. Since this time, there have been no employment opportunities in commercial schools except for computer sciences teachers.

Conclusion and Remarks

In this study, 12 teachers, having five to more than twenty-year experience of work in academic and commercial secondary schools, were interviewed in Cairo, Egypt. They expressed their perceptions of the equity and quality of secondary education pre-1999 and post-1999 educational reform. Teachers in academic school considered that less than 30% of their students belonged to lower-middle and lower classes, whereas the vast majority (85%) of students in commercial school was viewed to be from lower-middle and lower classes. In contrast, academic school teachers considered more than 70% of their students belonged to upper, upper-middle, and middle classes. In addition, teachers classified the academic ability of 36.9% academic school students as "above average" or "outstanding students," while 2.5% of the commercial school students were categorized as "above average" and none were perceived to be "outstanding." Similarly, 32.5% in academic school compared to 80% in commercial school were classified as "below average" and "weak" in terms of academic ability. Academic and commercial teachers varied in their explanations of the differences between students in both types of secondary schools. As in Ginsburg (1988) and Collins' (2000) studies, teachers' perspectives in this study being shaped by their personal ideology, experiences as students and family members and by their observations of and interactions with the students in their classrooms. Five academic teachers plus one commercial teacher draw on functionalist perspective where schooling provides a meritocratic mechanism for allocating individuals to occupations, allowing for upward social mobility of capable, motivated children of parents with lower occupational statuses. For these teachers stratification within the education system, i.e., the hierarchical arrangement of academic and vocational/commercial tracks is viewed to be a necessity because not all students have the same standard of learning skills and abilities. From this perspective students can be upwardly or downwardly mobile depending on their efforts. In contrast, three academic teachers, who worked in commercial school before their service in academic school, and three commercial teachers believe that unequal power and wealth among social class are reproduced through schooling (e.g., tracking, curriculum differentiation, and testing.) For these teachers, stratified secondary system and family wealth, ability to pay tutors, reinforce social inequalities through schooling (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Morrow and Torres, 1995).

Teachers in the sample also varied in their perceptions of the 1999 educational reform. For some academic teachers increasing the proportion of students enrolled in academic schools will "reduce the quality of academic school" because it means accepting students with poor learning abilities and skills. Commercial teachers considered the reform an emphasis on the poor governmental and social perception of commercial school and the continuation to the hierarchal education system where commercial school at the bottom. Academic teachers who work at commercial school in the past view the reform as an "illusion." The "unfair competition" between poor and rich students will continue under the reform because there are limited places at the university and high demand for tutoring in the academic school. Moreover, the reform will not reduce students' reliance on tutoring which is a "parallel school" of a barren education system and rote learning in all levels. Commercial teachers recommended changing the admission policy, providing equal access to, university and non-university, higher education to both vocational and academic graduates, and restructuring secondary education. Academic teachers recommended redesigning the curriculum content and assessment method at all educational levels in order to develop student creativity, critical thinking, problem-solving, etc.

Private tutoring promotes social and economic inequalities not only among rich and poor students but also among academic and commercial teachers that academic teachers gain higher social prestige and economic status. However, the twelve academic and commercial teachers strongly agreed that their monthly salaries do not qualify their academic and professional experiences. Academic school teachers in the sample believe that the Ministry of Education's campaign against the private tutoring is more precisely against teachers themselves since it does not include any substitute for improving teachers' income (see teachers AC2, AC3, A2, and A4). Teachers' low salary and the government's control over curriculum and assessment method have weakened teacher's autonomy and performance. Some academic and commercial teachers (see teachers AC2, AC3, C1, and C3) considered themselves and their students "victims" to the educational policy in its hierarchal structure of education system, rote curriculum and assessment method, and low remuneration of teaching profession (see: Ginsburg, 1996). Along with such policy, a level of conflict exists between the Ministry of Education and teachers where both academic and commercial teachers are completely unsatisfied but their social actions vary based on their occupational and gender division. The reinforcement of the private tutoring is the most visible feature of the conflict. Tutoring is a major source for obtaining high economic and social reward, which teachers deserved as professions.

Teachers in the sample strongly criticized the absence of improving teacher's socioeconomic status as an objective of the reform. Teacher A1 believes that teachers in academic schools will face some challenges under the reform. They will need to exert efforts in the classrooms when the percentage of weak students being higher. Teacher AC1expected academic teachers who work in the converted schools may gain higher economic standard and social prestige after their work in academic school. In addition, teacher C2 explained that because the Ministry of Education stopped hiring teachers in commercial schools since 1994, there are no problems are expected shifting commercial teachers form the converted schools to other commercial schools. Finally, Teachers in the sample call for a new vision of teachers as "intellectuals" who deserve high remuneration and social reward.

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