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Volume One: Thesis
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Abstract

'Managing Educational Change in a Turbulent Environment: The ELTSUP project in Hungary 1991-1998.'

One result of the political changes in Hungary in 1989-90, was the sudden switch, within state education, from compulsory study of Russian to a free choice of foreign languages. Most pupils (or their parents) opted to study English or German. Opportunities to study these languages in schools had previously been limited, and consequently there was a severe shortage of trained teachers. The English Language Teacher Supply (ELTSUP) project, was established by formal agreement between the British Council and the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Culture to counter this shortage through the provision of new, three year, initial language teacher training programmes, at nine Hungarian tertiary institutions.

ELTSUP's rationale, and initial stated wider objectives were principally quantitative; to increase the supply of trained English teachers to the state education system and so the number of students able to learn English. By the mid 1990s, due principally to the 'turbulence' referred to in the title, it was clear that the above aim would not be met. Project objectives, now became qualitative; the integration of three year programme curriculum change into the existing, still largely unchanged, philologically focussed, four and five year language teacher education system.

The thesis is a longitudinal, single case study. Its aim is to investigate and analyse the educational change process in one ELTSUP institution between 1991 and 1998. From 1993-1998, the writer was employed by the British Council at the case study institution. He was thus a participant observer (Marshall and Rossman 1989, Yin 1989), throughout the data collection period.


The three main sources of data are semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and project documents. The core data consists of interviews, carried out in three rounds over a two-year period with those most centrally involved, the 10 Hungarian implementers of the project. In addition, 22 other people closely connected to ELTSUP, at either national or institutional level, were interviewed. Questionnaires, sent out to past and present students, their school supervisors and other British Council contract staff in Hungary, were used to provide further evidence about the wider Hungarian environment and to corroborate interview data. As a participant in the changes under investigation the writer had access to all English language project related documentation, throughout the case study period.
Data was analysed using a two dimensional framework based on Fullan’s (1991) chronological division of the stages of the educational change process, Planning-Implementation-Continuation, and the components of any organisational change process suggested by Pettigrew and Whipp (1991), Content, Context and Process. Together these gave a nine cell matrix, allowing data first to be mapped and then analysed, broadly as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994).

The main findings include:

- On educational change projects involving more than one educational culture, and where one educational culture is accepted as bringing with it expertise that the other lacks, aims can never remain purely quantitative.
- Qualitative educational change is cultural change. It is therefore complex and takes a long time. It is rare to find measurable, direct evidence of success in the short-term.
- The necessarily long time scale and the unpredictability of the behaviour of the wider environment, make detailed advance planning of the change implementation process impracticable.
- Educational change is an evolving and incremental process. The rate and route of change followed throughout the implementation process is likely to be strongly influenced by, often unpredictable, occurrences at all levels of the environment.
- If change is ever to begin to become part of the wider educational culture beyond the project, local implementers need to be consistently supported throughout their personal change process.
- For such consistency to be possible, change instigators need, at the initial planning stage, to understand both what is realistically possible and what their roles within the project are likely to be. They thus need, in outline at least, to understand both the micro and wider change environments.
- Environmental assessment need not be complex to be valuable. It does, however, need to be continuously updated to take account of changes in the wider environment.
- Cultural change is hard work for those experiencing it. Perceptions of its utility can quickly become negative, without tangible recognition for work done, and periods of stability in which to consolidate new skills.
- Change instigators, expecting (and expected) to operate in a world that increasingly seeks rapid, measurable returns on any investment, find most of the above very difficult to accept.
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INTRODUCTION

'There is nothing so painful as the birth of a new idea'

The above quote, although coming from and referring to quite another context, aptly encapsulates much that was experienced by citizens of the countries of East and Central Europe as they lived through the political, social and economic changes taking place in the region during the 1990s. This opening chapter begins by trying to set the scene for the case study which follows through introducing certain key features of the cultural, political and professional environment within which the English Language Teacher Supply (ELTSUP) project, the focus of this study, was situated. Only an outline of the environment is provided here, since the research design is such that the case study itself (Chapters four-six) considers many features of the project environment in some depth. The chapter concludes with a short discussion of the value of a qualitative approach to educational research, some comments on my motivation for undertaking the research and a description of the thesis structure.

1. Political and economic change in Central and Eastern Europe 1989-1990

It is difficult, a decade later, to remember the extent to which the 1989-1990 collapse of the seemingly immutable, post-war, political status quo in Europe, was a shock to all concerned on both sides of the suddenly dismantled 'Iron Curtain'. In the countries of East and Central Europe (here defined as East Germany, Poland, the then Czechoslovakia and Hungary) 'the cataclysm of 1989-90 took everyone by surprise.' (Enyedi and Medgyes 1998:1) In January 1989, despite economic difficulties well known to western analysts, the Communist governments (of various hues) in the region had appeared stable, both to their own citizens and to most citizens in the 'west' (defined here as the market economies and political democracies of Western Europe and North America). In a matter of months, one after another, the authoritarian Communist governments of the region agreed to free elections, which in turn resulted in elected governments, all, despite their various political orientations, avowedly committed to democratisation and a move to dismantle centralised command economies in favour of a free market model. One immediate result in most of the region was the appearance of the totally unfamiliar phenomenon of inflation. In
Chapter 1. Setting the Scene


It appeared to be relatively easy to establish freely elected, apparently democratic, governments in the countries of the region. However, neither most observers in the 'west' nor citizens of the region seem, at the time, to have understood the extent to which the new governments represented only the first step in a series of fundamental cultural changes that would be required to enable the assimilation of the region into the wider Europe, of which it aspired to become part. The process that began in the region during the 1990s may be called a cultural change, in the sense that it required individuals and institutions to alter many of their fundamental assumptions, norms and behaviours, (Hatch 1997), and so reset 'the collective programming of the mind' (Hofstede 1984b in Mead 1990:21). It is to this unpredicted and unpredictable culture change that the 'Turbulent' in the title of this thesis refers.

Some writers' retrospective analyses of the environment in which the case study was situated are given below. A fundamental, frequently mentioned, theme, influential in determining the route followed by the case studied, is the effect on all change processes of the region's history of political authoritarianism.

'The East and Central European societies are undergoing a rapid, indeed revolutionary change towards a market economy and political democracy. Having lived for decades under the rule of totalitarian and authoritarian political systems, they have little experience with democracy. Consequently a democratic culture does not exists (sic) within them, and democratic organisations must be built from the (sic) scratch. ... In addition the transition to the market economy is occurring during a time of deep economic crisis.' (Andorka and Lehman 1997:10-11)

'A common root problem is a history of absolutism, referring to a belief in the authority of one true ideology, the only legitimate form of government ... an absolutism consistent in its essential rejection of pluralism and relativism; political ethnic and cultural.' (Lawson 1994: 253)

Speaking more particularly of Hungary, Kaufmann points out that here, the history of absolutism stretches back to far before the socialist period:

'Throughout Hungary's history, from the original Magyars, through the Turkish occupation, the Hapsburg domination, a brief period of liberalism and nationalism to the Soviet domination the structure of ... authority in Hungary represented top down implementation of the plans of the ruling
authority, whereby Horvath (1990) notes, Soviet domination merely replaced God with Good of the Party, while maintaining a similar absolutist social structure.' (Kaufman 1997:27)

Several examples of how these decades if not centuries of absolutism might affect the feelings and/or actions of individuals or institutions are given below. The next two quotes come from an article in the Financial Times in 1999, and refer to the then Czechoslovakia, probably the most conventionally communist regime at the start of 1989. The first comes from the Director of Marketing for Central and Eastern Europe at Skoda cars, and shows how utterly unprepared one of the region's largest industrial enterprises was for the transition to a free market. The second, from the first post-communist Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, suggests that newly 'free' citizens did not develop the habits of thinking and taking responsibility for themselves overnight.

'It was a highly difficult transition for me. I worked in a company that had no marketing. We produced and delivered to the state car network or the state export organisations. Nobody really had to work before. My secretary, for example, refused to learn about computers. ... You cannot underestimate how little we knew about the outside world.' (Lloyd 1999:14)

'I thought people would think for themselves after 50 years of communism. But it is often not so.' (Lloyd 1999:14)

The next comes from East Germany and refers to the difficulties that the newly democratic governments had in finding officials with the experience to understand and so implement any relevant changes passed by newly elected legislatures:

'Interviews with newly recruited East German officials suggest that they themselves have barely moved beyond the first stage of comprehending the legal framework, and still lack a vision of the new ... organisation' (Mintrop and Weiler 1994: 260)

The last example, from Hungary, points out that even the new parliaments themselves lacked experienced members, and had to establish basic structures and procedures, long since taken for granted in the west, from scratch:

'The new parliaments lack an experienced membership. They lack a structure of parties and committees and they also lack the support facilities of space, equipment and staff. Most importantly ... they lack established procedures for both raising and solving policy disagreements.' (Olson and Norton 1995 in Agh 1995: 206)
Chapter 1. Setting the Scene

The above all suggest that while it was relatively straightforward to give the impression of having established fundamentally new political and/or economic structures, the underlying cultural changes required to enable them to function effectively, to deal with the many unanticipated socio-economic consequences of change, did not develop at the same speed. Consequently, many individuals and institutions in the region throughout the 1990s struggled to move beyond a state of False Clarity (Fullan 1991) or Apparent Change (Gagliardi 1986 in Hatch 1997), in which they thought they had changed, but had in fact only assimilated superficial aspects of what change implied, and so continued to deal with the demands of the situations in which they found themselves on the basis of their existing cultural assumptions and values.

2. The Education system in Hungary in 1989-90.

Kerr (1991), referring to Russia, points out the crucial role of teachers in enabling their wider society to meet the demands of cultural change:

'The (teachers') image of their work, their capacity for independent professional judgement, their recognition of and work with students as individual persons, (my italics) and their ability to define for themselves what and how to teach-all of these must be regenerated. Only after this key initial step has been firmly taken by teachers, may we expect that their students will have the necessary capacity and habits of mind to perform the radical social, political and economic surgery that the restructuring of ... life demands.' (Kerr 1991: 349)

In Hungary in 1990 when the ELTSUP project began, the educational experience of virtually every person over six or seven had been of a very particular kind. The 'communist education of pupils' (Horvath 1990:209), the main aim of the 1956 national curriculum, had altered little in tone by the time of the 1977-78 curriculum's 'character formation of socialist man' (Horvath op cit: 211), and throughout the 1980s, teachers continued to be the implementers of a centralised curriculum representing:

'A single school system, with no private or religious interference, where in every school every teacher taught children the same content from the same textbooks on the same day.' (Horvath op cit :209)

Teachers in such a system had never been encouraged to develop their capacity for independent professional judgement:
Chapter 1. Setting the Scene

'Teachers, although supposedly leaders in their classrooms, were tightly supervised by administrators. They followed a curriculum that was also planned for them in detail through textbooks, lesson plans and other teaching aids and monitored by mentor teachers. The curriculum for the polytechnic secondary school is more than 4000 pages long. Teachers' faithfulness to the curriculum was reportedly very high.' (Drewelow 1990 in Mintrop and Weiler 1994: 255)

Neither had there been much recognition of and work with students as individual persons in a typical Hungarian classroom, in the early 1990s, according to a graduate from the ELTSUP programme:

The teacher gives a lecture, that is a list of facts of his subject, little more, while the students have to stay silent. They are there to record the facts of the teacher's lecture and only speak if the teacher asks them a question or asks them to give an individual oral recitation (felelés) for a mark.' (Pap 1998:4)

Teachers in Hungary and elsewhere were therefore poorly prepared for one almost immediate result, symbolic of the new freedoms brought by political change, the decentralisation of the education system. The Hungarian Education Act of 1990 devolved responsibility for all administrative and curricular decisions, and the materials needed to implement them, from the centre. Universities became autonomous entities, administration of schools was now the responsibility of local government, and responsibility for interpreting the curriculum and choosing materials for the classroom was handed over to (teachers in) the individual schools.

3. Foreign language education

Although travel restrictions on Hungarians were eased in the 1980s to allow one trip to the west every three years for anyone with sufficient funds to buy the necessary foreign currency, most ordinary Hungarians had very little opportunity to have personal contact with western countries before 1989. Learning western foreign languages was therefore, not a priority for them.

Language learning was, however, a compulsory part of the school curriculum. This for most learners meant the study of Russian. The situation is described below:

'Before the "wind of change" ... people lived in an authoritarian political system that kept society in isolation from western countries, and the
financial situation made any kind of travelling to foreign countries extremely difficult. ... It is not surprising that common people were not very keen on language learning. However, language learning was a part of the national syllabus, with the compulsory, thus much disliked, Russian language at the head. (Pap 1998: 2)

The political events of 1989 changed the language learning landscape almost immediately:

'With the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the new democracies made a prompt about-face. Slogans such as "Catching up with Europe" and "Joining the common European home" were apposite expressions of political ambitions to join the Council of Europe, NATO and the EU. They also symbolised the efforts to create trade links to replace the markets lost at the break up of COMECON. In several countries radical steps were taken to privatise state owned enterprises and there was a proliferation of joint ventures and wholly foreign owned companies. These developments rendered the knowledge of foreign languages a prerequisite for success in many walks of life. (Enyedi and Medgyes 1998: 3)

The table 1.1, adapted from figure two in the article by Enyedi and Medyes (op cit), shows how demand for Russian and English language teaching in Hungary changed between 1988-89 and 1995-96.

### Table 1.1

**Changing patterns of language learning in Hungary 1988-89 to 1995-96**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% students studying Russian 1988-89</th>
<th>% students studying English 1988-89</th>
<th>% students studying Russian 1995-96</th>
<th>% students studying English 1995-96</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>More than 50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of those not learning English were learning German. For it to be possible for so many more students to study languages whose intakes had previously been controlled, several thousand new English (and German) teachers were needed quickly. To meet this sudden shortage of western foreign language teachers, three year initial language teacher education programmes were established in Hungary, (also in Poland and then Czechoslovakia). In Hungary these were set up under the auspices of the ELTSUP project. This research is a case study of one such ELTSUP institution.
Chapter 1. Setting the Scene

4. Qualitative research in education.

Vulliamy (1990) and Smith (1997, in Crossley and Vulliamy 1997) suggest that qualitative research in education, especially outside the western research community, remains a relative rarity.

'The research landscape is dominated by people counting numbers in one form or another. Not only is number counting a way of life; the recording of these activities is both rigorous and de rigueur.' (Smith 1997: 247)

Smith goes on to note that this emphasis on the quantifiable, has the undesirable effect of presenting educational research as an unproblematic process, whose approach can be planned in advance and which, using predetermined methods, will inevitably provide reliable and valid data. This effect, he suggests, is apparent in the language of educational research reports which tend to refer to subjects, variables, correlations and differences, more than to people, ideas, skills and relationships, despite the latter being important concepts that determine the nature of the educational change experience at grassroots level in any environment.

The research on which this thesis is based is a qualitative study based on the belief that it is only possible to begin to unravel the 'strange world of the study.' (Ruddock 1993 in Schratz 1993:13), in an environment as volatile and evolving as that described briefly above, through a long period of observation and, in my case participation. Such unravelling over time, it is believed enables the qualitative researcher to;

'... look directly and longitudinally at the local processes underlying a temporal series of events and states, showing how these lead to specific outcomes ... In effect we get inside the black box: we can understand not just that a particular thing happened but how and why it happened.' (original emphases) (Huberman and Miles 1994 in Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 434)

If the above is true, then the description and explanations that emerge from qualitative research, based on participants' perceptions of what happened, and of how and why things happened as they did, may contribute to a future where educational change planning is more clearly

'... grounded on the experiences - the world view- of those likely to be affected by a policy decision, or thought to be part of the problem.' (Vulliamy 1990:19)
Full details of the research design and analysis process are provided in chapter three.

5. Some retrospective reasons for undertaking the research.

Immediately prior to arriving in Hungary in 1993, I had worked on four Overseas Development Administration (ODA, now Department for International Development DfID) funded English Language teaching (ELT) projects in China. Of these, three, like ELTSUP, were Teacher Education projects.

I became conscious while working in China, of the cultural change that needed to take place, among project implementers at least, if such projects were to have any effect outside their immediate institutional setting, and/or after the end of their official project lifetime. I began to notice the limited extent to which the immediate and wider environments seemed to recognise the importance of supporting implementers through their personal and professional changes, and began to think about what factors were important in determining the extent to which such support would be available.

I arrived in Hungary to find myself in a similar situation on the ELTSUP project. Again local implementers were being encouraged to change their own professional beliefs and behaviours in the expectation of then introducing change into a strong existing educational culture. Again the environment appeared not to appreciate the complexity of what was being attempted, and seemed at times to be doing little to support implementers in their attempt. It was a desire to better understand the change process within its environment as a whole, and to identify the factors within it that determined the extent to which implementers were supported or undermined as they went through their cultural change, that motivated me to begin this research.

6. The structure of the thesis

The remainder of the thesis is divided into three main parts. The first part consists of chapters two and three. Chapter two discusses how individuals' and institutions' values and behaviours may be affected by belonging to different educational and organisational cultures, and considers some of the themes from current educational and organisational change literature relevant to the context of the case study. Chapter three provides a full description of the research design and analysis process and consideration of the extent to which the research may be considered trustworthy.
Chapter 1. Setting the Scene

Chapters four to six, represent the bulk of the thesis. They follow the case studied chronologically from 1991 to 1998, using terms from Fullan (1991).

Chapter 4, the Planning stage covers academic year 1990-1991.
Chapter 5, the Implementation stage covers academic years 1991-1995.
Chapter 6 the continuation stage covers academic years 1996 and 1997.
Each chapter consists of three sub-chapters, A to C. Each sub-chapter considers the change from one of the three angles suggested by Huberman and Miles (op cit) and using categories from Pettigrew and Whipp (1991), in brackets below.
A. What was planned and what happened? (the change content)
B. Why did it happen as it did? What were the effects of the environment? (The change context.)
C. How did it happen? What form and route did the change process in the change environment take? (The change process)

At the end of each sub-chapter, a summary of the main themes emerging is presented.

Chapter seven, analyses the data in terms of the research questions posed and of themes relevant to the management of educational change projects in general, and overseas, aid funded ELT projects in particular. The thesis concludes with a brief postscript, bringing the case study into the new century.
CHAPTER 2. THE PROCESS AND PRODUCT OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses some of the factors thought to be important in determining the extent to which planned complex educational changes (Fullan 1992) lead to actual changes in the beliefs and behaviours of institutions and individuals. White (1987) and Markee (1997) would call such planned changes, 'innovations'. The term 'change' will, however, be used throughout this thesis to refer to both the planned, and the unexpected, outcomes and effects of planned educational change projects.

For the purposes of the discussion it is assumed that the planned changes are of the kind frequently found on English Language Teaching (ELT) aid projects. However, as will be seen, much of the content of this chapter is equally applicable to, and is drawn from, the wider educational and organisational change literature. Since any education system may be considered to occupy a position at the very heart of its national culture, the potential range of internal and external factors that may influence the educational change process is enormous. It is recognised, therefore, that this chapter can only offer an overview.

The chapter begins by discussing the need for harmony or 'fit' between any proposed educational changes and the wider cultural environment into which they are to be introduced, especially its educational and organisational culture. Such 'fit' requires particular attention where, as with most ELT projects, changes are being exported from one cultural environment to another. In such cross cultural projects, participants' differing cultural backgrounds mean that they are likely to have more or less different attitudes to the proposed changes and their intended effects, previous experience of change, and beliefs about how the change process might best be managed. Some of the possible effects on the change process of two very different educational and/or organisational cultures are examined and discussed.

Then follows a discussion of how the manner in which the change process is managed may determine the reactions of individuals and institutions involved, and so affect the success of the changes, in terms of the degree of ownership, and so sustainability, that ultimately exists. The chapter concludes by suggesting that educational change does not happen independently of changes in the wider cultural environment. Thus whatever changes have
occurred by the end of any educational change project, need still to 'fit' the now-changed wider environment, if they are to be sustained.

1. Fitting change to its environment

ELT projects, as part of government aid programmes have now existed in various forms for well over twenty years. Such projects have usually involved planned changes to aspects of language learning or language teacher education, through the introduction of new materials, curricula or methods within state tertiary, secondary or primary (TESEP) (Holliday 1994) systems of 'developing countries', by British, Australian or North American (BANA) (Holliday 1994) change agents. These latter have often been trained in, and so brought with them, methods deriving from, the private language education sector. The result has been many unsuccessful projects. With increasing experience over the past two decades, BANA change agents have become more aware of the need for 'fit' between the proposed changes and the environments which they are trying to influence, if they are to have any hope of long term success.

As long ago as 1982, Holliday and Cooke noted that educational change takes place within a local classroom and institutional ecosystem, whose attitudes, behaviours and expectations must be understood and appropriately responded to by external change agents, if there is to be any chance of the change surviving their departure. This concept of the ecosystem and hence of what needed to be understood by outside change agents, was considerably enlarged by Kennedy (1988), who suggested that any educational change takes place in an environment consisting of a number of hierarchical, interrelating systems. At the apex stands the cultural system of the host environment. This culture, in determining the political and administrative structures, values and behaviours of the society, results in an education system reflecting its values and beliefs. The culture of the education system in turn affects, among other things, institutional attitudes towards particular proposed changes and so, ultimately, influences that individual teachers and learners will regard as possible and desirable in the classroom.

Understanding of the complexity of the ELT change environment has continued to develop. Tomlinson (1990), Holliday (1992, 1994, 1995) Morris (1991) have all discussed the need for harmony between the proposed changes and the wider social and educational culture. They have noted the need for outsider change agents and insider change participants to avoid 'sociological blindness to local reality' (Morris 1991:3) and instead to learn about the 'deep action' of institutions (Holliday 1994:40) and the 'informal orders'
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

(Coleman 1988:157) of each other’s culture, in order maximise the chances of successful ownership of change by the host environment.

Studies of what actually happens or does not happen in state school or university classrooms, e.g. Coleman (1987), and responses to misplaced outsider assumptions eg: Pochiecha (1992), have shown how difficult it is for outsiders to see through the opacity of 'local rhythms' (Holliday 1995:65). As a result changes may be proposed that are not perceived as addressing local needs (Mbewe 1989), that do not take local resources (Louis and Miles 1992) or local teachers attitudes (Carless 1998) into account, or which demand behaviour that is not appropriate to the institutional culture (Beare, Caldwell and Millikan 1992).

Working in an unfamiliar culture, outsiders are often likely to be dealing as much with their own and their insider colleagues' subjective perceptions as with objective facts, when constructing their own picture of the environment (Markee 1997). Hence project participants on both sides may spend many years in a state of intercompetence (Holliday 1992, 1994), learning each other's cultures and associated behaviours before they are able to truly begin to understand what motivates the individual and institutional actions, reactions or inaction that they encounter on a daily basis, when trying to implement a particular change.

Many aspects of this complex process of developing understanding of the change environment and the behaviours that it induces are not purely a feature of educational change processes across national boundaries, but within them also. Fullan speaking of the North American context notes that 'educational change is a process of coming to terms with the multiple realities of people.'(1992: 113), and Whitaker (1993) observes in the UK context, that we need to remember that people affected by and participating in change are inevitably at different stages of their life and/or career cycles, and so are likely to perceive change differently. Nor, as will be discussed in more detail in 2.3 below, is educational change unique in the complexity of the environment within which it must operate. Organisational change literature, Hatch (1993), Pettigrew & Whipp (1991, 1993), and Gagliardi (1986 in Hatch 1997), also recognises that any change which results in fundamental alterations to individual and organisational culture, is a complex, multidimensional process, since organisations, like education systems, both absorb and contribute to the wider culture of which they are part.
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

The above suggests that fit between proposed changes and the environment into which they will be introduced, is most likely to be achieved if, prior to detailed planning for and implementation of change, time is made available to investigate the cultural environment into which the changes will be introduced. For such an environmental assessment to be worthwhile, it would need to provide change managers with information about how change is likely to be experienced by the institutions and individuals who will be affected, and how these experiences may in turn affect the change process. This information could then be used by those responsible for planning the change process to try and maximise 'fit' between the proposed changes and the environment into which they will be introduced.

Ethnographers like Geertz are only too aware of how difficult such cultural investigations may be.

'...I have never gotten anywhere near the bottom of anything I have ever written about. Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is. It is a strange science whose most telling assertions are its most tremulously based, in which to get somewhere with the matter in hand is to intensify the suspicion, both your own and that of others, that you are not getting it quite right.' (Geertz 1973 in Hatch 1997:223)

Fullan (1991, 1993) appears to agree, when he suggests that the reality of the complexity suggested above means that in any change environment there are

'... a huge number of variables and their interactive change nature is so large that it is logistically unfeasible to get all the necessary information and cognitively impossible for individuals to understand the total picture, even if the information is available.'(1991: 208)

He elaborates as follows:

'Take an education policy or problem and start listing all the forces that could figure in the solution and that would need to be influenced to make for productive change. Then take the idea that unplanned factors are inevitable- government policy changes or gets constantly redefined, key leaders leave, important contact people are shifted to another role, new technology is invented, immigration ceases, recession reduces resources, a bitter conflict erupts and so on. Finally realise that every new variable that enters the equation ... produces ten other ramifications which in turn produce tens of other reactions and so on...' (1993:19)

The above quotes might suggest that avoiding environmental assessment is a sign of clear-sighted management. However if this were so, one would expect change planners to acknowledge that environments were complex in their planning. Instead, despite
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

widespread acknowledgement of the need for 'fit' in educational change projects, and the
frequent references in the literature to change as a dynamic process set in a complex
environment, policy makers in government and industry often continue to view the change
process as something that can be rationally planned to occur in a purely linear manner.
They seem reluctant to engage with the complexity of what is being attempted. Reasons
given for avoiding environmental assessment seem often to be expressed in political terms,
the need to see quick results (Fullan 1992) and/or administrative and financial terms, the
need to fit the project into the sponsors' limited timescale (HMSO 1995).

Although the full complexity of the educational change environment can only be
appreciated after considerable time and with consistent effort, if at all, a substantial
literature discussing some of the main environmental factors affecting educational change
exists. This will be considered in the two sections that follow.

2. Educational cultures

One of the areas in which educational change policy makers have greatest need for
environmental information is in terms of the likely reaction of the host educational culture
to the changes which they intend to propose.

2.1 Definitions of culture and educational culture.

Culture has been variously and frequently defined. Most definitions, however, emphasise
the notion of culture as signifying "a particular way of life among a people or a
community." (Hatch 1997:204). Hatch (op cit:205) presents seven definitions of
organisational culture written between 1952 and 1993. Common to all are the notion of a
group who share certain meanings, assumptions, norms, values and knowledge. This notion
of culture involving a group sharing particular values is also expressed by Hofstede who
states that culture is

'The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one
human group from another. Culture in this sense includes systems of values, and
values are among the building blocks of culture' (1984b in Mead 1990:21).

Hofstede has investigated differences between national cultures, and the implications of
such differences for organisational and educational cultures, since the 1980s. In a series of
books (1980, 1984, 1991, 1994) he has reported on and analysed data gathered from 116,000
employees of the American multinational IBM from over 50 different countries in the late
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

1960s and early 1970s. In his book "Cultures and Organisations" (1994) he reports on the implications of national cultural differences for many other aspects of national life. He considers national cultures in terms of their position on four continua along which cultures may differ at a national level. These are as follows:

- **The Power-Distance continuum** refers to the manner in which different cultures deal with the fact that people are unequal.

- **The Individualist-Collectivist continuum** refers to the extent to which a culture considers the interests of the individual or of the group to be paramount.

- **The Masculine-Feminine continuum** refers to the degree to which the culture considers assertive or modest behaviour to be appropriate.

- **The Uncertainty Avoidance continuum** refers to the manner in which the culture deals with the anxieties that derive from the uncertainty of everyday life.

The transmission of values and hence of culture is one of the prime functions of any education system and of the institutions through which it performs its role. Any education system is therefore likely to share "...aspects of the national [...] cultures in and through which they operate." (Phillips, Goodman and Sackmann 1991 cited in Hatch 1997:200). Consequently, one would expect national cultures whose assumptions, norms and values cause them to be placed at significantly different points along Hofstede's four continua, to differ also in their educational cultures. Table 2.1 below, shows some of these suggested differences.

**Table 2.1 Different national cultures and their educational cultures.**

*(Hofstede 1994. Page numbers in brackets in each section)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features of educational culture in a High Power-Distance national culture (p37)</th>
<th>Features of educational culture in a Low Power-Distance national culture. (p37)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- The teacher takes all initiatives in the classroom</td>
<td>- Teacher expects students to take initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The teacher as 'guru' transferring personal wisdom</td>
<td>- The teacher as 'expert' transferring impersonal truths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Students treat the teacher with respect</td>
<td>- Students treat the teacher as an equal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Teacher centred education</td>
<td>- Student centred education.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features of educational culture in a Collectivist national culture. (ps61-63 and 67)</th>
<th>Features of educational culture in an Individualist national culture (ps 61-63 and 67)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Students only speak when spoken to</td>
<td>- Students are expected to speak up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Students expect to be treated as part of a group.</td>
<td>- Students expect to be treated as individuals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The purpose of education is to learn how to do.</td>
<td>- The purpose of education is to learn how to learn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features of educational culture in a Masculine national culture (p96)</th>
<th>Features of educational culture in a Feminine national culture. (p96)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The best students are the norm.</td>
<td>• The average students are the norm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failing in school is a major disaster.</td>
<td>• Failing in school is a minor accident.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features of educational culture in a High Uncertainty Avoidance national culture. (p125)</th>
<th>Features of educational culture in a Low Uncertainty Avoidance national culture (p125)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• What is different is dangerous.</td>
<td>• What is different is curious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Students feel comfortable in a structured learning situation and are concerned with the correct answer.</td>
<td>• The students feel comfortable with open-ended learning and are concerned with good discussion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The teacher is supposed to know all the answers.</td>
<td>• The teacher can admit that s/he does not know the answer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we shall see, many of the above features of educational cultures will reappear in Tables 2.2 to 2.4 that follow.

We saw above that cultures share value systems. The transmission of shared cultural values is thus one of the prime functions of any education system, and of the institutions through which it performs its role. An education system is, as noted in 2.1, part of a wider cultural system. Educational cultures therefore share

"...aspects of the national, regional,[....] occupational and professional cultures in and through which they operate." (Phillips, Goodman and Sackmann 1991 in Hatch 1997:200)

Just as the wider culture whose values it largely reflects is rarely entirely homogenous, so an educational culture may operate at, a minimum of four, overlapping, levels. First it shares, reflects, transmits and also contributes to the values and the '...trustworthy recipes for interpreting the social world and handling things and men.' (Schutz 1964 in Holliday 1994:95), that have been developed over time by the wider national group of which it is part.

Secondly, it generates an occupational education culture of its own, embodying many of these wider values, in which

'teachers, principals and even students have views of their world that help them understand and guide what they do, what they do not do and why.' (Heckman in Goodlad 1987:66)

Thirdly, within the wider educational culture, there are frequently more narrowly defined professional sub-cultures, which bind together teachers of a particular subject discipline, or those working in educational institutions within a particular region or with similar historical
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

backgrounds or dealing with students of a particular kind, who may share certain beliefs and/or behaviours in addition to, or instead of, those held by all within the wider educational culture.

Finally, each individual educational institution will, for purely localised reasons such as staffing or student background, have its own institutional culture made up of certain more or less unique shared values, attitudes or behaviours, not shared by other members of the wider culture.

The discussion that follows will refer only to the first two, more universal levels of educational culture, although examples of all four levels will be evident in the case study. This is because, as tables 2.2 to 2.4 hopefully demonstrate, it is at these levels that areas of potentially serious lack of 'fit', between the values underlying the proposed changes and those espoused by the existing system, may begin to be identified.

2.2 Differing educational cultures.

The values underpinning an educational culture, and the beliefs and behaviours that result from them, both reflect and may affect the wider culture in which they are situated. Some understanding of these values is thus essential for the management of educational change since it is these that determine how the education system perceives its task in terms of what knowledge and skills it seeks to impart, how it expects to do so and thus what roles it considers appropriate for those participating in the education process; administrators, teachers, learners and parents. Consequently some understanding of these values enables educational planners to anticipate, to at least some extent, the demands likely to be made by, and possible reactions to, the proposed changes.

Educational cultures may differ from one another along a number of continua. Some of those most frequently commented on in the literature are considered below in my version of the concepts introduced by those named. For the sake of clarity, only the extremes of the continua are presented. While recognising that few educational cultures are actually situated at the extremes of the continuum, I feel that many may be seen to be positioned firmly towards one end or the other, and that even such relatively crude information would be of value to the change planner.
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

It is striking here how identical terms are used in different literatures to represent quite opposite meanings. Thus a comparison between the assumptions, values and norms attributed by researchers working specifically in education to an 'Individualist' educational culture in table 2.2 below, shows them to represent quite the opposite end of the continuum from the features listed under the same term by Hofstede working in the broader field of national cultural differences, in table 2.1 above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individualist (Fullan &amp; Hargreaves 1992)</th>
<th>Cooperative (Fullan &amp; Hargreaves 1992)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collectionist</strong> (Bernstein 1971)</td>
<td><strong>Intergrationist</strong> (Bernstein 1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transmission based</strong> (Young &amp; Lee 1984)</td>
<td><strong>Interpretation based</strong> (Young &amp; Lee 1984)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Static</strong> (Holliday &amp; Cooke)</td>
<td><strong>Dynamic</strong> (Holliday &amp; Cooke)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational cultures</strong></td>
<td><strong>Educational cultures</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locus of control (Gaxiel &amp; Weiss 1990) (Wallman 1979)</th>
<th>External. Individuals feel unable to influence decisions that are made concerning their work.</th>
<th>Internal. Individuals feel able to contribute decisions that are made concerning their work.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Organisation of subject areas</strong></td>
<td>Subjects separated by clear boundaries. Clearly separated sets of subject content</td>
<td>Interdisciplinary. Recognising of connections and overlap between subject. Fuzzy subject boundaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approach to subject matter</strong></td>
<td>A finite body of content to be learned and tested. Competitive testing, product focussed.</td>
<td>Learning content only of what's required. A need for ongoing development in understanding uses of content for practical purposes. Collaboration encouraged. Process as important as product.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Two extremes of the educational culture continuum.
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional structure</th>
<th>Hierarchical, subject orientated departments, with little contact between staff teaching the same subject.</th>
<th>Flat hierarchy. Staff in different subject areas cooperate. Classroom practice open to peer observation and discussion.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approach to pedagogy (Hyde 1994)</td>
<td>Transmission of set body of knowledge. Teacher as expert provider of knowledge and evaluation of performance.</td>
<td>Development of learning and thinking strategies. Teacher as facilitator and organiser of opportunities to interact with input and with other students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach to learners</td>
<td>All the same. Empty vessels to be filled with knowledge.</td>
<td>Individuals who learn in different ways and may need to learn different skills and information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept of knowledge</td>
<td>A finite body of mostly factual information that is common to and needed by all.</td>
<td>Constructed individually from facts and life experience. Constantly changing as new information is assimilated by mental structures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likely experience of professional change</td>
<td>Little experience, since body of knowledge and manner if its transmission changing only slowly if at all. Changes likely to be in response to top down initiatives.</td>
<td>Changes, to meet the complex individual needs of different learners and/or new cross curricular initiatives, are a permanent feature of professional life. Changes may be both self initiated and expected by the external environment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These two extreme composite educational cultures outlined above, henceforth referred to as Individualist and Cooperative, represent significantly different views of what 'education' is supposed to achieve and how it is to achieve it. They clearly derive from very different cultural systems.

The Individualist educational culture appears to derive from a wider culture likely to be situated in the left hand column of Table 2.1 above (High Power-Distance, Collectivist and high Uncertainty Avoidance). Such a culture values order and stability highly, has a fixed accepted hierarchy in which each person has his/her place, and where both teacher and learner roles, and the manner in which subject matter it is to be taught and learned, are well defined and unchanging. Education aims to supply learners with a common, finite amount of subject matter. Once this has been learned, education is complete. In such a culture change is likely to be infrequent and top down. Members of such an educational culture are therefore unlikely to have much experience of significant personal professional change, and may initially view any proposed change negatively.
The Cooperative educational culture, in contrast, seems to represent a wider culture closer to the right hand column in Table 2.1, (Low Power-Distance, Individualist and Low Uncertainty Avoidance), which values and encourages change. Its hierarchy is relatively flat, boundaries between people and subjects are fluid and the interconnectedness of different strands of knowledge are acknowledged. Teacher and learner roles are less defined. Learners are expected to play an important part in learning the skills needed to cope with a view of the world that is constantly readjusted in the light of new information and experience. Formal education is therefore one stage of a learning process which will continue throughout an individual's life. The impression is given of an educational culture in which continuous personal and institutional change is viewed as normal.

Such diametrically opposed educational cultures are likely to result in widely differing classroom cultures. An example of what how such cultural backgrounds might affect what is regarded as appropriate and normal in English language classrooms, adapted from Hyde's (1994) description of her experiences in Albania and borrowing terms used by Coleman (1987) in his description of Indonesian language classrooms, is given in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.3 Individualist and Cooperative language classrooms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main content of the 'lesson'</th>
<th>Individualist classroom</th>
<th>Cooperative classroom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Teaching Spectacle</td>
<td>The written text in the coursebook and the grammar structures and vocabulary items that are exemplified.</td>
<td>A Learning Festival (Coleman 1987:98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Variety of exercises and activities deriving from within and outside the textbook, focusing on skills or language items, using a number of different teaching techniques.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How learning is assumed to take place.</td>
<td>Through the teacher presenting the lesson, with explanations of new grammatical structures and vocabulary items, which learners the 'learn' outside the classroom.</td>
<td>Through the teacher providing the learners with experiential, task or problem solving based activities, to be carried out as far as possible in English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of classroom interaction</td>
<td>Teacher asks learners grammar, vocabulary or comprehension questions, They answer.</td>
<td>In addition to teacher asking questions, learners questions, learners also interact with one another in pairs or groups in order to complete learning tasks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption about learner needs and behaviour.</td>
<td>All learners have the same language learning needs and</td>
<td>Learners have different language needs and learning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Where and how learning takes place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Where and how learning takes place.</th>
<th>Will learn in the same way.</th>
<th>Styles. Individuals will respond to tasks and activities in different ways</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Learning in terms of memorisation of the text takes place outside the classroom. In the classroom the teacher tests the extent of learning. Error-free performance is expected and once achieved, learning is assumed to have occurred.</td>
<td>Learning takes place through working with and using language both in the classroom and outside it. Language mistakes made during classroom activities provide evidence of learning taking place and, unless impeding communication or common to most, are frequently not commented on during activities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classroom Focus

| Classroom Focus | On the teacher as the provider of a finite quantity of knowledge about the subject. On the learners as one who learns the subject matter perfectly. | On developing learner's language skills. Teacher's main role is to be a skilled organiser of opportunities for all learners to develop their language skills further. |

It is not difficult to anticipate some of the problems that might arise for both teachers and learners in either language classroom, if representatives of one educational culture attempted to implement their own changes in materials or teaching methods with little or no previous understanding of the other.

A further area in which differences in educational culture may be significant is teacher education. An Individualist education culture, which stresses the importance of the separate subject disciplines and the finite nature of the knowledge contained within each subject's boundaries, together with the uniformity of learners needs, would be likely to have an initial teacher education curriculum that emphasised mastery of subject matter over the development of pedagogic skills. It might assume that once trained as a subject specialist teacher education was complete. The function of whatever further in-service training was provided would therefore be unclear.

A Cooperative educational culture which viewed subject boundaries as permeable, and the teacher's role as both providing subject knowledge and enabling individual learners with different learning styles to develop the strategies needed to continue their learning throughout their lifetimes, might be expected to include a balance of subject knowledge and both general and subject-specific pedagogy in their initial teacher education courses. Recognising that learning for teachers as well as learners is a lifelong process, such a culture might also be expected to have a well-structured, formally accredited, in-service training
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system attended by all teachers regularly throughout their careers.

Table 2.4, draws extensively on Wallace's (1991) book *Training Foreign Language Teachers* whose ideas were very influential in determining the teacher education model followed in the case study. It suggests some of the differences in initial teacher education that might be expected to exist in education systems representing the two extremes of the educational culture continuum outlined in previous tables.

**Table 2.4 Individualist and Cooperative initial teacher education programmes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Content</strong></td>
<td>Schools have an unchanging or very slowly changing curriculum, hence the same is true for teacher education. Finite body of subject knowledge to be learned in depth, occasionally added to by the research findings of experts.</td>
<td>School curriculum is dynamic. What is to be taught and how it is to be taught changes, therefore teacher education curricula change accordingly. Professional received subject knowledge is needed, but experiential knowledge also crucial, so adequate practice teaching essential.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Role of methodology</strong></td>
<td>Not complicated, so little time needs to be spent on it. Transmission of subject knowledge can be learned by imitating what is remembered from one's own school experiences, and/or by imitating the supervisor teacher during teaching practice.</td>
<td>No single template exists. Techniques can be and are taught. Micro teaching carried out with peers. Confidence in applying techniques and their adaptation to the individual teacher's personality can only be achieved through practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Role of teaching practice</strong></td>
<td>A chance to learn 'how to do it' from a qualified, experienced teacher. A minimum number of hours is sufficient.</td>
<td>Crucial to enable experiential knowledge to develop. For this, the trainee needs opportunities for cycles of teaching, reflection on performance in the light of received knowledge and perceived success, adaptation of future performance in the light of reflection, further teaching, and so on. A substantial teaching practice period is needed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-initial training</td>
<td>Training is a one-off affair. Possible future subject matter updating may be needed, in the light of new research insights.</td>
<td>Training is just the first step in the ongoing development of professional competence. Reflective cycles remain a permanent aspect of continuous professional development.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 2.2 to 2.4, although dealing with extremes of difference between educational cultures do demonstrate the interconnectedness of all aspects of education systems. Beliefs about, for example the nature of knowledge, the learning process and the openness of subject boundaries, will have implications for what is considered to be appropriate subject matter, the roles of and relationships between teachers and learners in the classroom, the content of the teacher education curriculum, and even familiarity with and perhaps likely attitudes to the notion of change per se.

Consequently although a full understanding of the context into which the changes are to be introduced may be impossible to achieve, educational project planners, especially when operating in unfamiliar cultural contexts, do require an awareness of where on the Individualist-Cooperative continuum the host educational culture lies. From this awareness some of its basic principles, and hence some likely reactions to the changes being proposed may be deduced, prior to making any detailed plans about the manner and speed of change implementation.

In addition, since most educational change is planned to take place within educational institutions, it is also necessary to have some understanding of the host organisational culture. This is discussed in the next section.

3. Organisational cultures

The concept of a 'culture' as a group sharing a, not always consistent, set of assumptions, values and norms which result in particular visible behaviours was discussed in the previous section. Schein (1985 in Hatch 1997) expands on each of the terms above as follows.
Assumptions are seen as supporting shared values, in the sense of social goals and standards that are agreed to be worthwhile. Values will in turn give rise to shared norms, unwritten rules of behaviour that allow everyone to know what is expected of them in particular contexts as they work towards agreed goals. Visible tangible examples of behaviour based on shared values and norms are termed by Schein, artifacts. Hatch (1997:216) suggests that such artifacts may be represented physically in e.g. dress codes, behaviourally in e.g. communication patterns or verbally in e.g. particular organisation-specific jargon that is used.

Educational institutions will generate an organisational culture that derives partly from their perception of education, but also from the wider culture of which they are part. The values and norms of this wider culture will strongly influence both the organisational structure of educational institutions and the manner in which they approach the possibility, the planning and the implementation of change.

As with educational cultures, a great deal has been written about the sorts of assumptions and values that underlie the behaviour of organisations and their members. In Table 2.5 below, aspects of organisational cultures are again presented as representing the extremes of a continuum. The table again draws on the work of Hofstede, and particularly on Webb and Cleary's (1994) discussion of the organisation's approaches to the management of expertise in the innovation process, since as becomes clear in section 4.2.3 below and throughout the case study, recognition of the need for, and support for the process of, developing implementers' expertise, is a crucial component in the management of the educational change process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.5 Two extremes of the organisational culture continuum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bureaucratic cultures</strong> (Fidler 1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job specifications for employees</th>
<th>Individual responsibilities fixed within a particular field of expertise. Little crossing of interdisciplinary boundaries</th>
<th>Individual roles continuously adapted and evolving. Interdisciplinary teams with close working relationships. Learning, collaboration and co-operation encouraged. Striving to identify shared a vision and the behaviours and actions that are required to achieve it.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff valued for</td>
<td>Their ability to contribute specialised, in depth knowledge of a particular field to the organisation.</td>
<td>Their ability to work with, and make immediate and longer-term decisions based on, a range of information of different types. Their ability to obtain and act on information from both the internal and external environments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude to change</td>
<td>Respond slowly to the need for change. View stability as the norm and so change as a temporary state existing when the norm requires readjustment. Freeze, unfreeze, refreeze (Lewin 1951) Uncomfortable with the notion of continuous innovation</td>
<td>Assume change and instability to be the norm. Recognise the need for, and have the skills to cope with, the continuous innovation needed in an unstable world.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These composite organisational cultures, referred to hereafter as Mechanistic and Organic cultures, once again represent cultural extremes. It is striking to note the areas of similarity between Tables 2.2 and 2.5. In both, the extremes of the continuum differ from one another principally in the extent to which they view the world of which they are part as stable or changing.

Individualist educational cultures and Mechanistic organisational cultures appear to share a perception that the world and the skills and knowledge needed to operate within it, are made up of a finite quantity of definable information and abilities that can be relied upon to remain stable and basically unaffected by whatever might be occurring in other parts of the wider environment. They represent examples of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) Functionalist paradigm, with their belief in the need to maintain equilibrium and stability. As and when change is necessary it is carried out in a planned and predictable manner that
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safeguards the fundamental stability of the status quo. These cultures thus value clear hierarchies, top down management and specialised, narrowly focussed expertise.

Cooperative educational cultures and Organic organisational cultures are conversely far closer to Burrell and Morgan's (op cit) Interpretive paradigm, in their view of the world as fluid, unpredictable, individually constructed and liable to change continuously as a result of unforeseen events in the wider environment. Such cultures recognise the need for all their members to be actively involved in analysing and interpreting the constant flow of new information deriving from the immediate and wider environments, to identify implications for the achievement of institutional or organisational goals.

Such widely different cultures might be expected to take very different approaches to the planning and implementation of change. These differing approaches are discussed in the next section.

4. Approaches to the planning and implementation of change

4.1. Approaches to planning the change process

Approaches to the planning of change vary principally in the extent to which it is considered possible to plan the future in detail. For organisational and educational cultures that believe the world to be stable and people's reactions to be consistently rational, it is logical to assume that plans to make particular agreed changes can be implemented exactly as anticipated. However, cultures that view the world as inherently unstable and unpredictable and recognise the frequent irrationality of human behaviour are less likely to put their faith in detailed planning of how a particular future goal is to be achieved.

Since the late 1970s there has been an almost unanimous movement within the organisational and educational change literature away from a 'rational' (Hatch 1997), 'hyper-rational' (Wise 1977, Fullan 1991), 'blueprint' (Sweet and Weisel 1979 in Thompson 1990), 'technological' (Blenkin, Edwards and Kelly 1997) view of the change management process. All the descriptors mentioned imply a view of change management based at the Individualist-Mechanistic end of the cultural continuum. Here, immediate institutional and wider environments are assumed to be fairly stable, and both hierarchical organisational structures, and their employees, working within clear, narrowly defined roles, are assumed to behave in rational and predictable ways. Consequently strategic change planning can be carried out as a discrete stage in the change process by qualified managers at the top of the organisational hierarchy, to establish the basic aims of the proposed changes and how they
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will be achieved. Once aims have been agreed and courses of action to be followed to achieve them have been identified, and provided necessary resources have been allocated, implementing the plans will, assuming effective management, inevitably result in the aims of the changes being achieved.

Such a view of planning within the overseas aid context has been labelled a blueprint approach to project management, and implies

'Certainty on the part of the designers that the technology and techniques previously identified are appropriate, and given good management will work in a local environment. It assumes that solutions to problems are known or can easily be discerned and that projects are merely vehicles for applying them.' (Sweet and Wiesel 1979 in Thompson 1990:28)

Within the educational change literature, the hyper-rational assumption that what has planned will inevitably lead to the desired goals, has been seen by some as one of the prime causes for the failure of so many change programmes:

'Another reason for failure is that the content of the policy is based on an empirically unsustained theoretical relationship between instruments and outcomes.' (Psacharopoulos 1989: 179)

'Educational policies fail because they are premised on the idea that the school is a rational organisation which can be managed and improved by rational procedures. Indeed much of the collective effort of policymakers, researchers and administrators is aimed at making school reality conform to the rational model.' (Wise 1977:113)

More generally, organisational change literature also suggests that a purely rational approach to the planning of organisational change is inadequate.

'...in some (perhaps even many) circumstances, rational planning theory and even strategic planning models are simply inappropriate.' (Webb & Cleary 1994:202)

'... the process of strategic change cannot be likened to a linear, sequentially ordered industrial production line. A more faithful analogy would be the process of fermentation with all its connotations of volatility.' (Pettigrew & Whipp 1991:32)

Increasingly, therefore, the literature suggests that the change process needs to be viewed in a more open, less closely defined, less fully planned, fundamentally less managed way. In a world in which the environment outside the institution or organisation is itself changing rapidly, it is no longer possible to predict with certainty how individuals and institutions will react to the plans made by rational change managers. Instead, it is those working in the more flexible Cooperative-Organic cultures who are in tune with the complex realities of the change process.
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One of the most influential figures over the last two decades of the twentieth century, who has contributed greatly to the move away from a purely rational approach to the educational change process, is Michael Fullan. His earlier writing, for example *The Meaning of Educational Change*, (1982, revised and expanded in 1991), looks closely at the experience of educational change projects in the state school sector in USA and Canada between the 1960s and 1980s, and in doing so identifies factors that seem to be influential in determining the extent to which desired changes actually occur. He uses these to begin to develop a model of the educational change process that recognises the need for educational change planners and managers to move beyond simplistic, linear, rational planning-implementation models and try to understand the complexity of what they are trying to achieve. His more recent work, for example *Change Forces* (1993) and *Change Forces: the Sequel* (1999) continues to develop a theory of educational change that acknowledges the contextual multidimensionality and instability within which any educational change occurs, tries to identify some of the key contextual components, and so to work towards a model in which change planners and managers understand the need to try and maintain a balance between clarity of overall aims and flexibility in their implementation, in a wider environment that is itself constantly changing. As the reader will notice, frequent references to his ideas are made throughout this thesis.

Researchers, Thompson (1990), Harding (1991), Eyben (1995) and Markee (1997), who have investigated the change process in the cross-cultural environments more typical of ELT projects, show themselves to be thinking along similar lines to Fullan, when they suggest a Process Approach to the planning and implementation of change projects. Such an approach 'is one where the precise outputs can't be accurately forecasted and pre planned, as they need to evolve over time.' (Harding 1991:295).

Their thinking is mirrored in the educational change literature by Everard and Morris (1985), Louis and Miles (1992), Fullan (1991,1992), Beare et al (1992) and Henry and Walker (1991). All these writers also note the need for the incremental, evolutionary planning of educational change, whereby the broad aims of the changes are worked towards through detailed planning of only what immediately needs to be planned. As the process continues, feedback from those participating in and affected by the changes is likely to reveal new, unanticipated themes and interim goals, which may in turn form the basis for the next stage of more detailed planning.
Fullan, (1991,1993) and Louis and Miles (1992) suggest that such an evolutionary approach to the planning and implementation of change is necessary, to take account of the reality that the external and internal change environments are often so unstable that no detailed plan can last long. Since the environment in which the change is taking place will itself be changing, no planner can ever have sufficient knowledge and information to be able confidently to plan far ahead. Consequently, while strategic planning can provide a tool for initially identifying and maintaining long-term focus on the ultimate aims of the change process, it is important for planners to remain sufficiently flexible to recognise that the manner in which the overall aims will be achieved can only emerge in the light of actual implementation experience.

The notion of Contingency Theory (Mintzberg 1990) which states that any organisational changes need to fit the characteristics of the wider environment, supports the more evolutionary concept of the change planning process. Where wider political, social and economic environments themselves remain basically stable, rational long-term planning of change can be regarded as reasonable. However, in the more unstable, complex, changing environments currently encountered in most parts of the world, there is little alternative when planning change but to do so via a succession of decisions that, based on the evidence available at the moment, appear appropriate for the achievement of ultimate goals. Such decisions may after the event be presented as 'strategies'.

A further factor, potentially increasing the complexity of the change process within an unstable environment, is the need for organisations to match the externally enforced 'institutions' (Meyer et al 1987), the societal rules that determine how organisations of different types are expected to behave. Powell and di Maggio 1991, in their Institutional Theory of Contingency, suggest that any organisation is potentially subject to three types of institutional pressure. Coercive pressure deriving from formal laws and regulations, Normative pressure relating to how the culture expects organisations of its type to behave, and Mimetic pressure to appear to be the same as other similar organisations. In a changing environment such institutional pressures will themselves also be changing more or less quickly, once again making the possibility of detailed, long-term strategic change planning unfeasible, as Louis and Miles point out:

'...in some (perhaps even in many) circumstances, rational planning theory and even strategic planning models are simply inappropriate. If we know the general direction we want to go in we may discover more if we start walking than if we spend the morning studying maps, listening to the weather reports and plotting out the precise route.' (1992:202)
Overall, therefore, the rational model of change management which assumes that, once policy makers have agreed the desired changes, drawn up detailed plans to achieve the changes and allocated adequate resources, the change will be implemented as planned, is increasingly challenged in the literature. Such a model, which assumes the stability of, and therefore ignores many aspects of, both the internal and external environments in which the changes will be implemented is no longer viable in a world in which the management of change frequently takes place within environments that are themselves changing. It is, instead, increasingly necessary for change management to encourage the development of Learning Organisations (Louis & Miles 1992, Fullan 1993, Whittaker 1993) in which all those involved in the planning and implementation of change agree on the broad aims of the change process, continuously try to understand the change environment as a whole, and contribute to building up a picture of the parts and the relationships between them. In doing so, they all have the opportunity to contribute to informed decisions about how best to proceed in the short-term, towards achievement of the long-term aims.

4.2. The Leadership of Change

Given the potential complexity of the change process outlined above, the manner in which the change process is led is clearly crucial. Whitaker and Louis & Miles (op cit) suggest that the process requires both leadership and management. The manager is responsible for the day to day functioning of the process in the direction set, the establishment of monitoring and feedback systems and the allocation of resources, while the leader sets the policy direction, develops systems to implement it and tries to develop a unified understanding of the aims of the changes. In effect the two roles of manager and leader outlined above are often merged.

A rational, mechanistic view of the change process encourages the idea of a manager or management team who control and direct the implementation of predetermined changes (which they may also have planned) to achieve agreed goals. Here management and leadership are likely to overlap considerably. The evolutionary view of the change process, in contrast, recognises that, since the route to be followed in order to achieve the aims of the changes is unclear, it is probable that throughout the change process the relative importance of the leadership and management roles will vary according to the clarity of the way forward at any given moment. The discussion that follows assumes an idealised evolutionary view of the change process and uses the term 'leader' to apply to both the roles already introduced.
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Since the manner in which change will be achieved itself emerges from the implementation process, leaders cannot know in advance exactly how the change process will evolve. Consequently they need to have a high tolerance for ambiguity and complexity (Beare et al. 1992, Bennett 1997, Westley and Mintzberg 1989) and the deep coping skills (Fullan 1993, Louis & Miles 1992, Beare et al 1992) that enable them to deal with unexpected challenges and problems as they occur, rather than ignoring them or hoping that they will disappear.

At any given point during the change process, leaders need access to as much relevant information as possible about the current state of both the formal and the informal orders of the institutional and wider environments in which the change is to take place. They also require the higher order skills and capacities that will enable them to sift and synthesise incoming knowledge and information to provide an accurate reading of the whole situation, to serve as a basis for decisions on appropriate action (Carey and Dabor 1995, Cave and Wilkinson in Bennett et al. 1992).

An important aspect of their role is the ability to match their leadership style to the existing organisational culture in a manner that enables all members of the organisation to cope with the constantly changing world in which they are working (Fullan 1993). This requires them to be able to maintain a contextually appropriate balance between change and continuity over time, through the establishment of effective monitoring systems and the adjustment of the rate and route of change on the basis of the feedback these systems provide. (Pettigrew and Whipp 1991). Much of their legitimacy as leaders derives from their ability to use the power that the role gives them to protect others from too much uncertainty (Hatch 1997), and in order to minimise uncertainty, they may find that at times staff expect them to exercise their role in a traditional manner and tell them what to do (Hellowell 1991 in Bush 1997).

Leaders need to be clear about the broad aims of the changes (Louis & Miles 1992), be able to communicate these aims to all those involved in implementation (Pondy 1978, Beare 1997) and able to legitimise the changes in the eyes of those working with them, through their own behaviour and through their ability to represent the changes positively to others outside the immediate change environment (Pettigrew & Whipp 1991). Such clarity about aims may not be forthcoming, since as Fullan (1991) points out, change leaders, despite the exceptional personal and professional demands placed upon them, have often had little involvement in actually deciding on and planning for the changes that they are supposed to
implement. In such circumstances they find themselves unprepared for their role, with little access to help and uncomfortable at leading changes that they do not really understand.

'We should feel especially sorry for those in authority positions ... who are responsible for leading or seeing to implementation, but who do not want or do not understand the change- either because it has not been sufficiently developed (and is literally not understandable) or because they themselves have not been involved in deciding on the changes or have not received adequate orientation or training.' (Fullan 1991:211)

In the case of newly appointed leaders or external change agents the situation can be particularly acute, as Bullock points out, with leaders working under time pressure in an unfamiliar cultural environment with newly encountered colleagues.

'Those new to post often face the difficult challenge of being expected to display expertise and achieve important management tasks, but typically without adequate situational knowledge nor specific knowledge of the people with whom they have to work.' (Bullock, James and Jamieson 1995:57)

Despite the varied extent to which leaders of evolutionary change processes are prepared for the roles that they are called upon to exercise, the change literature identifies a number of responsibilities common to all leaders. These are considered in the three sub-sections that follow.

4.2.1 The need for good communication.

The extent to which different educational and organisational cultures are likely to have systems that promote the free flow of information within the institution or organisation will vary considerably. Individualist-Mechanistic cultures with their separate specialisations, clearly defined hierarchies and top down decision making are less likely to regard access to information for all as a priority than Cooperative-Organic organisations with flatter hierarchies which, in explicitly recognising the interdependence of all functions, also accept that most information needs to be readily available to all, if the value of employees' skills is to be maximised.

It is clear from the previous section that leaders of evolutionary change processes need to establish good communications systems. Such systems will include mechanisms to ensure that the change implementation process is accurately monitored and that feedback is provided in ways that enable it to be used to inform ongoing change planning (Miles & Fullan 1980, Louis & Miles 1992, Ainscough 1994). It is therefore critical that leaders set up systems to enable them to share their understanding of the desirability of the changes,
the plans for the change process and the ultimate aims of the changes, with implementers on a regular basis so that leaders and implementers share, and continue to share, an understanding of the changes as they evolve throughout the implementation process (Pettigrew & Whipp 1991, Whitaker 1993, Beare et al 1992, Fullan 1991, Kanter 1995). In addition to communication between leaders and 'led', Fullan (1992) also emphasises the need for there to be opportunities (formal or informal) for communication, cooperation and learning between those working on the implementation of the changes. Such opportunities provide a forum for mutual aid, encourage the dissemination of best practice and, above all, demonstrate to all participants that the changes are valued by those in authority.

4.2.2. The need for maximum involvement

Once again, the two cultural extremes used as models above will view the need to involve the implementers in decisions about the change process very differently. The Individualist-Mechanistic culture is likely to have well-defined chains of command which make it quite clear who, at which level, is responsible for which stages of the change planning and implementation processes. In such cultures it is unlikely that those outside the established structures will be involved in decision making. The Cooperative-Organic culture, on the other hand, in more explicitly recognising that all employees have an important part to play in the success of the change process, is more likely to wish to involve as many staff as is feasible in all stages of the change process.

The maximum feasible number of potentially concerned people should be involved, before the actual implementation stage, in decisions about the aims of the proposed change and plans for their achievement (Hodges 1995, Ainscough 1994, Harding 1991, Eyben 1995, Morris 1991) so that there are a mass of actively engaged people who feel committed to and involved in the actual change implementation processes (Hutchinson 1991, Beare et al 1992, Louis & Miles 1992, Whitaker 1993, Woods 1988). Agreement about the desirability of change and about the outline of the change process does not imply consensus on all matters at all times among all those involved. The change process is a complex one. The more, different and committed minds there are, actively available to consider what is happening creatively and co-operatively from a variety of points of view, the more likely it is that problems will be identified early and dealt with positively (Henry & Walker 1991, Reich 1985, Fullan 1993).
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Continued involvement of at least those most directly affected, during all stages of the change process, implies leaders' willingness and ability to delegate responsibility. Such willingness to devolve responsibility is important (Fullan & Hargreaves 1992) in order to avoid 'Learned Helplessness' (O'Donoghue 1995), and to try and ensure that the locus of control over the change process will be felt to be internal by those involved (Gazel & Weiss 1990), thereby encouraging and supporting feelings of personal responsibility for the decisions constantly needing to be made. It is, however, essential that there is clear 'decision allocation' (White 1987, Fullan 1992, Louis & Miles 1992) so that all participants in the process are clear about who, ultimately, is responsible for what.

4.2.3 The need for Human Resource Development

In Individualist-Mechanistic cultures all employees have their particular, specialised roles, enabling leaders planning the change process to judge clearly what further training is likely to be required, for whom and in what quantity. Such training can then be budgeted for in the resource planning for the change process as a whole. Since the concept of learning in such cultures consists of the transfer of a finite quantity of subject-specific knowledge or skills from specialists to novices, the likely training will involve the one-off transfer of necessary new skills or knowledge to those requiring it. Once completed, it will be assumed that those concerned are now prepared for the implementation of the proposed change.

Leaders in Cooperative-Organic cultures viewing both the learning process and the change process as on-going, evolutionary and participatory, will recognise the need for staff development and training to be planned and budgeted for as an integral part of the continuing change implementation process.

The training of implementers is necessary to build the capacity for appropriate action (Pettigrew & Whipp 1991) and develop appropriate knowledge bases (Fullan & Hargreaves 1992). It is not however sufficient to plan to provide a particular pre-specified type of training only at the beginning of the change process, since training and development needs may themselves change as the change process evolves. Thus while there may be a need for training before implementation can begin (Fullan 1992, Louis & Miles 1992), it may also be necessary during the implementation process (Miles & Fullan 1980) and further support may continued to be needed to help sustain the changes after the official implementation period is over, (Verspoor 1989).
Selecting implementers for training in new skills and knowledge may be one clear way in which leaders can tangibly reward participation in the change process, (White 1987, Pettigrew & Whipp 1991). The process of much successful educational change may require implementers to alter their underlying beliefs about aspects of the teaching and learning process. In such cases leaders need to ensure that training includes discussion of the theoretical rationale for what is being proposed (Ainscough 1994), to enable implementers to understand the 'why' as well as the 'what' of change, and so become more confident in continuing to develop their new understandings, once the support provided during the official implementation period ceases. In such cases, it is particularly important that the training provided is sufficiently constant over the implementation period to allow for the ongoing reassessment of previously held beliefs in the light of the proposed changes. As noted by Lamb (1995), the traditional response to changes within education, the provision of a limited number of in-service training sessions, does not achieve this

**SUMMARY.**

The roles of leaders in any educational change process are complex. The main abilities, understandings and skills needed are summarised below:

- Understanding of how both the broad educational culture and the more immediate institutional culture are likely to respond to the proposed changes.
- Understanding of and belief in the value of the proposed changes.
- The ability to explain them to others within and beyond the immediate change environment.
- A high tolerance for ambiguity.
- Understanding at any given moment of the relationships between the wider and immediate environments, and of what these may imply for planning and managing the evolving change process.
- Desire to involve as many of those likely to be affected by the changes as possible in the planning and implementation process, by providing sufficient information and delegating authority.
- Recognition of the need for clear decision allocation.
- Awareness of implementers' needs for professional support, and the ability to establish training possibilities appropriate to the stages of the implementation process.

In practice, leaders with all of the above skills and knowledge are likely to be rare. However, even when present, they do not themselves guarantee successful educational
change, and a number of other factors are also frequently noted as contributing to success. These are dealt with in the following section.

5. Environmental factors affecting the success of educational change.

The previous sections have attempted to relate the themes under discussion to the two extreme educational and organisational cultural models identified in sections 2.2 and 2.3. In this section we will discuss factors commonly appearing in the literature that are thought to impinge positively or negatively on the likely success of the educational change process regardless of the culture in which it is taking place.

5.1 Planning and implementation factors

Factors frequently noted as strongly influencing the ultimate success of educational changes during the planning and implementation stages include, the attitudes to change of implementers and of their superiors, the provision of adequate funding over a realistic period of time, and the extent to which change implementation brings clear gains to the implementers.

The attitude of those likely to be affected by any change needs to be considered when beginning the planning process. Prior attitudes to change will affect the readiness of the organisation for change (Miles & Fullan 1980). Such attitudes will in part depend upon the extent of dissatisfaction with the present situation (Whitaker 1993), and so the perceived advantages of the proposed changes and the felt need or pressure to change (Louis & Miles 1992, Pettigrew& Whipp 1991) together with the extent to which the proposed changes are seen to be relevant to the local environment (Kennedy 1988, Carless 1998).

Attitudes are of course not immutable. They may be positively modified during the planning and implementation process. This may happen if:

- the purpose of, and benefits deriving from, the changes are clearly defined (Fullan 1989, Kennedy 1988),
- the change process is given legitimacy by the provision of clear moral and financial support for the changes from
  - the wider national environment (Fullan 1991).
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Such legitimisation of the proposed change, through demonstrating that it is regarded as important by important people, may be further enhanced if those participating in the change process are from the start seen to include some local key leaders, (Henry & Walker 1991), recognised as being of high status within the relevant professional context (Markee 1997).

The involvement of such key leaders, and the evidence of realistic planning provided by the provision of adequate funding and appropriate professional support, all give the change proposals a sense of seriousness which is likely to have a positive effect on the attitude of those affected. Such positive effects can be further enhanced if planners and leaders make it clear that they recognise that individual implementers' attitudes to the proposed changes will vary, and that there will be no sanctions for making mistakes (Whitaker 1993).

The timescale of the proposed change process needs to be sufficient (Kanter 1985, Fullan & Hargreaves 1992), and to provide enough time for the proposed changes to have the chance to work. Often, within educational change this need to allow adequate time is ignored.

'Rearly does policy take cognizance of implementation: there is an implicit assumption that implementation is an event, that change occurs next Tuesday or in September, rather than it being a process that extends over a period of years. That recognition needs to be built into policy.' (Hopkins 1987:195)

If Hopkins' view is true for educational change within a single culture, it is even more true for overseas ELT educational change projects, where the same lack of understanding of the time needed for educational change is frequently evident.

'Greater flexibility is needed in deciding the time-scale of a project, since innovations cannot be sustained in short periods. Unreasonable time constraints may prevent the development of strategies for dealing with the real-world situation found at institutions, which may not have been apparent from the brief visits made by aid personnel at the initial planning stage.' (Sharp 1998:143)

Insufficient time, especially if the changes demanded of implementors involve complex attitudinal and behavioural adjustments, may result in feelings of change overload (Fullan 1989), making teachers innovation-weary and resentful (Fullan 1991) and leading eventually to stress, bewilderment and fatigue (Sharp 1998). It therefore, needs to be recognised that within the change process there need to be periods of stability (Hopkins 1987) and that, if the process involves changing an educational culture, cultural change does not occur from
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one day to the next, but rather (like the change process itself), evolves over time and through a number of cycles.

The extent to which the educational change process can be seen, by those immediately and more widely affected, as bringing with it continuing personal and/or professional and/or material gains to the individual, and qualitative and/or quantitative improvements to the institution or institutions involved is also important. Only if gains are perceived to outweigh the inevitable losses resulting from the extra time and mental effort that change demands of implementers and administrators, are the changes likely ever to become a permanent part of personal and institutional behaviour (Kennedy 1988, Louis and Miles 1992). The gains may be tangible in the form of better working conditions and/or greater opportunities for personal development (Verspoor 1989) or higher economic status resulting from salary increments and/or job security (Wallman 1979, Kennedy 1988), or less tangible feelings of intellectual satisfaction and/or of providing a better education for the students (Kennedy 1988) and so increased job satisfaction (Wallman 1979).

Unless there is a general recognition among those most closely involved in the implementation of the change process that, overall, the gains resulting from their involvement outweigh the perceived losses, the changes are unlikely to be sustained once the formal implementation period ends. However, whether the changes continue beyond this point will also be influenced by other factors, as discussed in the following section.

5.2 Continuation Factors

Most educational change projects are funded for a limited time, the assumption apparently being that once the formal support for the change is withdrawn, those involved in its implementation will carry it on alone. The extent to which participants in the change process feel ownership of the changes, and hence the likelihood of its being sustainable once the formal project ends will be dealt with in greater detail in section 2.6. Here the focus of the discussion is on the environmental factors that may assist the continuation stage of the change process once the formal implementation period end. It is noticeable that the educational change literature in this area is extremely limited as compared with the literature relating to the planning and implementation of change.

Given the evolutionary nature of the change process discussed in chapter 2.4, it is likely that during the implementation stage, there will have been considerable adaptation, in
practice if not in spirit, of the aims as originally defined. At the point that the formal implementation stage ends, a new decision has to be made regarding whether to continue with any kind of support for the changes as they now exist, or not. As Fullan comments, 'in a sense continuation represents another adoption decision which may be negative, and even if positive may not itself get implemented' (1992:125).

An important factor that is likely to affect the adoption decision is whether or not there now exists a critical mass of teachers and administrators who are skilled in and committed to the changes (Fullan 1991, Markee 1997). Markee suggests that for there to be such a mass, 5%-25% of potential adopters must have become committed to the change process. Within the immediate environment it is also important whether or not there is ongoing support from the local key leaders (Fullan 1992) and whether implementor teachers, who feel that they have benefited from sharing their positive experiences of change, remain keen to continue doing so (Gallo 1998). If a critical mass has been established, and if teachers have had opportunities to meet and share experiences throughout the implementation period, it is likely that some sort of professional development system has been established as part of the initial change project. If the changes are to be continued, and are to continue to develop, it is essential that such training mechanisms continue to exist to support new arrivals (Berman and Maclaughlin 1978, Fullan 1989, 1992).

If it is eventually agreed that continuation is desirable, one of the major requirements will be funding. Funding for the planning and implementation stages, will have been allocated by policy makers at the start of the change process. Once the process is completed, it is usual for the funding to cease abruptly. If there is to be any significant chance of continuation, it is necessary for there either to be continued external funding, most likely if there is clear evidence of success (Beare et al 1992), or for arrangements to have been made during the implementation period for funding to be provided internally by the institution (Fullan 1991, 1992, Louis and Miles 1992). In the case of overseas ELT projects where the termination of project funding is often particularly stark, Woods (1988) suggests that if sustainability is to be possible, funding needs to be removed slowly, over a period of time, rather than all at once.

From the above, it is clear that one factor very likely to determine whether an educational change project continues is the extent to which it is perceived to have succeeded by those whom it has affected. One important marker of such success is the number of those who, through directly participating in, or having been affected by, the change implementation
process, wish it to continue. The larger the number and the more representative it is of all levels of the immediate and wider environment, the more likely it is that there will be pressure to continue.

Perceptions of success will depend substantially on the extent to which there is felt to be 'fit' between the actual outcomes of the proposed changes and the current beliefs and perceived needs of the educational, organisational and wider culture in which they have been implemented. This perception will in turn have been influenced by the reactions to the process of the implementers, the people most closely involved with the project on a day to day basis, to the manner in which the changes have been planned and implemented. Their reactions are the topic of the next section.

6. Human reactions to change

Whether or not any change succeeds (see section 2.7 for further discussion of 'success'), depends substantially on how those responsible for its actual implementation feel about what they are being expected to do. In the majority of cultural contexts towards the Individualist-Mechanistic end of the cultural continuum, where leaders plan change without consultation with those likely to be directly affected, there appears to be little interest in how such change will be experienced by the actual implementers. Fullan suggests that this is responsible for the failure of so many change proposals.

'Neglect of the phenomenology of change- that is how people actually experience change as distinct from how it might have been intended- is at the heart of the spectacular lack of success of most social reforms.' (1991:4)

In this section we therefore consider some of the factors that seem to affect how people react to educational change. It is frequently noted in the educational change literature (Fullan 1991, 1993, Claxton 1989, Hutchinson 1991, O'Donoghue 1995, Markee 1997) that change generates feelings of insecurity, vulnerability and potential stress among participants who feel that they may not be as good at the 'new' as they consider themselves to be, or are recognised as being, at the 'old'. Lauer & Lauer (1976) suggest however, that it is not change per se that engenders stress, but the rate and type of change that is being proposed. If there is too much change too quickly, there is a diminution of implementers' internal locus of control and an undermining of the psychological basis of behaviour. These potentially negative consequences reinforce the advisability of taking an evolutionary approach to the change process, in which movement towards the long-term goals of change occurs slowly, in small increments (Drucker 1985, Louis and Miles 1992), rather than expecting immediate radical change:
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'For effective change, it seems that the best strategies are to celebrate small wins and day to day successes, as well as to maintain a patient, long-term perspective. Even small scale changes require up to two years for good stabilisation and a five to ten year perspective is typical for more substantial reforms.' (Louis and Miles 1992: 30)

Hutchinson 1991, develops this notion in terms of change as a threat to affected individuals' 'key meanings' (Blackler and Shinmin 1984). Key meanings provide us with stability and security in our day to day perceptions of ourselves and our relationships with others. Educational changes, if they are to succeed, often demand alterations to cultural assumptions at institutional and individual levels. Where this is so, especially in Individualist-Mechanistic cultures, change may be perceived as a threat to such key meanings. In such circumstances attitudes to change may be negative:

'To protect key meanings we will defend the contexts within which they developed. Reason, persuasion, argument by others are not enough to help people adjust to significant losses, for no-one can solve for someone else the crisis of re-integration that disruptive changes impose.' (Blackler & Shinmin 1984:84)

However, those affected by educational change, in the first instance usually teachers, are of course individuals (Whitaker 1993, Fullan 1992, Everard & Morris 1985) and their attitudes to change will therefore vary. What is a problem for one may be less of one for others. Teachers may vary in any number of ways: in the degree to which they like or dislike change (Delaney 1998), according to their age, gender and the stage of their career (Leithwood 1990, Lam 1990, in Whitaker 1993), as a result of their previous attempts to implement change (Fullan 1992), according to the degree to which they doubt their current practice (Lamb 1995), or the extent to which they have been involved in the determination of aims and plans (Holliday 1992) and so feel individual commitment to the proposed change (Hopkins 1987). Consequently, individuals will pass through different stages of reaction to change, from shock to acceptance, (Whitaker 1993) or from awareness to refocus (Hord et al 1987 in Bennett and Carre 1995) at different speeds.

In addition to the above, it is generally agreed that teachers' perceptions of gains and losses (Kennedy 1988), costs and rewards (Fullan 1991), work incentives (Wallman 1979) will also significantly affect their attitudes to change. Carey and Dabor (1994) point out that the motivational potential of any proposed change will be enhanced if the 'hygiene factors' of the job (the salary, the working conditions and the interpersonal relationships) are perceived as satisfactory. Thus, both Pettigrew and Whipp (1991) referring to change in commercial organisations, and Louis and Miles (1992) discussing educational change, agree
that leaders need to ensure that the rewards of change are maximised and made as obvious to implementers as possible.

Human responses to the implementation of change within a particular work environment thus depend on individual perceptions of what the change represents. These will be based upon a combination of factors, including past experiences, present involvement in and commitment to the work environment, and perceptions of likely future gains and losses resulting from the propose change. It is, however, these attitudes and reactions to change on the part of those most directly affected, the implementers, that will, in the first instance determine the extent to which the proposed change is successful. The final section of this chapter discusses the concept of successful educational change.

7. Successful educational change

The sort of change that is required in order for an educational change to be successful, depends on what it is that is being changed. As previously mentioned, overseas ELT projects have commonly attempted to introduce curricula, syllabuses, materials or tests deriving from a broadly Cooperative educational culture into either the language learning classroom or the language teacher education systems of broadly Individualist educational cultures. All of these changes, whether introduced individually or simultaneously, have required implementers to develop new professional skills, based upon a more or less altered understanding of the nature of language and language learning and of the classroom behaviours that may help or hinder the learning process.

Successful implementation of such changes, in the sense that the changes are sustainable in the sense of continuing to be implemented as initially conceived, once the donor agencies withdraw, is thus likely to require changes both in implementers' beliefs and their behaviours. Such fundamental cultural changes are, as has been suggested in the previous section, difficult to achieve.

The educational and organisational change literature warns repeatedly of the need to consider carefully what has actually changed, before coming to any conclusion about the success or failure of any change process. It points out that First Order changes, that improve the efficiency or effectiveness of what is already done (Fullan 1991), Simple Change, which is easy to carry out but may not make much difference to what actually occurs in the classroom (Fullan 1992), or Apparent Change in which a new situation is
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

dealt with using old beliefs and behaviours (Gagliardi 1986 in Hatch 1997), are often taken to signify that more fundamental, cultural, change has occurred:

"It is not uncommon for example for people to say that they have changed, and even to think they have changed, but for that change not to have affected what they do very much at all." (Claxton 1989:119)

Such apparent changes may, therefore, represent only a state of False Clarity (Fullan 1991). In this state people may think they have changed, in fact have assimilated only some of the techniques and jargon of change to their existing practice without really understanding why, and without allowing the changes to challenge their prevailing beliefs (Fullan 1991, Blenkin et al 1992, Lamb 1995). Alternatively it may be a sign of decision to adopt the rhetoric of change, but not the operational realities in order to save the leaders' face (Morris 1991). In such situations according to Bennett (1997), while Espoused Theory may publicly state that change, i.e. the introduction of a new set of materials, has occurred, Theory in Use, the actual teaching approach and underlying beliefs about language and learning, may remain substantially unchanged.

Fullan (1992) and Louis and Miles (1992), suggest that successful educational change needs to occur within the individual.

'It is what people develop in their minds and actions that counts. People do not learn or accomplish complex changes by being told or shown what to do. A deeper meaning and solid change must be born over time.' (Fullan 1992:115)

There have been numerous attempts to identify what might represent evidence that such 'solid change' has occurred. Fullan 1991, 1992, 1993, calls it variously Second Order Change or Real Change where one can notice a fundamental alteration to the organisational culture and the ways in which organisational goals, structures and roles are perceived, and Complex Change where there is evidence of changes to actual behaviour resulting from a changing mental outlook.

Pettigrew et al (1988) refer to Transformational Change, evidence of significant changes in the individual's or organisation's values which if real, will lead to Lasting Change in the assumptions that determine how situations are interpreted and how ideas are regulated. Barfield 1996 views successful change as the development of a new community of explanation which, through sharing the same assumptions and beliefs about teaching and learning, then becomes a new community of practice in which these shared assumptions beliefs are demonstrated by shared behaviours.
Gagliardi 1986 introduces the concept of Cultural Incrementalism. In this view of the change process the implementation of changes that initially imply different but not incompatible values, stretches the organisational or institutional culture to accept the new values together with the old. Then, eventually, if the change continues to be perceived as beneficial, the existing culture allows the new values to be incorporated among its basic cultural assumptions.

All the above attempts to identify what might be meant by 'solid change' agree that for such change to have occurred there must be evidence of changed behaviour resulting from changed values and beliefs. For this to be possible it is necessary for implementers to understand both the 'how' and the 'why' of change. To gain 'Mastery' (Fullan 1993) of new ideas and skills, individuals need to behave their way into them as well as think their way into them. It seems therefore that for the individual also, the change process is a series of incremental cycles in which new ideas are initially implemented imperfectly understood, adapted in the light of feedback and growing understanding, re-implemented and re-adapted through to a stage where eventually implementers both understand the changes and feel confident about the skills that the changes demand.

Ownership of change, on which any ongoing sustainability depends, thus requires clarification of ideas and perception of gains (Teasdale 1998). It is, as suggested above, a developing process resulting from learning through experience, as well as an eventual state (Markee 1997) and consequently takes time to achieve (Fullan 1993) as new ideas gradually filter through into practice.

'Teachers engage with new ideas and gradually accommodate them within their own belief structures by making adjustments in their own thinking. It may be a long process having little immediate practical effect in their teaching, and with the tension between previous and recent ideas taking years perhaps to find a resolution.' (Lamb 1995: 77)

Ownership of change at the end of an ELT project may be measured in terms of the extent of implementers' confidence about and belief in their changed ways of thinking and behaving. The extent of such confidence and belief will depend on their personal experience of the change process. It is the extent to which implementers feel committed to continuing to apply the changes that have been introduced (albeit by now adapted to changing local environmental realities) which will ultimately determine whether the change project may be considered to be successful.
'Projects leave behind many things: libraries, teaching materials and sometimes even buildings. They can also change ways of thinking and behaving, attitudes to learning and teaching and to change itself. ... Project planners can become obsessed with the tangible at the expense of the intangible, but changes in ways of thinking and approaching issues are ultimately more important than new materials which may be discarded soon after the project ends, or new libraries that may never be used.' (Arnold & Sarhan 1994:20)

8. Conclusion

Since educational cultures are a reflection of the wider culture in which they are situated, it is unlikely that changes in educational attitudes or beliefs can be sustainable unless they will be tolerated by the wider cultural environment. We thus return to the notion of 'fit' with which this chapter began, and the idea that successful educational changes in the terms outlined above will only continue in the longer term if the implementers' immediate cultural environment (and so by implication the wider environment also) has itself also changed sufficiently to be willing and able to accommodate the modifications to cultural beliefs and behaviours that the educational changes imply.

Successful educational change thus can only be sustained in a culture that is not entirely static at the Individualist-Mechanistic end of the cultural continuum. Instead it requires a culture that is at least open to the idea of some change in its beliefs and so its behaviours. The way that the educational change process evolves will itself partly depend on changes in the wider environment during the implementation period. Both institutional change leaders and individual implementers will develop their understanding of what the changes actually mean in practice through a series of implementation-feedback-adaptation cycles, their developing clarity contributing to informed decision-making about the appropriate next steps towards the achievement of what may turn out to be quite considerably modified aims.

Thus, where in the first section of this chapter we noted that educational changes had to 'fit' the culture into which they were being introduced, it is necessary to note at the end of this chapter that the need for 'fit' is continuous. Throughout the evolving educational change process, monitoring needs to include consideration of the extent of changes in the wider environment and their implications for the next round of decision making. Educational change is therefore only part of a wider process of continuous change, see Figure 2.1 below, which both affects and is affected by the evolving educational change. It
Chapter 2. The process and product of educational change.

is this process of educational change occurring in a rapidly changing wider cultural environment that is the focus of this case study.
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Figure 2.1. The continuous change cycle.

1. When educational changes are introduced to an institution from outside, the educational change process within the institution and the extent to which implementation of change alters individual and institutional attitudes and behaviours in hoped-for ways, ultimately depends on the extent to which the proposed changes are in harmony with, and so understood and supported by...

The sustainability of the established educational changes will depend on the extent to which the changes continue to be in harmony with...

2. ...the wider political, social and economic culture in which it is taking place. The culture will have assumptions about the desirability of change per se, about who should instigate and lead it, together with more or less experience of participating in the change process.

Particularly important will be...

3. ...the wider educational culture whose attitudes to and expectations of the education process will affect perceptions of the need for any change, and of the gains and/or losses that the proposed changes might bring....

AND

4. ...the wider organisational culture whose attitudes to and expectations of organisational structures and management systems will result in assumptions about the proper manner in which to carry out the change planning and implementation processes....

FURTHER

(2) to (4) will affect the attitudes, expectations, beliefs and behaviours, when confronted by change, of.....
CHAPTER 3. DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PROCESS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research process. It begins with a description of my background. Next it attempts to outline the theoretical position underlying the research. A description of the case study, its aims and the extent to which it meets the essential characteristics of a case study as outlined by Merriam (1988) follows. Next comes an account of the subjects, with a brief background to each, and of the research methods, followed by a discussion of the data gathering and analysis process. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the extent to which the research meets the criteria for trustworthiness, proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985 as adapted by Erlandson, Harris, Skipper and Allen 1993) and others.

1. The Researcher's Background

I worked overseas on ELT projects sponsored by an NGO, the private sector and the UK government from 1977-1998. From 1985 to 1998 I worked on UK government sponsored projects in communist or recently ex-communist countries, namely China and Hungary. From September 1993 to June 1998 I was employed by the British Council as Assistant Director of the institution investigated in this case study. Details of what the post was perceived to involve in 1994-1995 are provided in Appendix 1.

My role from the beginning of the data collection process in September 1996 to its end in June 1998 was that of a Participant Observer (Yin 1989, Merriam 1988). I participated as a full-time staff member, and was one of the main decision makers. I knew all of those interviewed in a professional capacity (as colleagues, students or administrators) and a few as personal friends, prior to beginning the research. Possible effects of the above on the research process will be discussed in the sections on research design and data analysis.

2. Theoretical position underlying the research

2.1 Quantitative or Qualitative?

Much of the qualitative research literature (Lincoln and Guba 1985, Denzin and Lincoln 1994, Erlandson et al 1993, Guba and Lincoln 1994, Crossley and Vulliamy 1997, Merriam 1988, Miles and Huberman 1994) strongly suggests that, although the ontological, epistemological and methodological principles of quantitative research remain extremely
influential, where research concerns the investigation of people's beliefs and behaviours, a different set of research principles are required.

At its most extreme, the discussion opposes a quantitative-positivist, scientific view of research to that of a qualitative-constructivist view. These two views again represent opposite ends of a number of continua, the main differences between which, adapted from the work of the authors cited above except where otherwise stated, are outlined in Table 3.1

Table 3.1. Some beliefs and principles underlying Quantitative and Qualitative approaches to research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ontology</th>
<th>Quantitative/Positivist</th>
<th>Qualitative/Constructivist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the form and nature of reality, and so what can be known about it? (Guba and Lincoln 1994)</td>
<td>• A single, objective, external reality exists. • We can know this reality as a set of time and context free generalisations-facts or laws-some of which have a cause and effect relationship with each other. • A researcher can help establish the reality by providing research reports that are replicable, thus enabling the truth to be verified. • True facts or laws are widely generalisable to similar contexts.</td>
<td>• Reality is socially constructed. • Individuals' minds use the impressions they gain from the world about them to create their own mental picture of reality. • Multiple individual internal realities exist simultaneously and change all the time. • Truth therefore is the best informed and most sophisticated construction of reality about which there is consensus, at a given time (Schwandt 1994 in Denzin &amp; Lincoln 1994) • A researcher can at best understand and reconstruct people's construct of reality at a given time or over a given period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemology. What is the nature of the relationship between the would-be knower and what can be known? (Guba and Lincoln 1994)</td>
<td>• Researchers are disinterested, detached from and objective about their subjects. Strategies exist to reduce or eliminate any influence that environment or subjects may have on the objectivity of the research • Research takes place in a value and context-free, environment The researcher, as disinterested scientist, passes results to others. They then decide how the results are used.</td>
<td>• The researcher needs to interact with subjects to elicit their constructs of reality. • The researcher needs to produce a rich description of the social world of the subjects and of the context in which they live and work. • The researcher is a 'Passionate Participant' (Lincoln 1991 in Guba and Lincoln 1994)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3. Description of research process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methodology. How can inquirers set about finding out whatever it is that they believe can be known? (Guba and Lincoln 1994)</th>
<th>• By the verification or falsification of pre-stated hypotheses, through the objective measurement of results provided by empirical tests.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research Purpose</td>
<td>• The focus of the research emerges and develops through interaction between researcher and subjects. It enables understanding of the processes gone through and the meanings constructed by the subjects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To explain reality through building up mankind's knowledge of objectively verifiable facts and the causal relationships between them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• To understand how all the different aspects of human impressions and experiences combine to form their construct of reality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To develop mankind's ability to control and predict physical and human phenomena.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Over time, to build up ever more sophisticated constructs of reality, that are able to admit the existence of alternatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can the quality of the research be judged?</td>
<td>• Through its internal and external validity and through the reliability offered by its replicability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Through its 'Trustworthiness' (see section 5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is necessary to state that the above represents an extreme view of current oppositions within the research community. It is also noticeable how closely some of the fundamentals of each extreme, match principles identified in the previous chapter when considering educational and organisational cultures. The assumption that it is possible for an expert researcher to identify stable, certain, discrete, generalisable facts without regard to the individual or contextual characteristics of what is being studied, that characterises the positivist approach to research, has much in common with the stable, ordered, specialised world of the Individualist-Mechanistic end of the educational and organisational culture continua (see Chapter 2, Tables 2.1 & 2.4). Similarly the constructivist recognition that researchers cannot hope to understand their subjects fluid, constantly changing, individual constructs of reality, without repeated and flexibly-focussed interaction and involvement with the subjects and their environment has aspects in common with the open-to-change, flexible Cooperative-Organic end of the earlier continua.

While some of the writers on whom Table 1 is based, seem to suggest two, totally separate research paradigms, others dispute whether the opposition between these two research approaches is actually as extreme as it appears. Walford (in Holliday 1996) for example, questions whether the process of purely objective research is in fact ever carried out as rigorously as positivists would expect.
The careful, objective, step by step model of the research process is actually a fraud, and, within natural science as well as social science, the standard way in which research methods are taught and real research is often written up for publication, perpetuate what is in fact a myth of objectivity. (1991:1)

Considering matters from the constructivist end of the continuum, Miles and Huberman (1994, in Denzin & Lincoln 1994) suggest that although individuals construct meaning as a result of their own experiences, the objective world is not just a purely mental construct and that external social phenomena do exist and can be identified and agreed upon by those participating in them.

Atkinson et al (1988) explicitly state that the apparent neat and absolute split between these two approaches to research is unreal and does not match the actual untidy research reality that most scholars would recognise. The difference in their underlying ontology and epistemology, suggests Vuilliamy (1990), is a result of the different origins of their area of research interest. While the positivist, quantitative approach to research derives from the scientific investigation of aspects of natural phenomena, qualitative research has from its inception been more focused on the beliefs and behaviour of human beings, and has thus found it necessary to have a closer, more involved relationship between researcher and subjects. When it comes to research techniques, both approaches may use techniques most commonly associated with the other. Thus in my broadly qualitative research, questionnaires, usually associated with quantitative studies have been used to support and expand on some of the interview data, and conversely interviews commonly associated with qualitative research might be used in a more quantitative investigation, albeit in a very structured form.

Coffey and Atkinson also consider the debate as to whether qualitative and quantitative research represent two totally different paradigms to be false when they note that some commentators suggest

'...that qualitative research can be characterised in terms of a number of paradigms, that is a more or less incommensurable package of assumptions, subject matter and techniques. Most, if not all, of these paradigmatic statements are muddled and try to erect barriers and oppositions where none exist, or try to make differences of emphasis into insurmountable epistemological clashes.' (1996:12)

They suggest that qualitative research should not be viewed as a separate research paradigm. Indeed they propose that we should not think about research in terms of paradigms at all, since in doing so we imply there is only one way to approach a given research problem, which leads to rigidity and inflexibility in research design.
2.2 Research into Change

Since, as discussed in the previous chapter, the way any change process evolves is the result of a multitude of factors, any research into change is likely to be complex. Pettigrew et al (1988) speaking about research into change in the National Health Service, describe the breadth of factors to be considered as follows:

'The task is to identify the variety and mixture of the causes of change, to examine the juxtaposition of the rational, incremental, political and cultural views of the process, the quests for efficiency and power, the role of exceptional people and of extreme circumstances, the untidiness of chance, the variable interpretation of policy and structural context, and to explore some of the conditions in which these mixtures occur.' (Pettigrew, McKee & Ferlie 1988:301)

Fullan (1991:350) gives an equally daunting description of what change may involve for participants in an educational setting:

'Change is difficult because it is riddled with dilemma, ambivalencies and paradoxes. It combines steps that seemingly do not go together: to have a clear vision and be open-minded; to take initiative and empower others; to provide support and pressure; to start small and think big; to expect results and be patient and persistent; to have a plan and be flexible; to use top down and bottom up strategies; to experience uncertainty and satisfaction. Educational change is above all a very personal experience in a social but often impersonal setting.'

Both the above quotes reinforce what was clear in the previous chapter, that although a fundamental aspect of educational change is the process of changing individual participants' beliefs and behaviours, the extent to which, and speed with which, this will be possible will be affected by a large number of other internal and external environmental factors. Consequently any research that hopes to achieve a full understanding of the change process will need to consider both the human participants and the wider world within which the change more or less successfully occurred.

'The analytical challenge is to connect up the content, contexts and processes of change over time, to explain the differential achievement of change objectives.' (Pettigrew et al 1988:303)

It is this challenge that this research tries to meet.

2.3 The research position

I believe with Huberman and Miles (op cit) that social phenomena exist in the objective world as well as in the mind. I do, however, acknowledge the historical and social nature of individuals' knowledge and recognise that this will affect how they interpret their life experiences in the objective world. I therefore look in detail at the 'objective world' of the
Chapter 3. Description of research process

culture and environment within which the project was planned and implemented, and how it changed during the implementation process, as part of my attempt to understand participants' experiences of the change process, and the meanings that they have constructed from them. The research thus follows Crossley and Vulliamy (1997) in their definition of qualitative research.

'The so-called Qualitative Paradigm (their emphasis) has as its defining principle a commitment to seeking to understand the phenomenon being studied in the light of the explanations and perceptions of those involved. It places the influence of culture and context center stage…' (xi)

The research may be considered to be grounded (Huberman and Miles 1994), in the sense that I was familiar with many aspects of the setting when the research began. It may also be considered iterative since it consisted of a number of cycles in which themes identified in one cycle were important starting points for the questions asked in the following cycle. It is not however purely inductive, since the focus in the first cycle of the research design was strongly influenced by my previous work on similar projects, my experience of working on the ELTSUP project, my reading of the literature as outlined in chapter two and my examination of some of the project documentation.

3. The Case Study

As mentioned briefly in the introductory chapter to this dissertation, the case studied is The Centre for English Teacher Training/Department of English Language Studies (CETT/DELS) in Debrecen, Hungary between 1991 and 1998. This was an entirely new institution when it was set up in 1991 to provide a different kind of English language teacher education curriculum to that offered by existing institutions. It was an ELT project of the kind mentioned in the previous chapter, formally agreed between the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and the British Council (BC). It is therefore a longitudinal, single case study.

The historical circumstances in which the project was situated make the case difficult to categorise. The focus of the case is on the process of planning and implementing the proposed new teacher education curriculum within CETT. It has features of several of the five types of case study suggested by Merriam (1988). In the sense that it considers the socio-cultural influences on the case, it has aspects of an Ethnographic case study. It is a Historical case study in that it traces developments at the institution over a seven year period. Given the unique environment in which it was situated, it is also inevitably a
Chapter 3. Description of research process

Descriptive case study, presenting some basic information about a new area, namely the process of transition from socialism to post-socialism in a Hungarian institution.

Stake (1994 in Denzin & Lincoln 1994) suggests two basic types of case study; Intrinsic and Instrumental. I would argue that this study is principally Intrinsic, in that it seeks to achieve a better understanding of the case in question. However, in hoping that this understanding will also provide insights into some of the issues relating to educational change, discussed in the previous chapter, it is also instrumental.

Marshall and Rossman (1989) propose three further categories of case study; Descriptive, Explanatory and Exploratory. In the sense that the research looks at what went on, the process, and where the case is likely to move next, it is a Descriptive study. It also seeks to explain why things happened as they did over time, and tries to be Explanatory. However since it is impossible to be descriptive and explanatory in this case without also exploring aspects of the cultural adjustments needed to enable the transition from socialism to post socialism in Hungary, the study might also be called Exploratory.

4. Research Design.

Since it is an iterative, qualitative study the initial design was necessarily tentative, (Erlandson et al 1993). The first stage of data collection was necessarily based upon 'etic' issues (Stake 1995), brought to the study by the researcher. As the study developed 'emic' issues deriving from data provided by the case participants also became part of the evolving investigation.

4.1. Subjects of the research

Patton (1990 in Erlandson et al 1993: 186) states that within qualitative research there are no absolute rules for sample size. However, he continues:

'What is crucial is that the sampling procedures and decisions be fully described, explained and justified, so that information users and peer reviewers have the appropriate context for judging the sample.'

4.1.1 Ethical considerations and confidentiality of interview data

All subjects were aware of the research and of the fact that they were being recorded. They were told that they could see the transcripts if they wished. Two asked to do so. No formal
agreement was entered into as to how the content might be used. I have however tried to safeguard the identity of the subjects from the casual reader by allocating them to one of three classes and numbering each of them within the class. They are classified as follows:

- 'Coll' represents the project implementers at CETT/DELS Debrecen. Since these were interviewed up to three times each, the number of the interview is represented by the final number in their designation, for example 'Coll 7/3' signifies the third interview with Coll 7.
- 'Admin' represents those subjects at the university, in Budapest, and elsewhere who were more peripheral but whose actions impinged on the planning and/or implementation process.
- 'Part' represents participants, students at CETT Debrecen.

Below I outline the principal subjects of the study, and provide a brief rationale for their inclusion. Pen-portraits of the actual implementers may be found in Appendix two.

4.1.2 Interview subjects

The richest source of research data derives from interviews carried out with the following groups of people.

- The implementers, full-time staff at CETT/DELS Debrecen. These were the people most involved with the case on a day to day basis. There were ten Hungarian teachers, the Hungarian Director of CETT/Acting Head of Department of DELS, and my British Council employed colleague. Seven of the twelve listed remained with the project throughout the lifetime of the study. 11 out of the 12 were interviewed once and six twice more over a two year period. (All interviews were held in offices at CETT/DELS Debrecen and lasted between 45 and 180 minutes - for questions asked see Appendix 3.

- Key representatives of the sponsoring agency, the British Council (BC). (For questions asked see appendices 4a-c)
  - The English Language Officer responsible for planning the project, (chronologically the first of what later were several projects in Hungary), overseeing its early implementation and beginning to reorient it as a result of the first project evaluation. Interview held in a coffee shop in London and lasted ninety minutes.
• Her successor who, among an increasing number of other tasks, dealt with
the results of the reorientation and the winding down of the project.
Interview held at his office in Budapest and lasted one hour.
• The Hungarian Project Implementation Manager, employed by the British
Council specifically to focus on the project. She played an important role in
planning how the project might have a continuing influence in Hungarian
language teacher education circles, once the project no longer officially
existed. Interview held in my flat in Debrecen and lasted 75 minutes.

Key members of staff of the university within which the institution was situated, whose
attitudes and behaviours significantly affected the implementation process. These were:
(for questions asked see appendix 5a-d). all interviews held in the subjects’ offices.
Interviews lasted one to two hours.

• The Head of the English department an Dean of the Arts faculty within
the university at the time of the project’s inception. He later became
Rector of the university and was thus an influential figure throughout
the first half of the period studied.
• The Chair of the Institute of English and American Studies (IEAS)- the
successor entity to the university English Department. He remained
Chair from 1993-1998 and played an important part in determining the
likely direction of the future of the project once the British Council
withdrew.
• The Head of the Linguistics department within IEAS. The Linguistics
department were responsible for the subject-specific teacher training
aspect of the university English language teacher education programme.
As such they represented a model of teacher education quite different
to that introduced by the project. Relationships with certain members
of this department were not always easy.

The Hungarian 'Key Leader' (Fullan 1991, Louis & Miles 1992), the only internationally
known Hungarian Applied linguist, based at Budapest University who became Director
of CETT Budapest at its inception in 1990.(For questions asked see appendix 6).
Interview held in his office in Budapest. Duration one hour.

Twelve students who had graduated from the course offered by CETT. They were
interviewed in one group of three, one pair of two and otherwise singly. All interviews
took place in my office at CETT Debrecen. Interviews lasted 45-90 minutes. (For
questions see appendix 10a-b)
Chapter 3. Description of research process

- A school supervisor responsible for the management and training of CETT students during their teaching practice. (The tape recorder failed on this interview and hence no data was recorded. No notes had been kept and thus this interview is not part of the data)

- The Hungarian Head of a similar project at the nearest separate institution. This institution was a Teacher Training College about 50 kilometres distant and there was considerable co-operation between us in the latter stages of the project. Interview in her office, lasting about 75 minutes (For questions see appendix 8)

- The Deputy Head of the Pedagogy Department at the university. This department was responsible for all non subject-specific teacher education within the university, and was one that we hoped eventually to cooperate with to a far greater extent than we actually did. The subject was what the Hungarians called a 'Suitcase Professor', based in Budapest, at the National Institute for Educational Research, and so had a broad overview of the Hungarian educational system, its culture and its likely future concerns. Interview held in my office, lasting one hour (for questions see appendix 7)

- The British Council In-Service Advisor for North Eastern Hungary. The area covered by the advisor included the county in which the case was set. He had, by the time of the interview visited over 200 Hungarian schools in the region and was therefore able to provide a picture of the language classroom that was based on a solid body of up-to-date personal experience. Interview held in my flat, lasting 150 minutes (for questions see appendix 9)

All interviews were recorded, and then transcribed for coding and analysis. (tapes and transcripts are available)

In order to enable the reader to understand the relative weight of the data presented it is also sometimes necessary to state the role of the speaker. For anyone fully familiar with the case context it will therefore, on occasions, remain possible to identify the individual providing the data. In the majority of situations this causes no problem. In those cases where subjects have been particularly frank, I have included only data that I feel will help the reader gain further insight into the change process.
4.1.3 Questionnaire subjects

After the initial analysis of the transcripts from the first round of interviews, questionnaires were sent to the following: (For numbers of questionnaires sent and response rates, see Table 3.2)

- All students for whom the institution had addresses, who had graduated from CETT at the end of the three academic years 1993 to 1995. These were the first two groups of graduates. The Questionnaire (see Appendix 11) was principally evaluative of their time at CETT, but also aimed to provide background contextual information about state education in Hungary, through asking about the proportion of students actually teaching, what other employment options were open to them and what factors determined whether they taught or not.

- Students graduating in 1997 and 1998 (See Appendix 12a-b).

- Students entering CETT in the final cohort in academic year 1996. (See Appendix 13) This questionnaire aimed to compare their answers to those of graduating students to see what differences, if any, could be discerned in their concepts of what a language teacher is and what the learning and teaching process involves. In addition they were asked for information about their recent experiences of state school language learning in order to see whether there were any obvious trends developing within the 'best' part of the state secondary sector which they had recently left.

- Students in the fifth year of the traditional teacher education programme at the university taking subject-specific teacher education courses at DELS in 1998.

- All the school supervisors used by CETT to manage and guide the students through their 5 month teaching practice. (See Appendix 15). By the time the questionnaire was constructed in 1997, the number of supervisors was 16. One feature of the project was that these had all been specially trained for their supervisory role. The purpose of the questionnaire was again partly evaluative; to gauge their opinion of the CETT students who they had experienced, and partly seeking contextual information about the changes, if any that they saw appearing in school language classrooms during the later 1990s and of their hopes and expectations of their professional future.

- All other British Council ELT contractees in Hungary. (See Appendix 16) One purpose here was to try and see whether some of the features of Hungarian educational and organisational culture that existed in Debrecen were also evident elsewhere. A second function of this questionnaire was related to the role of contractees within projects, the skills they needed to carry them out and attitudes to British Council managers.
Chapter 3. Description of research process

- All participants from at least 10 East and Central European countries attending the 2nd conference on Teacher Education in the Euro-Carpathian Region in Debrecen in 1997. (See Appendix 17) This was a very short (one page) questionnaire asking people to note to what extent the statements about the educational change process gathered from Hungarian informants were also true in their own contexts. Only 12 were returned, hence no data from these was used.

- The large (well above 300) East and Central European members of the English Language Teaching Contact Scheme (ELTECS) sponsored by the British Council. An adapted version of the above questionnaire was placed on the WWW ELTECS discussion group site. It yielded 3 email responses, plus a very long letter from a Professor at the University of Vilnius in Lithuania. Again the responses were not used.

Table 3.2 Questionnaire response rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Questionnaires sent</th>
<th>Questionnaires returned</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994-5 graduates</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 graduates</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998 graduates</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996 entrants</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 5th year</td>
<td>Approx 90</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>approx 43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC ELT contractees</td>
<td>Approx 30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>approx 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference members</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELTECS members</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table 3.2 it may be seen that after the preliminary analysis of data from the first round of interviews with implementers, the range of apparently relevant subjects for the research expanded considerably in the light the gaps that became apparent. The need for data about aspects of the wider environment in which the project was situated became clear. As may be seen my attempts to widen the generalisability of the data to the region as a whole failed utterly. However, I feel that representatives of the majority of those who were directly or indirectly involved in the project planning and implementation process have been included in the sample.
5. Data sources and data collection

5.1 Effects of my prior experience and knowledge

Some of the possible effects of this prior experience and knowledge on the research process are retrospectively outlined below:

- Effects on access to data. I was:
  a) A member of staff with access to all English documentation relating to the project within the institution, from its foundation.
  b) A familiar face within the institution, the university as a whole and the British Council in Hungary. As such it was easier to gain face to face access to all those directly involved in implementing the project under investigation, together with many of the key peripheral figures, to carry out extended interviews.
  c) A senior member of the institution itself, and so able to ask for help from institutional administrative staff to make contact with students who had already left, and from colleagues to distribute questionnaires to students still in situ.

- Effects on the focus of the first round of data collection
  a) Having already worked at the institution for three years prior to the beginning of the research period, clear ideas of some of the main issues to be investigated were formed prior to the first round of data collection. These ideas were also influenced by (e) and (f) below.
  b) After more than ten years living and working in communist or recently ex-communist countries when the research began, some of the cultural differences between adults brought up under a socialist system and those who had grown up in the west appeared very evident. The research was slanted towards an investigation of the effects of such cultural differences on an educational change process where representatives of both cultures shared responsibility for implementation.
  c) At the time the research began I had worked on ELT projects managed by the British Council on their own behalf and on behalf of the Overseas Development Agency (ODA), (now the Department for International Development -DfID) for over ten years. Some of assumptions underlying the behaviours of western project sponsors, were therefore familiar and the research looked to identify how these impinged on the change process.
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- Effects on data collection
  
a) Having gained access to the subjects, the level of familiarity and degree of shared knowledge that often already existed, allowed for a more rapid development of a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere than would have been the case if we had never met previously. Kleinman & Copp (1993) suggest that this is likely to result in subjects being more willing to take the interviewer into their confidence.

b) Very little data was collected relating to the outsider management and leadership of the project after my arrival. Most subjects were reluctant to talk specifically about my performance during interviews and, I was reluctant to probe. This was due to embarrassment on both sides. This no doubt contributed to the lack of personal 'voice' in the case study which follows in chapters four to six.

c) Some data that an outsider might have sought in order to build up an initial picture of the case study context was not specifically collected, since all involved were already aware of it. At this point and perhaps at others, I may at times have fallen into the 'familiarity trap', mentioned by Atkinson, Delamont & Hammersley (1988) in the sense of being so familiar with my environment that I failed to notice events that took place which other 'outsiders' would have noticed.

5.2 Data sources

The data on which this study is based were gathered while I worked in the case institution between July 1996 and July 1998. The data for the postscript were gathered in 2000. All data were gathered in Hungary apart from the interview with the British Council Officer who had initiated the project, which took place in London since she had already left Hungary and the postscript carried out in Leeds with a British Council colleague still working on the project.

The three main sources of data used in this study are interviews, questionnaires and a study of project documents. Further contextual evidence about the wider Hungarian environment was obtained from the Hungarian government English language website.

Each main data source is discussed briefly below.

Interviews: As noted earlier, I came to the research with a certain amount of background knowledge of the case in question. I was known to all the subjects, and known well to some of them. As a participant observer within the case I was clearly involved in many of the matters discussed and had participated in many of the decisions made. The interviews took the form of 'structured conversation' (Davies 1996 in Crossley & Vulliamy 1997), they
were 'a conversation with a purpose' (Lincoln & Guba 1985). I used the background knowledge that I shared with the subjects as and when it seemed appropriate, to help them describe their actions and feelings (Holstein & Gubrium 1995) or to steer the interview back on track (Hammersley & Atkinson 1993).

The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and three hours, depending only on the loquacity of the subject. Interview questions were in most cases given to interviewees at least 3 days before the interviews. Since many of the questions at this point related to the past it was hoped that prior warning would enable them to begin to retrieve facts and opinions prior to the interview itself. The extent to which these hopes were fulfilled varied considerably from one subject to another.

Although the interview questions may look quite tightly structured, the actual course of each interview depended greatly on the individual. We proceeded through the questions in more or less the order given, but inevitably the untidiness of normal interaction often meant that later questions were answered by earlier statements and sometimes because of time constraints, certain questions were not asked. On two occasions the entire interview failed to record and on one further occasion only half the interview was recorded. In all cases by the time the technical failures were discovered at the point of transcribing, it was too late to retrieve any accurate information from memory.

As regards the validity of interview data, Scheurich (1997:69) suggests that interviewers should try out being interviewed about their work by others in at least two separate hour long stages.

'During each interview monitor what is going on in your consciousness. Watch your conscious self drift away from the conversation at times. Watch your conscious self become defensive at times. Watch yourself brag or posture or perform and say what you think the interviewer wants you to say. Watch yourself censure or censor at one point and blurt out the truth at another. Do this 'experiment' with different interviewers and notice how you 'feel' different and thus 'say' different things to different interviewers, even if the questions are the same. Watch how changing the race, class, age, gender of the interviewer changes what you say.'

I am aware that Scheurich's statement above is true and so were two of the subjects. One raised the point of whether he would actually be saying exactly the same if asked the same questions at a different time. Another, when being interviewed for the second or third time, stated that her attitude to her work had become more negative than when interviewed previously and that this may be clouding her responses.
However, I feel that certain problems that Scheurich highlights were probably diminished by the shared background knowledge existing between myself and the majority of the subjects. It would for example have been difficult for any of the core subjects to 'brag or posture' about their role in the project since they would know that I would know that that is what they were doing. Similarly the chance of 'response set' (Borg 1981 in Crossley & Vulliamy 1997), subjects telling me what they thought I wanted them to say, was probably lessened by the knowledge that often I would have been able to judge whether their answer was in fact in tune with what I already knew of their attitudes and behaviour.

The interview data of course represents each subject's perception of the processes being discussed and I have tried to corroborate any individual's statements with data either from other interviews or other sources. Transcripts and original recordings of all interviews are available.

**Questionnaires:** The need for these became evident after the first round of interviewing had been completed and the data subjected to a preliminary analysis. The questions chosen were an attempt to obtain a wider range of participants' views of some of the features of the ELTSUP training, to fill gaps in my understanding of the wider Hungarian educational environment, and to try and get some sense of what changes, if any, they perceived themselves as having undergone during their training.

Questionnaires were anonymous and consisted of a mixture of open and closed questions and have provided some useful insights and corroborating evidence. Most of the data used have in fact turned out to be quantitatively measurable answers to closed questions and have been used in the case study to support interview data. Much of the data gathered about the extent and nature of individual change as a result of training has not been used, since it does not, I know now, directly contribute to an understanding of the change process.

All questionnaires were either posted out to respondents by the institution librarian with a SAE and a covering note, administered in class by CETT tutors or, put in the conference pack in the case of the trans-European questionnaire. I believe that the fact that I was known personally to the great majority of the respondents was helpful both in encouraging respondents to take the questionnaires reasonably seriously and in enabling me to judge the extent to which they had done so.
Documents: Yin (1989), Merriam (1988) and Crossley & Vulliamy (1997) all mention the value of documents in case study research as a source of evidence for what happened in the past, as a source of corroboration for evidence from elsewhere and as additions to the thick description of the case context.

Since this was a joint Hungarian-UK ELT project, and the working language within the case institution was English, a substantial amount of the documentation was always in English. As one of the outside 'change agents' I not only generated a great many documents myself, but also had access to those that had been written prior to my arrival and received copies of all those that related to the institution during my stay. Particularly useful were the original project framework, the evaluation report, minutes of project meetings in Budapest and minutes of staff meetings in Debrecen.

As part of the research design for the first round of interviews with the implementers, I therefore studied all project related documents existing at CETT/DELS which outlined the negotiations between the main parties to the project throughout its lifetime, and also many of the internal documents written by my predecessor in the post. (Extracts from certain key documents may be found in appendices 17a-??) Thereafter I referred back to the documents as I felt necessary.

5.3 The data gathering process.

As mentioned, the data was gathered over a period of two years. A chronology of the process is given below.

- Stage 1: (April 1996 to June 1996). Reading the project documentation available in Debrecen and obtaining copies of key documents (Project framework and Evaluation report) from Budapest.

- Stage 2: (July 1996). Interview in London with British Council officer most closely involved with establishment of the project in 1989-91. Questions based on matters arising from reading at Stage 1 and personal experience of the project.

- Stage 3: (July- August 1996) Summer reading of educational and organisational change literature and background reading on education systems in transition in East and Central Europe to prepare for
Chapter 3. Description of research process

- Stage 4: (August-September 1996) Identification of questions for first round of interviews with implementers, members of the University and Hungarian 'Key leader'. Questions deriving from information and ideas gathered at stages 1-3 and personal experience.

- Stage 5: (September to December 1996) First round of interviews. The interview questions for implementers evolved slightly in the light of the initial analysis of transcripts from previous interviews. Questions for all other interviews were tailored to the roles of the individuals involved.

- Stage 6: (December 1996- January 1997) Transcription and more detailed analysis of interviews at Stage 5. (For details of the data analysis process see the next section). During transcription, personal reflections and ideas which arose were included as part of the transcription as they arose in bold.

- Stage 7: (February- June 1997) Follow-up interviews with implementers, interview with Hungarian project Implementation Manager, BC INSET Advisor, Students based on themes emerging from analysis at stage 6

- Stage 8: (April - July 1997) All questionnaires written and sent out/administered. Question areas derived principally from detailed analysis at stage 6, emerging themes from stage 7 and educational/organisational change literature.

- Stage 9: (April 1997) Presentation of plenary paper at the 2nd Conference on Teacher Education in the Euro-Carpathian region. 'English Language Teacher Education Projects in East and Central Europe 1990-97: Using the Present to Inform the Future' substantially based on reading, data and reflections deriving from research process so far.

- Stage 10: (July 1997) Initial analysis of Questionnaire data.

- Stage 11: (August -September 1997) Transcription and analysis of interviews at Stage 7 and extended reading of organisational and educational change management literature and of environmental background materials.
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- Stage 12: (October to December 1997) Further interviews with Students, Professor from Pedagogy department, School Supervisor, Russian Retrainee. Questions derived from initial questionnaire analysis, reading and personal experience of the change process.

- Stage 13: (December 1997-January 1998) Preparation of paper for transfer to PhD registration

- Stage 14: (January-February 1998) (Re)analysis of data from stages 7, 8 and 12.

- Stage 15: (March to June 1998) Further interviews with implementers and British Council ELO. Questions derived from analysis at stage 14, reading and personal experiences of the change process. Writing of first draft chapter of Case study account.

- Stage 16: (July-August 1998) Transcription and analysis of interviews from stage 15.

The data gathering process was of necessity an iterative procedure (Miles and Huberman, 1994). At each subsequent stage the focus for what to do next emerged from the data (Merriam 1988) and from reading and personal experience. The first round of interviews (Stage 5) concentrated primarily on establishing subjects' perceptions of and responses to the main events that had occurred during the implementation of the project to date, 'what?' and 'how?' questions. The second round (stages 7 & 12) aimed to fill in gaps that were evident from the first round and also to develop my understanding of the wider context in which the case was situated, in order to begin to be able to answer the 'why?' questions. The final round of interviews, (stage 15) concentrated particularly on the subjects' feelings about and memories of the context in which they had lived and worked during the period immediately before and after the political changes of 1989.

The reader may notice that there is slightly less primary data in chapter 6 than in chapters 4 and 5. This a result of the fact that during the months immediately prior to my departure from the case study context, when themes relevant to the continuation phase were becoming clearer, I was, at stage 15 above, gathering background environmental data. Ideally a further round of interviews focusing more specifically on the implementers' experiences during the continuation stage would have been carried out. Time made this not possible.
5.4 The data analysis and interpretation process

5.4.1 Effects of my prior experience and knowledge

I was, and remain, sympathetic to the enormous changes in all aspects of life that the citizens of East and Central Europe have had to cope with over the past decade. This sympathy may, occasionally, have influenced some of the conclusions drawn. In order to check for this, chapters four to six of the thesis have been read by two of the interviewees and the entire thesis by a colleague who had no previous connection to the case study context. Their comments on matters of detail, and emphasis have been incorporated.

5.4.2 The data analysis process

Documents: Study of these helped me to establish

- The chronological sequence of events
- The salient topics at different points in the project process
- The declining emphasis on the project as a unitary entity
- The methods used to try and develop professional expertise among the main actors

The information above and also the indirect 'atmospheric' information provided by, for example, staff meeting minutes, especially in documents relating to the first two years of the project prior to my arrival, was extremely valuable in helping to make informed decisions about the design of my first set of interview questions. Thereafter, they were available for reference throughout the data gathering and analysis process.

Closed questionnaire questions

These were dealt with in a purely quantitative way to calculate totals and percentages. No statistical tests were carried out on this data.

Interviews and Open Questionnaire questions.

The principal difficulty in analysing this data arose from the need to find a conceptual framework within which to place the data. Initially it was thought that mapping the data onto the chronological stages of the educational change process proposed by Fullan (1991), that is Planning-Implementation-Continuation, would be sufficient and the first analysis of the first group of interviews was carried out as follows.

Stage 1:

Reading through transcripts of the first set of interviews to establish broad categories.

- Chronological categories relating to the Planning, Implementation and Continuation stages of the project.
- The Project environment.
Chapter 3. Description of research process

- The role of outsiders.

Stage 2
Marking transcripts according to Stage 1 categories and rereading to establish subcategories within them. For example, the Implementation stage data was broken down into:
- What the actors brought with them to the project
- Management and leadership strengths and weaknesses
- Resistance
- Personal and professional relationships between the actors
- Project identity
- Professional development
- Physical location
- Evaluation
- Influence from Budapest
- Attitudes to integration
- Development of a sub-culture

Stage 3
Rereading transcripts to map data into the subcategories established at Stage 2.

Having gone through the above stages it became very clear that this one dimensional analysis, while adequate to explain 'what happened', did not provide a framework for considering 'how and why it happened'. Instead therefore of the single linear chronological framework I decided that in addition I would use the categories of analysis for investigation of the organisational change process suggested by Pettigrew and Whipp (1991), namely Content, Context and Process. Combining these with Fullan gave me the following nine cell matrix (shaded below) onto which to map my data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.3. The data analysis matrix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fullan 1991</strong> =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pettigrew &amp; Whipp 1991</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further data analysis using this matrix, broadly followed the stages suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). Their first stage, data reduction, the establishment of the conceptual
framework, was achieved through a two stage process of reading through transcripts and/or questionnaires to identify themes that could be mapped into one or more of the nine cells, and then analysing the data further to identify the sub themes and sub-sub themes. Once all data had been thus dealt with, the matrix provided the structure for their second stage, data display, where all the reduced data could be looked at together.

At this stage it became possible after each interview or round of interviews to see which aspects of the process required further investigation, either through asking different questions of the same people, or extending the range of subjects. The data display thus played an important role in informing the iterative cycle of data collection. Eventually by summer 1998, with all data displayed, the third stage, conclusion drawing and interpretation, could begin to take place.

Prior to beginning any writing therefore, almost all data had been through the above process and, where appropriate, had been placed into a theme within at least one of the cells on the matrix. Although it was soon clear that boundaries, especially between 'context' cells and others, were often fuzzy, and that influences across cell boundaries along both the linear and the horizontal axes, frequently played important roles in the actual planning and implementation processes, this analytic procedure, designed to try and illuminate as many connections between aspects of the change process as possible, also provided me with a very useful structure for writing up the case.

6 Trustworthiness of Research

While proponents of purely quantitative research would continue to argue that the results of qualitative research can have little validity, reliability and so generalisability, there is developing consensus within the qualitative research literature as to what researchers ought to do to maximise their data's 'Trustworthiness' (Lincoln & Guba 1985, Miles and Huberman 1994 in Denzin & Lincoln 1994). What is striking here, as noted by Denzin (1994, in Denzin and Lincoln 1994) and demonstrated in the discussion below, is the extent to which the features of 'trustworthiness' in qualitative research remain strongly influenced by the principles underlying good quantitative scientific research. This is demonstrated in tabular form below.

Table 3.4 How research findings and processes may be judged from a quantitative and qualitative standpoint

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantitative</th>
<th>Qualitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

69
Chapter 3. Description of research process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal validity</th>
<th>Credibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>External validity</td>
<td>Transferability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability</td>
<td>Dependability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectivity</td>
<td>Confirmability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Good examples of qualitative research demonstrate the qualities of Trustworthiness as outlined in the qualitative side of Table 3.4. Below I consider the extent to which this research may be considered trustworthy.

6.1 Credibility. How believable is the data?

Lincoln & Guba (as interpreted by Erlandson et al 1993: 28-35) suggest that the factors in Table 3.5 are those that need to be considered.

**Table 3.5 The extent to which the research may be said to have credibility**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors to be considered</th>
<th>How the research has dealt with this factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prolonged Engagement &amp; Persistent Observation</strong> (Lincoln &amp; Guba 1985, Merriam 1988). Has the researcher spent sufficient time to:</td>
<td>• I spent three years working in the case environment prior to beginning the study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Enable understanding of the events being experienced/observed, and</td>
<td>• I worked full-time in the case environment for the two years of the study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Identify with the participants, (Kleinmann &amp; Copp 1993), without</td>
<td>• I had personal relationships of varying degrees of closeness with all the core participants, and most of the more peripheral figures interviewed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• &quot;going native&quot; (Lincoln &amp; Guba 1985, Merriam 1988) or falling into the &quot;familiarity trap&quot; (Atkinson et al 1988)</td>
<td>• I have noted (see 4.2.1) that I may at times have fallen into the 'familiarity trap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Triangulation</strong> (Lincoln &amp; Guba 1985, Miles &amp; Huberman 1994, Denzin 1994, Stake 1995, Yin 1989, Merriam 1988).</td>
<td>• Data comes from representatives of all those directly and indirectly involved or affected by the case project: core participants, students, school supervisors, British sponsors and change agents, the university, the 'key leader',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Is there data from more than one source to back up main findings?</td>
<td>• No group were excluded because of their views and no available sources of data were ignored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Have people with different views been sought out?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Are negative findings shown as well as positive?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Referential adequacy</strong> (Lincoln &amp; Guba 1985)</td>
<td>• The manner in which the data has been analysed ensures that the contextual factors, which may have influenced what happened and how it happened, are constantly present in the case study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Are there sufficient background materials provided to generate a thick description?</td>
<td>• Further relevant background information is included in the appendices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Is sufficient information available for the reader to get a picture of the whole context?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peer debriefing</strong> (Lincoln &amp; Guba 1985, Merriam 1988) Has the research and its conclusions been checked by a qualified professional from</td>
<td>• The thesis has been read by a colleague unconnected with the context of the case.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2 Transferability. How generalisable is the data?

Lincoln & Guba (op cit) and Maxwell (1992) suggest that although the results of most qualitative research will not be able to make the same claims for wide (or indeed universal) generalisability as made by pure, scientific research, they ought still to be examined to see to what extent any theories they develop may be relevant to other similar subjects in other contexts.

The factors listed in Table 3.6 have been suggested as important for those wishing to make judgements about transferability.

**Table 3.6 The extent to which the research conclusions may be transferable.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thick (Stake 1995) or Rich (Merriam 1988) Description.</th>
<th>See referential adequacy above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Is there a sufficiently detailed description of the data in context to allow judgements to be made about typicality and so, transferability?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purposive/Purposeful sampling. (Lincoln &amp; Guba 1985, Merriam 1988)</th>
<th>See triangulation above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Does the sample of subjects provide enough information from and about the context, from both typical and untypical viewpoints?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3 Dependability. Is it possible to replicate the research?

By its very nature much qualitative research deals with unique environments. However, there are aspects of the research process that may assist readers to make judgements as to dependability. These are outlined in Table 6.

Table 3.7 The extent to which the research is dependable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How possible is it to check on the processes through which the study was conducted?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there a clear account of the research process, how decisions were made about data collection and analysis?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are all the research materials available for scrutiny?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The contents of this chapter attempt to provide an account of the research process. Examples of all research instruments are provided in the appendices and all interview tapes and transcripts and returned questionnaires are available for scrutiny.

6.4 Confirmability. Are the findings the true result of the inquiry?

It is important to be able to judge whether or not the reported results truly derive from the inquiry and are not tainted by researcher bias. Suggestions as to how this might be made possible are outlined in Table 7.

Table 3.8 To what extent do the results of the research derive purely from the data?

Dieckman (1993), Merriam (1988), Scheurich (1997), Miles & Huberman (1994) note that it is necessary to:

- State the researchers position vis a vis subjects.
- Discuss the possibility of interpretative bias as a result of choosing selectively from the data, over-emphasising dramatic moments, placing too much confidence on first impressions, or choosing unreliable informants.
- Make the source of interpretations sufficiently clear to allow readers to track them to their source.

It is recognised that human research will inevitably influence the research process but:

- My position vis a vis the subjects, the research design and the data analysis is discussed in section 4.2.
- The choice of subjects is discussed in section 4.1
- I believe that my selections from the data have been justifiable in the sense that they have been made in order to illuminate rather than to disguise the developmental process within the case context.

It is hoped that the sources of all interpretations are sufficiently explicit and the description of context sufficiently rich to enable the reader to judge their objectivity.
6.5. Conclusion

Trustworthiness within qualitative research reports continues to be perceived by many as less explicitly 'certain' than its counterparts (reliability, validity and objectivity) in purely quantitative research. However, I believe that within the parameters outlined above, the research reported in the following chapters is fundamentally trustworthy in most respects.

7. The Research Questions

As noted previously, in qualitative research the research questions emerge from the repeated cycles of data collection and analysis. Hence the focus of the research has necessarily evolved over time. In the original research proposal the following questions were posed.

- how and why did the aims of ELTSUP change from being purely quantitative to being principally qualitative over the lifetime of the project?
- how did the change process affect individual and institutional participants' educational values?
- what factors within the Debrecen context have contributed to the success of the project and which changes will require continuing support if that success is to be maintained?
- what information about institutional and national education contexts would it be helpful and feasible to gather prior to the start of projects of this kind?
- what areas of educational management might usefully be included in the training of expatriate implementers of such projects?

Almost two years later, by the time I presented my paper for transfer onto the PhD track, the above had evolved as follows:

The identification and analysis of answers to the questions listed above is expected to emerge from detailed examination of the broader theme of the interrelationship between developments within the macro and micro environment and the project implementation process.

Additional areas of specific interest are the identification and analysis of

- the extent to which change has been integrated into the university's regular degree programme.
• some of the effects that 40 years of socialist, centralised decision-making have had on organisational structures, attitudes and capacities at school, department and university levels.
• the extent to which these have contributed to or delayed the development of sustainability and ownership of whatever educational changes are shown to have occurred?

By the time all the data had been collected, further areas of interest for identification and analysis were the extent to which:
• implementers of educational change can be supported by the immediate and wider environments in which they work.
• educational change of the type proposed by the case study is inevitably qualitative and so complex (Fullan 1992).
• qualitative change introduced into part of an existing system needs to accommodate to institutional pressures if it is to be disseminated more widely.
CHAPTER 4 THE ORGANISATION OF THE CASE STUDY

THE PLAN OF THE CASE STUDY CHAPTERS.

The case study tells a complex story, and in this introductory section, I explain how I have chosen to organise it. As noted in chapter three (section 4.3.2) data was placed into one or more of the nine cells in the matrix (see Table 4.1 below), for analysis and interpretation. The organisation of the case study chapters follows the same pattern.

Each chapter, 4-6, represents a chronological 'slice' of the study.

- Chapter 4 covers the 'Planning stage' of the ELTSUP project, academic years 1989 and 1990.
- Chapter 5, the 'Implementation stage' covers academic years 1991 to 1995.
- Chapter 6, the 'continuation stage' deals with the academic years 1996 and 1997.

Each chapter is divided into three sub-chapters which consider the case during each chronological period from three points of view.

- Chapters 4-6 A, discuss the CONTENT of the change. What plans (loosely defined) were made for change at national and, where relevant, local levels.
- Chapters 4-6 B consider features at all levels of the CONTEXT within which the proposed changes were situated, which appear to have affected the route, rate or extent of change.
- Chapters 4-6 C look in detail at the PROCESS of implementing the proposed changes in the existing context at the local level of the case study institution itself.

The plan of the case study is shown in Table 4.1 below. It appears at the beginning of each of the nine case study chapters, with the chapter in question shaded.

Table 4.1 Plan of the case study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fullan 1991</th>
<th>Planning</th>
<th>Implementation</th>
<th>Continuation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pettigrew &amp; Whipp 1991</td>
<td>Chapter 4A</td>
<td>Chapter 5A</td>
<td>Chapter 6A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Content</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Context</td>
<td>Chapter 4B</td>
<td>Chapter 5B</td>
<td>Chapter 6B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter 6C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each cell in the above matrix is of course not completely discrete, for example the Context at all times influences both the Content and the Process. Wherever possible I have tried to
point out such connections, while minimising the amount of repetition. Similarly Planning. Implementation and Continuation are not separate stages, but rather points along the change process whose dates have been fixed to suit the change process as it occurred at the particular case institution.

At the end of each sub-chapter I provide a summary highlighting emerging themes of relevance to the educational change process focus of the study.

Some common case study terminology.

Certain acronyms appear extremely often in the case study. Those noted below, highlighted in bold on their first appearance, are among the most frequently occurring.

- The English Language Teacher Supply (ELTSUP) project, resulted from an agreement between the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and the British Council (BC)
- The Centre for English Teacher Training (CETT) in Debrecen in eastern Hungary was an ELTSUP institution.
- CETT ran a three year initial teacher education programme (3YP).
- From academic year 1996, CETT became the Department of English Language Studies (DELS).
- CETT was attached to the Faculty of Arts at Kossuth Lajos University in Debrecen (KL). Within the university it was most closely connected with the Institute of English and American Studies (IEAS), which in turn consisted of Departments of English literature, American literature and Linguistics.
- When the project began the three departments were independent, becoming IEAS after the first two years. However in the text I refer to IEAS throughout.
- IEAS offered a five year programme (5YP), offering a degree after four years and a teaching qualification after five. In practice all students stayed for the fifth year and graduated as qualified teachers.
- All references to 'implementers' in the text refer to Hungarian staff working on the 3YP at CETT.

Organisation of Tables

Tables are numbered according to the chapter in which they are situated. Thus all tables in chapter four are numbered Table 4.1,4.2, etc.

Data within tables refers at all times to returned questionnaires. The extent to which these represent the population to which they refer may be seen in Table.3.2
Interview data
All data is verbatim from transcripts unless otherwise indicated. Informants are identified by category and number. The categories are:

- 'Coll': the project implementers at CETT/DELS Debrecen. Since these were interviewed up to three times each, the number of the interview is represented by the final number in their designation, for example 'Coll 7/3' signifies the third interview with Coll 7. (For pen portraits of each see appendix 2)
- 'Admin' represents subjects at the university, in Budapest, and elsewhere who were more peripheral to the change. Either their actions impinged on the planning and/or implementation process in some significant way, or they were able to provide useful background information about the project environment.
- 'Part' represents participants, students at CETT Debrecen.

Writer's 'Voice'.
It has been remarked that I come across as more of an observer than a participant in the case study process. The study, is not, it is true, written in the first person, however I consider that wherever I felt that I needed to comment personally, I have done so.

THE PLANNING STAGE
Chapter four investigates the planning stage of the ELTSUP project. It covers the period from the first negotiations in late 1989, through the opening of the first CETT in Budapest in September 1990, to the establishment of a national project, including CETT Debrecen, in spring/summer 1991.

CHAPTER 4 A - THE PLANNING CONTENT

INTRODUCTION
From 1948 until academic year 1989-90 all Hungarian school children had to study Russian for a minimum of two hours per week from the 4th year of primary school (age ten) until they left school at either 16 or 18. For those wishing to proceed to higher education, a pass in a language, usually Russian, was a necessary part of the school leaving examination. Other foreign languages, principally English and German were introduced in some schools
in the 1970s. However, by academic year 1988-89, the final complete year of communist rule and compulsory study of Russian, while all primary school pupils and 50% of secondary school pupils studied Russian no primary school pupils, and only 20% of secondary school pupils were able to study English (Enyedi and Medgyes 1998).

Following the political changes of 1989-90, the study of Russian ceased to be compulsory, and learners were allowed to choose which of the available foreign languages to study. There was a sudden demand for language classes, usually in English and German, and hence for teachers to teach them. By academic year 1995-96 the figures for English language teaching in Hungarian schools looked very different. Table 4.1 below, adapted from chapter one, shows the changes in the numbers learning English between 1988-89 and 1995-96.

### Table 4.1 Proportion of Hungarian learners at different levels studying English, 1988-89 and 1995-96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>% students studying English 1988-89</th>
<th>% students studying English 1995-96</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For such a rapid shift in language learning provision to be possible, Enyedi and Medgyes (op cit) estimate that 8000-10,000 new English language teachers needed to be trained. ELTSUP was initially established to help provide such training.

1 Immediate responses.

At a national level, government planning to meet the sudden demand for western foreign languages, especially English, was limited to the establishment of an outline framework by the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) within which language teacher training could occur. Decisions about the content of such training and the manner of its provision were however, left to individual higher education institutions, autonomous in curricular matters since the Education Act of 1990.

1.1 The National Framework
In late 1989 and early 1990, MEC developed a two-pronged approach to the rapid training of the necessary western foreign language teachers. Firstly, they decided to fund a large-scale language and methodology retraining programme for trained Russian teachers, through which their existing skills and experience might be utilised to meet the changed demands of the new educational context. These programmes were to be situated in higher education institutions with appropriate foreign language departments.

Secondly, they agreed to finance new, three year, single major, university degree bearing, initial teacher education programmes in English and German, for new entrants to the profession. Such pre-service programmes for English teachers were established in partnership with the British Council (BC). BC were already known in Hungarian higher education, thanks to their provision of native speaker 'lektors' (conversation and culture teachers) to English departments at Hungarian universities, and a very few secondary schools, throughout the 1970s and 80s.

The Ministry’s main advisor, a clear example of what Fullan (1991) and Louis and Miles (1992) call a ‘key leader’, was Peter Medgyes, one of the very few Hungarians to have had a longstanding interest in international developments in English language teacher education. Based at Eotvos Lorand University in Budapest, he and a colleague, Karoly Mainherz (a German language specialist and Deputy Minister of Education in the last Communist government), were instrumental in suggesting the establishment of such three year programmes (3YPs) to train young teachers. They were also deeply involved in the negotiations between MEC and the BC which culminated in the agreement to set up the first such programme in Budapest in September 1990.

1.2. The local level

What became the prototype of the new 3YP, The Centre for English Teacher Training, (CETT) was established at Eotvos Lorand University, Budapest, with Peter Medgyes as Director, and accepted its first intake of around 100 students in September 1990.

During academic year 1990-1991 the BC negotiated with four other, established, state universities and three Upper Primary Teachers' Colleges in Hungary to establish similar 3YPs. The institutions' reactions varied. The project was initially presented to them as an opportunity to be one in a network of Regional Institutes of Foreign Languages, acting as satellites of a National Institute of Foreign Languages in Budapest, effectively CETT Budapest. Many provincial institutions, especially the universities, found this 'centralised'
format unacceptable. Several, including Debrecen, declined to take part and the plan was dropped.

Instead each institution was offered the chance to establish and implement a three year language teacher education programme of their own, with BC help. In Debrecen this offer was accepted by the then Head of IEAS, recently returned from a year in the USA.

'I returned from the US in autumn 1990 and became Chair of the English department. Debrecen had already said 'no' once (to the first plan, as above) and that's why ... Budapest are a year ahead. I eventually listened to arguments and talked to people and felt we should apply.' (Admin 1)

In September 1991 3YPs began at four provincial universities and three teachers' colleges (with a fourth teachers' college added the following year The project framework for this formal intergovernmental agreement (see appendix 18) stated its 'Wider Objectives' in very general terms as follows:

'to assist Government of Hungary (GOH) to meet increased demand for qualified English Language (EL) teachers in all primary and secondary schools, thereby providing access to English language teaching for students at this level.' (ELTSUP Project Framework, Project Structure, Wider Objectives)

2. Hungarian government support for the 3 YP

Fullan (1992:116) notes that 'the support of central government is crucial for change in practice.' MEC, having established an official framework to meet immediate needs for language teachers, now needed to provide tangible support for the successful establishment of working 3YPs.

To begin with, as the Director of CETT Budapest recalls in the three next quotes, such support for 3YPs was provided in three important ways. Firstly, MEC funded the new student places and also offered salary inducements to enable institutions to recruit 3YP staff quickly.

"... in 1990 the Ministry understood that if they wanted to create something so quickly, the only way of attracting future staff was to pay them a little more than university people" (Admin 2)

Secondly MEC stated that graduates of such three year single major courses would be awarded a University degree, which in Hungary then normally took five years, and would thus be able to teach at both primary and secondary schools. The Director of CETT Budapest remembers that this was stated explicitly at the time of the first student intake.
“I remember clearly that when the Deputy Minister opened the first ever academic year for three year students (in Budapest in September 1990) he announced in black and white that it was worth a university degree” (Admin 2)

Finally, substantial funds, available to the Hungarian government as part of the World Bank ‘Catching up with Europe’ programme, were channelled to the 3YPs, to enable host institutions to pay for the capital costs of setting up and equipping the new programmes. In the early days there was a great deal of money available everywhere, but especially in Budapest

“We were given loads of money. We were wasting money, it was not our fault, nobody’s fault. It was a new situation, the government realised it would have to spend money quickly and when this happens there is a great deal of waste. ... We were inexperienced in so many things.” (Admin 2)

However, while educational institutions continued to look to central government for funding and legislative frameworks, there was a feeling prevalent in the period following the political changes that, in a ‘democratic society’, central government should cease its previous excessive supervision of personal and institutional life. One sign of the newly elected government’s appreciation of this feeling was the 1990 Education Act, which devolved responsibility for schools from central to local government. For the first time in over 40 years, higher education institutions were responsible for their own organisational structures and curricula. Consequently once the broad aims, outline structure and funding mechanisms of the 3YPs had been established, MEC provided no further professional support or guidance. From the very beginning of ELTSUP, detailed design of the project was, therefore, dependent on initiatives from individual institutions or the BC rather than MEC.

3. The British Council and ELTSUP project design

3.1 Assessment of the Project Environment

Fullan (1992:114) comments that:

'...ambitious programmes are nearly always politically driven. As a result the time line between the initiation decision and start-up is typically too short to attend to matters of quality.'

ELTSUP, with a presence in all non-specialised Hungarian state universities, and the most prominent teachers’ colleges could arguably be called an ambitious programme and the time from initial idea to a signed inter-governmental agreement was little more than a year. It was, in addition, at least in part, politically driven. Prior to 1989, quasi-cultural
organisations such as the British Council had only been able to operate on a very limited scale within the former socialist countries of East and Central Europe (ECE). The suddenness of the political changes in 1989 to 1990, a surprise to the majority in both Eastern and Western Europe, seemed to offer western countries immediate opportunities for far more widespread political and economic involvement and influence throughout the region. The BC English Language Officer (ELO) for Hungary speaking in Budapest retrospectively considers ‘official’ feelings at the time to have been:

"Thank God, the Berlin Wall has come down. Thank God these countries are now open to the west. Let’s hope the Russians don’t walk back in again. Let’s secure these countries for democracy, ... into the western political influence. Now, before anything can happen to reverse them. ... At that time ELT was a priority identified by the countries themselves and it fitted in gloriously with what FCO (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) wanted to do, because if they speak English it’s the language of international communication and contact with the west, and if they speak British English that makes them natural partners of Britain, so I think for political reasons it was perfect.” (Admin 3)

The BC, although quasi-independent of the UK government, is financially sponsored largely by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). Consequently, as the ELO continues

'...we want to please our sponsor, so we are independent within the frame of wanting to do what they would like us to do.' (Admin 3)

The BC therefore acted swiftly to contribute to FCO's political goals in the new socio-political environment. Time available for any assessment of the project environment was extremely limited. The senior BC English language teaching professional visited all the countries in the region to try and identify needs, and so what the overall focus should be. Neither he, nor anyone else had in-depth experience of the region, and no baseline assessment tools designed for the region existed. Tools used, therefore, were Overseas Development Administration (ODA- now Department for International Development DfID) project checklists, designed for projects in developing countries; decontextualised documents, whose purpose was to demonstrate that the proposed activity could be fitted in to an ODA, project framework (PF). In Hungary, early members of ELTSUP in Budapest and Debrecen both recognised that project preparation was too rushed.

'There was no time for investigation or exploration. Impossible. It would have delayed the whole process. All the mistakes that were committed later were due to the fact that we had to do everything very quickly.' (Admin 2)

'The decision was made absolutely rushed.' (Coll 1)
However, the change context which ELTSUP was entering was one which *had never happened in the history of the world before.* (Admin 3). Changes within the economic, social and political environment were taking place at such a speed in the early 1990s, that accurate information regarding what was happening was hard to come by. Thus it could be argued that even if there had been time and experience available to investigate the existing economic, social and cultural environment in depth, the understanding gained, could only have been partial and would soon have been out of date.

Given the project's implicit change agenda, (the establishment of three year university courses in a context in which five years was the norm), some effort to analyse the prevailing educational culture would, however, have been possible. This would have been extremely helpful in, for example, the briefing of the outside contractees on whom, as will be seen, significant responsibility for the implementation of the project was to rest. Some of the information that might usefully and realistically have been discovered about the deeper cultural environment in the time available, will be discussed in chapter seven.

In addition to BC planners' lack of clear understanding of the Hungarian project environment, the rapid growth in the scale of BC involvement in the countries of the region required a substantial increase in project funding, which significantly changed the nature of the job to be done by BC staff in Budapest. According to the ELO at the time, the BC budget for Hungary increased almost tenfold from 1990-91 (from 128,000- 1.25 million GBP). Staff responsible for administering the budget, had little previous project or financial management experience. BC project staff in the UK were preoccupied with managing some 60 new English-language-related projects throughout the countries of the region between 1990 and 1994, and so offered very limited support. BC ELT staff in Hungary thus suddenly found themselves expected to demonstrate planning, administrative and budgetary management skills at a level and on a scale for which they had had little preparation.

3.2. ELTSUP project design

The BC was fortunate that the ELO principally responsible for the in-country design of ELTSUP did have experience of the Hungarian educational environment, having herself worked as a BC lektor in Debrecen and Budapest for several years in the 1980s. This prior experience was influential in shaping some aspects of the project, especially trying,
wherever possible, to ensure that new 3YPs were physically and administratively as separate as possible from the host institutions. There were three main reasons for this insistence.

One was to try and minimise the extent to which BC and MEC funding intended for the 3YP was quietly absorbed by established programmes. Colleagues in Debrecen confirm that such suspicions were not entirely unwarranted:

'I think that in most places CETTs and the co-operation with the British Council was seen as an opportunity to grab a certain amount of money from the BC from the Ministry. Let's start it and we'll see what happens.' (Coll 2)

'All institutions were having financial problems and this was a chance to get equipment they wouldn't have got otherwise and they'd lose it if they didn't go along with the BC.' (Coll 3)

Another reason was to reinforce the message that BC contract staff who would be appointed Assistant Directors of each 3YP were not the familiar, purely teaching, lektors, but professionals, expected to participate fully in all aspects of the project implementation. It was felt that this new role would be accepted more easily if 3YPs were physically separate from the established departments in which lektors used to work. Debrecen colleagues disagree as to how successfully the message was transmitted to the university authorities:

'I don't think they think much of anyone imported from outside. They believe in themselves only.' (Coll 1)

'The BC made it clear to us from the beginning that these are going to be so to say high-powered positions, senior posts, not just warm bodies in the field. That was a good move I think from the BC that they made this clear from the very beginning.' (Coll 4)

Finally, the ELO wanted the 3YP curriculum to be free to develop with the minimum of interference from the established programmes. As recalled by two senior members of IEAS, reactions to this insistence were mixed:

...it was clear that the BC wanted the whole thing to be a separate establishment. This was a bit questionable in our eyes. They were afraid that the training would be too academic if it stayed within the 5 year framework, not as efficient in practical terms. ... Perhaps the people at CETT responsible for developing the new programme would have had less freedom if it had been incorporated into the Institute, which was more keen on academic teaching and perhaps this was a major BC fear?' (Admin 4)
Chapter 4 - 4a. The Planning content

'(Admin 5) of the British Council translated their intentions as requiring a visible separate centre. She was very keen on the applied linguistics component and thought the centre should have the minimum to do with literature and the traditional stuff.' (Admin 1)

CETTs, physically and administratively separate from existing English departments, were established at two further universities, Debrecen among them. As we shall see, the BC insistence that the 3YP should be located physically separate from its host institution, had advantages but also emphasised the cultural separation between the changes introduced by the 3YP and existing systems.

4. Project assumptions and time scales

4.1. The type of project

Since ELTSUP was an education project, it was inevitable that 'decisions ... taken in the present [would] have implications that stretch into the medium and long-term future.' (Bridger and Winpenny 1987:81). Therefore, especially in the Hungarian environment at the time, in which so much was changing every day, 'precise outputs [of any decisions] could not be accurately forecasted and preplanned, as they need to evolve over time.' (Harding 1991:295). Hence, despite attempts to fit ELTSUP into the confines of a framework originally designed for non-education projects in the developing world, it was retrospectively inevitable that ELTSUP would be an example of what Harding (1991) calls a 'Process Project'.

4.2. The type of teacher education

Although indicators of achievement within the project framework (PF) were expressed principally in quantitative terms (see appendix 16), as for example in the following:

'number of qualified teachers of English in state schools increases by 1994-5; increase in number of students studying English in the 10-18 range' (ELTSUP PF, Wider Objectives, Indicators of Achievement and Value).

vague reference was also made to the nature of the training to be provided, as follows;

'new programme includes classroom based practical element' (ELTSUP PF, Immediate Objectives. Indicators of Achievement and Value).

From the beginning some planners, on both sides of the project negotiations, saw this latter reference as offering a springboard from which to try to introduce more fundamental changes to the language teacher education curriculum. The extent of the change envisioned by CETT Budapest, amounted, in the context of the time and place, to what Fullan (1991)
calls a 'complex' change, that attempts a fundamental alteration to the way in which the goals, roles and structures of teacher education are perceived.

'There was an ulterior motive. ... Teacher education and development not teacher training ... being a teacher is a life-long process, more practical, closer to schools, closer to realities, less focus on literature and linguistics, more focus on methodology and language competence. ...Very idealistic but perhaps realistic too. There was no clear agenda. We knew what we were doing was subversive activity but we didn’t have a clear-cut plan about how we would explode that old dilapidated building. ... Right from the start we had the idea that we would like our Ss to spend a lot more time in school on TP' (Admin 2)

Senior members of IEAS in Debrecen, also seem to have been aware of possibilities for change in language teacher education, albeit speaking in a more detached and pragmatic tone.

'To me it (a different teacher education curriculum) seems an overt agenda, Admin 5 made no secret of that. I didn’t mind. ... I thought fine, lets try this model. ... It was overt not covert that this would be a new mode' (Admin 1).

'We also felt that the Teacher Training part should deserve a greater share of the whole set up of university education. We sensed an increased demand for English teachers and the whole initiative was considered to be progressive.' (Admin 4)

Thus, although initially undefined, basic changes to the content and process of language teacher education were, for some, a part of the project vision from the start.

4.3. Project Timescale

MEG had made no definitive statement about how long 3YPs would exist and the signed intergovernmental agreement ran for one 3 year cycle, from 1991/2-1994/5. Many senior project figures, including the Director of CETT Budapest, the Head of IEAS in Debrecen and the BC ELO seem to have been clear from early on that 3YPs were a temporary expedient.

'They (MEC) made it clear it was a stop-gap measure. In existence only as long as there was a need for producing more teachers for education. But they never specified a deadline. It was always dangling.' (Admin 2)

'We knew from the first that the CETT project was planned for a limited number of years.' (Admin 1)

'By 1991-2 the question of whether the 3YP would merge with the mainstream was already arising.' (Admin 5)
Chapter 4 - 4a. The Planning content

However, project implementers at CETT Debrecen assumed that it would be a long-term venture.

'We took it for granted it was going to be a long-term thing. There was no indication as to sustainability or that the financial support might be finite.' (Coll 1)

'At the beginning I was not aware it would come to an end so soon.' (Coll 5)

'We sort of knew it was not going to last forever, but I think we thought it would be something for the long run.' (Coll 2)

The lack of clarity about fundamentals, and the failure to systematically communicate whatever information existed, within and across organisations, would remain a problem for the project throughout much of its existence.

5. Strategic Planning

The speed with which the project was established precluded any real consideration of the long-term on the part on the BC. However, if strategic planning is, at least partly, 'the determination of the basic, long-term goals of an enterprise and the adoption of courses of action ... necessary for carrying out these goals.' (Chandler 1962 in Pettigrew and Whipp 1991:29), then it may be argued that at local institutional level in IEAS at Debrecen, there was from the beginning of the project, a strategy, openly expressed at departmental meetings. This stated that the university was agreeing to host a separate 3YP, since whatever the project established would eventually be of benefit to IEAS when the project ended. That this was a long-term plan became clear in interviews with two members of the Institute at the time.

'I was Dean (as well as head of IEAS) and had to explain to the Rector why we gave the Germans the green light to integrate the (3 year) programme (with the German department) which had been kept separate in the Institute. I thought this would be a future that would make sense for CETT too. There is a precedent in the German institute which we can point to when the time comes for integration. We shouldn't let the project die. ... I felt we shouldn't lose the expertise, structure, jobs. ... I knew there would be an integration at some time.' (Admin 1)

'We were aware that money was being put into this programme and that in the long-term the whole Institute could benefit from these aspects of the programme. Right at the start we had this future in mind, anticipating the merger. I can recall Admin 1 stating this at one of the Institute meetings.' (Admin 4)
Although nobody at this stage knew what the 3YP might offer IEAS, it appears that at departmental staff meetings in 1991, the prospect of a future merge was already being mooted. These early plans for the long-term seem never to have been communicated to the staff of CETT Debrecen. The interview in 1996 was certainly the first time I had heard of them, and colleagues whom I later asked were equally surprised.

6. Project identity and perceived need for change.

The term ‘Project’ gives the impression that there was, at least to start with, a degree of common understanding among project institutions regarding what had been planned. This was not so for three main reasons.

Firstly for historical reasons, the status and prestige of each English department both within its own institution and in the wider national context was different. Debrecen had an old, well-established, nationally respected, English department. Budapest as the capital was beyond reproach. More recently established, smaller departments such as those at Pecs, and new departments as at, for example, Veszprem, all entered the project with more or less different understandings and expectations of their involvement in the 3YP.

The different understandings resulting from different institutional histories were reinforced by the fact, pointed out by Medgyes (1994) in Allwright and Waters (1994), that donors and recipients did not share a common project language. There were no equivalents in Hungarian at that time for terms like 'project', 'proposal' or 'terms of reference' and so no shared underlying concepts of what these terms referred to. Since the donors did not realise this, there was considerable variation in understandings of what exactly was being proposed and agreed to in the negotiations between BC and the individual institutions.

Finally, in Hungary there was no tradition of inter-institutional co-operation. The future BC Outreach Co-ordinator at CETT, who worked at the University in Debrecen before the project began, and had been a lektor in Hungary during the 1980s, summarises inter-institutional relationships in Hungary thus:

'Different institutions guard their own patches and look down their noses at each other. Different regions don't like each other. Eastern Hungary is looked down on by the west, so Debrecen is aggrieved because Budapest is the centre while they think they are better than Budapest really. Budapest think they are better than anyone else, Nyiregyhaza struggles to be better than the Ukraine. They are all desperately trying to safeguard their positions ... and if the ministry loses authority, one effect is that each institution tries to fight its own corner.' (Coll 3)
In the heady atmosphere of recent institutional independence from central government, the CETT Budapest Director had no illusions about the likelihood of a uniform project.

'It was obvious from the start that there would be a huge difference between how the institutions perceived the new type of teacher education.' (Admin 2)

No ELTSUP participant, national, institutional or individual, Hungarian or British understood much about the detail of what was planned. MEC gave no guidance and the objectives in the project framework were expressed in generalities. The extent to which institutions saw change as desirable, and the effort they might therefore be willing to devote to the implementation of such change, differed from one institution to the next.

There was thus no consistency on the Hungarian side, in the manner in which the agreements signed between the British Council negotiator and individual institutions were interpreted. Speaking in retrospect, the Hungarian, BC employed, Project Implementation Manager (PIM), appointed in 1994, reflects that if the same sort of situation arose again, things might be done slightly differently.

'I would pay more attention to negotiations before starting (the project), with the Rector, Dean, Head of Department. I think this was always uncertain and waffly ... to ensure that they think it is really worth it and they agree with the overall aims of it, the objectives of the whole thing.' (Admin 6)

In Debrecen the English department had been established in 1938 and felt secure in its national reputation. Neither the ELO at the time, nor the colleagues quoted below, all of whom knew the university well and were involved in the project from early on, noticed much felt need within the university for changes to the way in which English language teachers were trained.

'I would say that the commitment, involvement of the university at the beginning was rather lukewarm... I think they felt there was a need for English teachers because there were and still are people, unqualified people not even speaking English at an Intermediate exam level, teaching English. ... There was a staff meeting at the department and there were of course people who supported the idea (of establishing CETT) but there were lots of people against it. ... I think the good thing about it was that two senior lecturers in the dept ... who said 'yes there should be something like this set up,' and used their personal influence on other members of staff also.' (Coll 4))

'There wasn't a felt need, they only had things to lose. ... I think in terms of ideology they were completely resistant. I'm sure they would have said 'we're happy with the model we've got. We'll develop it ourselves if we feel there's a need for it.' (Coll 1)
'In Debrecen Admin 1 was very slow in the first instance to respond to the idea of the project at all and then very suddenly a separate CETT was proposed' (Admin 5)

'They recognised the need for lots of English teachers. ... There is still the belief among them that there is not much one can do to train teachers, either a person has got it or not and therefore all the attention to methodology is a waste of time.' (Coll 3)

The form taken by the 3YP therefore varied between the eventual nine ELTSUP institutions. The three oldest established English departments, including Debrecen, established physically separate CETTs, in which only three year students were taught. The other six ELTSUP institutions, two universities and four teachers' colleges, established their own individual versions of the programme running either within or closely connected to existing English departments.

7. Main themes emerging

7.1 Minimal planning and fuzzy project goals.

- The demand for the teaching of Russian throughout the region dropped abruptly, as a result of unexpected and rapid alterations to the political environment in 1989-90.
- There was a sudden demand for tuition in western European languages, especially English and German. Teachers of these languages needed to be trained quickly.
- The BC through ELTSUP in Hungary (and projects in other countries of the region) took a prominent role in the provision of such training for teachers of English.
- The underlying BC rationale for its widespread involvement seems to have been political-economic.
- The goals of MEC appeared to be purely quantitative, to meet the sudden need for teachers of western languages.
- There is no documentary evidence that MEC desired the ELTSUP project to lead to changes in the manner and content of language teacher education.
- Although qualitative aspects of teacher education were mentioned in the project framework, no details of how either quantitative or qualitative goals might be achieved were publicly stated.

7.2. Little understanding of the project environment.

- There was insufficient time to carry out an environmental assessment, since it suited both sides to enter into the project agreement as quickly as possible.
Although BC had considerable experience of managing ELT projects, these had usually been in 'developing countries'.

The lack of understanding the Hungarian environment was particularly acute, since the 'cold war' had made it difficult for western Europeans to gain in-depth knowledge of the region.

The BC had no in-depth, in-house body of knowledge about the regional context. Effectively therefore, at the beginning of the project, BC staff in London and Budapest (apart from the ELO) knew little about Hungarian educational and organisational culture or how it might react to the political, social and economic upheavals of the time.

7.3 Unclear decision allocation.

Since there was no detailed plan for project implementation, there was no clear statement of who would be responsible for what.

BC was not aware that having arranged funding and administrative matters, MEC would not wish to be involved further.

BC was left to negotiate separately with each ELTSUP institution.

Even where negotiations led to an agreement to establish a 3YP at a particular institution, what exactly had been agreed between BC, and institutions new to 'project language', was not always totally clear.

Who should take responsibility for which aspects of the more detailed planning and implementation processes was, therefore, a question to be answered as particular situations arose.

7.4. Inexperience of all parties

MEC as an organisation was in a state of transition, led by inexperienced policy-makers representing a new right of centre government.

BC offices in the UK had no experience of working on such a large scale in the region and so were unable to support the BC ELT staff in Budapest. The latter found themselves managing a massively enhanced budget, and expected to take on new responsibilities for which they had not been trained.

3YP host institutions had little experience of taking autonomous initiatives.

All parties to the project at every level were trying to cope with unfamiliar circumstances.
7.5. Little sense of 'Need for Change' and little sense of 'Project'

- Newly autonomous higher education institutions with no history of cross institutional cooperation recognised the need to produce English teachers.

- They varied considerably, however, in how they understand ELTSUP and the extent to which they viewed it as an opportunity to alter well established teacher education practices.

- From the very beginning the term 'Project', in the sense of a group of institutions equally committed to the achievement of a clear common goal, was a misnomer.

7.6 Long-term strategies in Debrecen

- IEAS in Debrecen viewed joining the ELTSUP project as providing possible tangible benefits in the long-term.

- The future incorporation of whatever structures and resources ELTSUP developed into IEAS was publicly discussed in department meetings.

7.7 Poor communication systems within and between project organisations.

- A further result of the instability of the environment and the inexperience at all levels of the project was the failure to establish clear communication systems between the many parties involved.

- Communications between new leaders at MEC and newly autonomous ELTSUP institutions were poor.

- The BC found it difficult to discover who to talk to at MEC.

- English departments at different ELTSUP institutions did not have established channels of communication with one another.

- In Debrecen IEAS failed to communicate the long-term plans, mentioned above, to 3YP implementers at CETT.

In the next section of this chapter we look in more detail at some aspects of the context into which the project was introduced.
CHAPTER 4 B - THE PLANNING CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

The wider environment in which the project was situated was one which was itself rapidly changing. MEC, having established the legal and financial framework within which the 3YP could begin, showed no interest in becoming involved in the detailed planning necessary to enable implementation. The responsibility for this fell to the BC office in Budapest and the contractees that it employed to implement the 3YP, together with their newly recruited Hungarian colleagues within the institutions. The lack of a thorough environmental assessment meant that BC contractees, on arrival, knew little of the culture of their host institutions. In addition, they were largely ignorant of the beliefs and value systems shaping the reality of the colleagues and students among whom they were to work, whose life experiences had been formed within a very different version of the European cultural framework. They were thus ill equipped to address themselves to the world as seen by Hungarians.

"The reality of (these) other people's worlds is different from yours (the outsiders), and they make assumptions about the world and about the causes of things that differ from yours because their experiences are different and they even experience the same event in different ways. Hence innovators have to address themselves not just to the world they see, but also to the world other people see, however misguided, perverse and disturbed they may think the outlook of others to be." (Everard and Morris 1989: 171)

Since few contractees had prior experience of the region, most did not understand the effect of the immediate political past on present social and organisational structures. They were not, therefore, able to understand how these might affect the wider context within which any educational change is set. The Hungarian PIM suggests below just how wide-ranging this context is and how, therefore, adequate time is essential for any 'real' educational change (Fullan 1991) to begin to be absorbed into the existing system.

"Education is not just like opening a new department in a bank. It is a complete context and a context that is so rich, involving the country, the politics and the
economics. If you go beyond and below that and see education as a change in itself, and the teachers and parents and children, you realise there are so many components to the whole thing that if you want to affect everybody it takes time.' (Admin 6)

In this chapter some of the components of the 'complete context’ in which the project was situated are examined in detail. Much of this contextual background remained little changed, and therefore influential, throughout the chronology of the study.

1. Expectations of change in a changing society

1.1. High hopes, soon dashed.

Prior to 1989, most Hungarians had little access to first hand information about the west. As 'western' television shows and films became available on Hungarian television during the 1980s, a particular view of life in the west became established in many people's minds. However inaccurate, the picture television painted for one CETT colleague was very attractive.

'...if you saw some films on TV you always see wealthy families and nice landscapes and towns and houses, these big American houses...' (Coll 6/3)

During the 1980s it became possible for Hungarians with access to sufficient foreign currency to travel to the west once every three years. Three colleagues all of whom spent time overseas before the political changes did not find that reality altered the above impressions very much.

'People were convinced that it is the land of milk and honey in the west. We looked up to them unconditionally. We were much inferior economically, financially and in may other respects. The 'civilised west' as we say.' (Coll 5/3)

'The standards of living were a lot higher, there were such huge differences.” (Coll 7/3)

'When I got to England (in 1984) it was a mystery to me and all the shops and supermarkets and even the streets it was a mystery to me even though I had some idea of England. ... For most people it was something different, the people were different and everything was different and there were no poor people of course in western countries only rich people and the sun was always shining there and no rain.' (Coll 6/3)

Another colleague however disagrees.
'I think perhaps it is directly proportionate to people's education. I think perhaps the less educated people were more inclined to think so (that the west was remarkable).[.....] We were only allowed to travel every three years, but even so lots of people did, so they kind of knew what was going on there. I went to Germany, West Germany when I was 17. I don't think I had any false ideas about what the west was like.' (Coll 4/3)

The proportion of Hungarians able to find the foreign currency necessary for travel abroad is likely to have been a minority. So for most Hungarians the above images coloured their expectations. As a result, when the borders were opened in 1989 many Hungarians had unrealistic expectations about the benefits that would rapidly result from democratisation and a market economy. As a colleague recalls:

'...with the first election (in 1990) and the first change we expected something very sudden. And nearly everyone went to vote and we wanted to sense something after one or two years...' (Coll 6/3)

Volgyes (1993: 232), writing about the same phenomenon concurs.

'People tended to enlarge the positive features of the west as compared to their real value, so that they could express their desire for joining the west. For Hungarians, Harrods or Selfridges, Neckarmann or Cerngross embody civilisation; in other words it's true that material welfare is characteristic of advanced societies and so they identified European welfare with European culture.'

By the time the project began in 1991, what was in fact being sensed, was something very different.

'...what we could sense was unemployment and then uncertainty and more and more people lost their faith in politics and government and in everyday reality. We expected in one or two years something similar to the western countries. Those bright shops and a lot of money and being able to travel ... and nice cars and nice houses, and without too much energy, I admit. The work should stay the same, not more work or more energy put in, but the results should be like we saw on the TV.' (Coll 6/3)

By 1990 the inflation rate was 29%, rising to 35% in 1991 (Nagy 1992). The socio-economic certainties of the previous forty years had broken down. Full employment in a job in which, 'You had to do something really grave to be fired ... You felt safe and secure.' (Coll 4/3) stable prices for basic foods, an adequate level of material security and general predictability in most aspects of life in return for acquiescence in the political status quo, disappeared quickly for many Hungarians. Certainty was replaced by an unaccustomed
atmosphere of insecurity, which left one CETT colleague feeling that he couldn't '... even tell you what will happen tomorrow, let alone in two or five years" (Coll 8/2)

A particularly disturbing, newly apparent, feature of the period for many people, that became more and more obvious throughout the case study period, was the previously unknown economic polarisation, pointed out by a Professor of Pedagogy from the National Institute for Educational Research in Budapest.

'Prior to the political change this society was relatively closed and in the economic and social arena there was relative equality. Prior to the change we were relatively equal on the base of poverty. Now there is polarisation and huge social and economic changes have been created in consequence of the change.' (Admin 7)

The unaccustomed and rapidly widening economic disparities began to affect social cohesion. A colleague who was personally both a spiritual and an economic beneficiary of the changes felt that:

'Envy is something post-communist societies seem to be driven by. If you live in a society driven by envy it is difficult not to be influenced by that.' (Coll 7/3)

The bewilderment and disillusion caused by these rapid changes to the status quo, and the tendency among many to look back to the old certainties is well summarised by two colleagues, speaking of the situation in 1996.

'The majority of the population are still half illiterate in the sense of understanding problems. They just keep saying 'at that time it was better' no matter that you explain 55 times, 100 times that it's because of this and that, they just keep repeating it. People may be afraid in a way. People become disinterested because they are promised a lot and not given anything at all, and they are not willing to understand that it's a long-term process.' (Coll 9)

'Many people still look back on socialism as the good old days because you had somewhere to live, you had something to eat, you had something to put on, even if you didn't have such a choice as you have now in the shops. You could be sure that there would be a time when you can retire, and even if your pension is less, you can still make a living, which you can't say now.' (Coll 4/3)

People were unprepared for the scale and rate of change that they were being expected to cope with, and only few had realised, as Kozinski (1992:331) notes below, that the change process would be a long one.
Chapter 4b. The Planning context

'Any transition in post-communist countries will be lengthy and gradual, no matter what. The inertia of mental sets, institutions and structures, the inevitable scarcity of material resources and managerial skills and the resistance of the post-communist political formations substantiate that statement more than enough.'

Overall, therefore, the wider environment in which project was initially situated was one where many people were already beginning to lose their enthusiasm for 'democracy.'

Dissatisfaction was particularly acute in Hungary, since in the 1980s, Hungary had been one of the, if not the, most prosperous of the Soviet satellite states in the region. Simon, speaking of Hungary, points out that

'some political scientists and commentators state gloomily that from being the 'happiest barracks' in the former Soviet bloc, the country has become 'the saddest democracy' in the region.' (1993:228)

1.2 Teachers within a changing society

The professional prestige and material status of state school teachers in Hungarian society was not especially high during the communist period. A colleague who graduated from the forerunner to IEAS in Debrecen in the 1980s remembers students' attitudes to the prospect of becoming a teacher thus:

'The general attitude of students in the department was that they didn’t want to be teachers at all. They thought that if they can’t do anything else then they’d become teachers.' (Coll 2).

Salaries had never been high, and with inflation as late as 1996 still running at well over 20% (Hungarian Central Statistical Office Website 1999). The head of the Linguistics department in Debrecen felt that the political changes had not resulted in any obvious improvements.

'The job of teachers is not appreciated or respected by our present society. Under the old regime learning and knowledge were considered to be dangerous in Party circles so intellectuals didn’t get the appreciation in terms of money that they deserved. As regards salaries and official acknowledgement of the teaching profession not much has changed.' (Admin 4)

Changes in the economic structure of society and the rapidly growing importance of money as a marker of status, merely increased teachers’ feelings of dissatisfaction. The Professor of Pedagogy quoted above, who had worked in education all his life, felt that the economic polarisation had the effect of making teachers, relatively worse off than previously.
Chapter 4b. The Planning context

'Prior to the political change ... there was not the huge chances to make a big career, not only in the teacher profession. ... After the change the arena was opened much more and in this openness the (material) backwardness of the teaching profession is much more salient, seeable, much more sharpened than before. Nowadays I can say that the teaching profession as such is in a poorer position than previously' (Admin 7)

Simultaneously, the political and subsequent economic changes offered increasing job opportunities outside teaching for those with good western foreign language skills. Western companies quickly seized on new business opportunities in the region. For the relatively few existing teachers of English and for the first 3YP graduates, ability to use English was a marketable commodity. Many, especially those living in or willing to move to Budapest, were tempted to enter the business world, often on very high salaries. They became members of what Laky (1994) terms the 'comprador intelligensia', Hungarians with special skills used for the benefit of foreign companies working in Hungary. The head of IEAS at the time was well aware of the situation and of its likely effects on the quantitative aims of the project.

'I knew we would not be able to train as many certified teachers as was expected from the project, because this kind of expertise (in the language) was absent from all walks of life and so students will go in a wide range of directions rather than teach.' (Admin 1)

In hindsight therefore, the failure to view the project within its environment and somehow make teaching an attractive option, meant prospects for meeting the quantitative aims of the project looked poor even before it started.

2. Pressure for change in Debrecen

Kossuth Lajos University (KL) in Debrecen, like institutions all over the country had to cope with a multitude of changes. As an organisation it had to deal not only with the effects on its staff and students of the socio-economic changes outlined above, but also as a newly autonomous institution, with many of the administrative and professional tasks previously dealt with by the Party hierarchy within the university, under the direction of the MEC. The Head of IEAS during much of the implementation period recalled:

'So many changes were also taking place in university life. For example that was the time that for the first time we had the chance to freely elect our Rector.' (Admin 8)
Chapter 4b. The Planning context

There were at least two senior IEAS staff who, during visits to the USA in the 1980s, had encountered different approaches to language teaching and learning. They recognised that, since all graduates of the university five year programme (5YP) continued to emerge as qualified teachers, subject-specific teacher education did need greater emphasis within the five year course as a whole.

'... we also felt that the teacher training part should deserve a greater part of the whole set up of university education.' (Admin 4)

'I knew because I taught methodology for years, not what I taught here but as a Fulbright in the USA ... I found out about new schools of methodology.' (Admin 1)

In addition, the Hungarian staff recruited to begin the project, all ex graduates of the 5YP at IEAS, were clear that teacher education required change.

'In those days everyone in their right mind thought a more practical teacher training was absolutely needed.' (Coll 7)

'...we had always been dissatisfied with the professional side of the traditional teacher training in the English department. ...for many years methodology training... took the form of lectures about generalities.' (Coll 5)

'I was convinced that more input in terms of methodology was definitely needed, a different approach to methodology was definitely needed and a different teaching practice in terms of length.' (Coll 1)

However, the future BC Outreach co-ordinator, who worked in IEAS before coming to CETT, and two other colleagues, remind us that many IEAS staff did not welcome the prospect of change.

'There was a feeling that the 3 year programme was not extensive enough, students would not be mature enough when they leave to be good teachers. ... They would not be competent because only someone who has actually graduated (from the 5YP) was competent.' (Coll 3)

'The Institute is dominated by people who are literary scholars and linguists, they do not voice a felt need for change, so perhaps it had to be introduced from outside.' (Coll 1)

'This (CETT's 3YP) would be the 'barber' training school as opposed to the (5 year) 'doctor' training school, and so this is how they regarded us from the very beginning, thinking of us as not academic enough. ... They thought of it as a quick training course without any academic background for people to go out into
the field to make up for the serious lack of English teachers, so they didn’t really think highly of it. (Coll 4))

Within the university therefore, the 3YP was only one of a large number of changes that had to be accommodated simultaneously. Bearing this in mind, the Head of IEAS, speaking in 1996, acknowledges that it is possible that:

'...in the beginning we may also have been more rigid ... I can imagine that somebody from the outside will say we didn’t want to change either in the beginning.' (Admin 8)

3. Organisational culture

3.1 The organisation in the Communist era

For at least four decades prior to the political changes, the organisational culture of the country, and within it the university had been relatively stable. The State was, for most, the employer. State organisations were strictly hierarchical with real decision making power concentrated among senior Party members, who within their workplace implemented the instructions of those above them in regional or central government. The majority of employees in organisations of all types were able only to be reactive and to obey orders from above. Speaking of the university before the changes, a colleague who had worked there since the 1960s, describes the organisational structure thus.

'Top down, that is true and the real power was lying with the Party. The Party Secretary was more powerful than the Rector. The Rector didn’t really dare do anything without his consent. (Coll 5/3)

The head of the Linguistics department reminds us that power at all levels was keenly sought because of the contacts with the Party leaders that it entailed.

'Our faculty pre 1989 had a strict hierarchy and people fought for key positions and to keep them as long as possible... You didn’t get much money but you had good connections, Party connections and to leaders in various positions.' (Admin 4)

A sense of the top down manner in which instructions were transmitted by the central authorities is given by the following quotes detailing how two ELTSUP institutions found out about the project.
'We were told by the Ministry that we should set up this project, out of the blue without any preparation without the teachers knowing what is happening without any expertise.' (Admin 9)

'I heard about the whole plan from Admin 1 who was the Dean who received some message from the Ministry... And the task was clear, that a new type of teacher training had to be established. ...The Dean had to solve this problem.' (Coll 5)

The transition to a more inclusive and participatory working style remained difficult to achieve. The BC INSET co-ordinator for the North East of Hungary witnessed many classroom teachers' reactions to the manner in which MEC introduced the new National Curriculum in 1995-96.

'Teachers had very little say in it and they certainly felt that it was something imposed from above, which it was, as they were not consulted during the process in any way.' (Admin 10)

One of the effects of such a concentration of power was, in a colleague’s opinion that most people had no opportunity to become involved in the workings of their organisation.

'In the old regime everything was fossilised. Power mattered and most people had no say in important matters. Once given powers a person could do anything and get away with it. Most people were told to 'shut up'.' (Coll 9)

Another colleague discussing her father's job describes how even those with official Party positions had little real autonomy.

'He was a devoted Party member. ... He got all the regulations and everything from the top so he just had to administrate, fill in forms and say orders and that was it. ...not too much initiative or thinking from his side.' (Coll 6/3)

Within the university for an ordinary junior member of staff the same held true.

'As a junior staff member I didn’t have a lot of say in this (changes to the methodology curriculum), no question about this, it had been decided at a higher level.' (Coll 4).

Within society as a whole, obedience, acceptance and conformity were promoted as the norm. A colleague bleakly states that the role of the individual was to be part of:

'A uniform grey mass, being one of a uniform grey mass was meant to be a wonderful thing.' (Coll 7/3)
Two further colleagues speaking in 1996 and 1998, explained how it was possible to enforce such obedience and conformity was possible and why, even in the second half of the 1990s, people remain reluctant to make their grievances known.

'People may be afraid. The majority of students are not willing to take part in demonstrations because they are afraid they may be dismissed from university. The old mechanism is still working. So they say, and parents say 'you'd better keep quiet.'" (Coll 9)

'...we are not willing to tell other people that we think some things are not right or not correct. ... We don't go and tell our leader because that is how we were trained. ... We don't know the proper form for this, we were never taught.' (Coll 6/2)

When ELTSUP began, few implementers had active experience of taking responsibility for the structures and policy of the organisation in which they worked. The initiative to plan and implement the 3YP would have to come from elsewhere.

3.2 Resultant features of Hungarian organisations

Within such a centralised system one might expect there to have been straightforward systems and channels of communication in order to inform subordinates what was expected of them. If these had existed previously, they no longer did so by the early 1990s, perhaps because organisations at all levels were, for the first time, having to 'organise' themselves. They were doing this within a wider environment that even in 1996 the Head of IEAS still perceived as extremely unstable.

'I struggle in my position with the fact that the economic and political environment changes so quickly that you simply don't know what the situation will be in a few months time let alone a few years time.' (Admin 8)

As part of the research in 1997 a questionnaire survey was sent to all BC contractees in Hungary of whom half responded. One section of the questionnaire asked them about their personal and working relationships with the organisations for which they worked. They reported four features as typical. These are discussed in the four following sub sections.

3.2.1 Poor planning abilities

On reason for this was that planning had always been carried out centrally.
'There used to be central planning for the whole of the economy, the three year plan and the five year plan and that worked for the universities.' (Coll 5/3)

Since change did not appear to be an option, another colleague suggests that the development of planning skills never seemed necessary.

'Very very limited forward planning skills and little need to do so. ... I think we all thought of the system as something absolutely untouchable and never changing. Something forever existing in the way we thought it had always existed and will always exist and never change, and therefore there is no need in particular for planning skills.' (Coll 7/3)

When, abruptly, the system changed and decisions were no longer passed down from above, few local leaders had the leadership experience needed to meet the new responsibilities fully. Similarly few of those previously 'led', had sufficient confidence or the professional skills needed to move from doing a routine job to begin taking an active role in planning how their organisation might change in the future. As one colleague explained, it is difficult for people to move from knowing that;

'...they had their job and if they went there each morning and did something, sat behind a table, they had their position for ages and ages.' (Coll 6/2)

to a job in which they are expected to;

'...think about matters and decide on matters and find out new things and new ways..' (Coll 6/2)

In many organisations, a result of this difficult transition was a type of crisis management in which both requests for action and the provision of necessary information were left to the very last minute, as typified by a report during one of the interviews that

'Just this morning a call came from the Dean's office. They want exact details of all classes held in all rooms by noon today.' (Coll 5/2)

3.2.2. Poor communications

It might be supposed that the hierarchical, top-down organisational structures outlined above would have had clear, well-established channels of communication to ensure that everyone knew their duties so that orders might be effectively carried out. In a sense this was so. People received as much information as they were thought to need to know. Dissemination of information was broadly related to an individual's position in the
hierarchy with the biggest division between Party members and others. Party members received certain information at Party meetings but even they received only such information as their position demanded. A comment from one of the colleagues who read the case study pointed out that lack of definite information and the ambiguity that it engendered about what was and was not permissible, was one of the authorities' main control mechanisms. Colleagues below comment on access to information at the university and at a secondary school.

'Some things were kept among a group of insiders. Some information was released, some sensitive information was never released. ... If you were in an elected position of being a representative of a group of people, like Party Secretaries, then you got information more fully than others, but you were usually not forbidden to release it.' (Coll 5/3)

'We only got the information that they decided we should get, but we couldn't, for example, read a letter that they got in the office. Either about budgetary matters or whatever, we only got the information that we needed. And quite last minute information as far as I remember, the deadline was last week.' (Coll 6/2)

A further result of the lack of clarity brought about by the intentional lack of definitive information was an overall sense of uncertainty in human relationships. Although Hungary by the 1980s was no longer the totalitarian state that it had been during the 1950s and early 1960s, people were still aware that there was a state presence in most institutions to ensure that 'subversive' tendencies were not allowed to develop. Colleagues again speak about the university and a secondary school.

'I'm sure the person in charge of the Tanulmanyosztaly (Student affairs office) in those days was always a person who worked for the Police, because this job involved keeping eyes and ears open and spot all those students who might have been subversive. ... I couldn't prove it, but I'm sure the job was politically sensitive. (Coll 5/3)

'In those days (1970s and 1980s) everybody knew that some teachers in the staff had the role of making their reports to whoever, the authorities, and all the other teachers seemed to know who these people are. It was something everybody seemed to know but obviously nobody talked about.' (Coll 7/3)

Another colleague points out that by the 1980s people were less afraid.

'How you dared to speak out or speak up that varied, because there was a feeling among people that there would be repercussions.... (by the 1980s) People dared to say more than before, because they weren't kind of taken away.' (Coll 8)
Chapter 4b. The Planning context

The transition from a context where tasks were delineated and individuals were discouraged from showing initiative, and where access to explicit information was restricted to keep people uncertain about what was permissible, to one in which there was free flow of information, was bound to be slow. This continuing difference between Hungary and the 'West' was noticed by two colleagues in 1996 and 1998.

'I think communication is a very weak point of Hungarian institutions. Making things known, informing people, making people responsible, somebody ensuring that things got done. ... I think what we learned and could still learn from the Brits is a kind of communication ... letting people know what is going on, drawing people together.' (Coll 2)

'I think that's (poor channelling of information) still so til today. I think it's one of the greatest problems of the Hungarian, not just the education system but the whole system as such, that people somehow can't pass information on. Probably because these channels haven't existed for a long time.' (Coll 4/3)

3.2.3 An autocratic management style

Consistent with the above is a marked hierarchy and a directive management style. As colleagues below point out, in such a context managers were sometimes autocratic and their subordinates expected to be told what to do.

'... we are used to a leader who INSTRUCTS (speaker’s emphasis) people to do things. ... If he did, we would obey. The average Hungarian employee will do what the boss tells him/her to do, because that is the way to keep his/her job. We are there to do things, the boss is there to make sure we do. So we would follow instructions.' (Coll 7)

'On the whole, yes it was top down, it was more hierarchical, I would say.' (Coll 4/3)

'I think power makes people feel they are different from others. I’ve noticed it with old friends. ... once they got a bit higher they started talking in a different way.' (Coll 9)

Most Hungarian therefore lacked personal experience of involvement in planning ahead for, or being personally responsible for the day to day running of, the organisations in which they worked. They were used to being instructed and did not expect, nor (as one subject who read this pointed out) necessarily want, to be kept informed about what was happening within the organisation, since ignorance absolved individuals of responsibility.
The above when combined with the lack of professional teacher education experience, meant that initial responsibility for both managing and leading the 3YP implementation process would, in most institutions, fall fully on the newly appointed BC contractees. Where, as in Debrecen, the 3YP was itself an independent institution, it was these contractees who would additionally be responsible for determining much of the organisational structure and ethos of the new institution. They had, by and large, received no management training and had been only very superficially briefed about the environment that they were to enter. In the early stages of the project, theirs was likely to be a confusing and lonely job.

3.2.4. Preference for verbal rather than written transmission of information

The final point mentioned by BC contractees responding to the questionnaire was the tendency to prefer oral communication. This tendency is consistent with an organisational culture in which there was a general reluctance to take responsibility for actions or decisions in case they might turn out to have been wrong and therefore cause problems for the perpetrator.

'Whatever you write down will remain for everyone else to see later, so it's more risky, and whatever you write down, if you put something on paper you have to take responsibility for it, and I don't think people like taking responsibility.' (Coll 1/3)

If nothing was written down on the other hand:

'...then leaders could always say that ... if things are not documented, then nobody can be sure.' (Coll 7/3)

The continuing preference for verbal rather than written communication meant that even in 1997, there remained a lack of clear information about procedures and systems in the university, as a number of ex 3YP students now studying there pointed out.

'Nobody knows exactly (about the format for the final dissertation), if you go the office everybody says different things.' (Part 1- three students interviewed together)

'We have a lot of bureaucracy in the main department and do have a lot of problems ... because nobody ever knows who is doing what. It's complete chaos.' (Part 2- two students interviewed together)
Chapter 4b. The Planning context

SUMMARY

The organisational culture of the institutions within which ELTSUP would be planned and implemented was one which had a definite hierarchy, but where exact roles were never explicitly defined. Most individuals had little professional autonomy and limited access to information about issues of wider relevance to the present and future of the organisations for which they worked. Most employees were reluctant to move beyond the apparent parameters of the job that they customarily performed, since to do so might involve taking decisions the results of which could not be clearly anticipated.

Hungarian organisations immediately following the political changes showed many of the characteristic of Webb and Cleary's (1994) Mechanistic organisations, (see chapter 2.3). In terms of the categories of management cultures proposed by Hofstede (1983), Hungarian organisations were high Power Distance, high Uncertainty Avoidance, and Collectivist. Few were prepared for a sudden change to a situation where participation in strategic planning and/or its implementation was a responsibility shared by individuals at most levels of the organisational hierarchy.

Many organisations coped by continuing to deal with new situations according to existing beliefs and behaviours. The apparent change (Gagliardi 1986) resulting, saw organisations and individuals using the language and outward behaviour of the new market economy or new approach to language teaching while actually functioning very much as they always had done. The quality of organisational leadership in such circumstances would be extremely important.

4 Leadership of the ELTSUP project

4.1. National Leadership

Hungarian implementers and those more peripherally involved noticed how the BC had tried, and failed, to engage the MEC as an active partner in the project.

'In the Ministry there has never been a person whose job it was to look after the project together with the BC. ... In the Ministry this was not a major project. They gave financial support under the Anglo-Hungarian government agreement and that was it. How we spent the support was up to the BC and the individual institutions.' (Admin 2)
'I know the British Council... simply don't know who to turn to in the Ministry. so I think there is a lot of uncertainty and laziness at the Ministry. I'm sure they didn't give us any support, apart from the routinely given financial support, in this whole process.' (Admin 8)

While this lack of involvement was no doubt partly reflected more important preoccupations at MEC, it also seems likely that MEC as an organisation was affected by some of the features of the organisational culture. Agh (1995) notes that new would-be democratic institutions in Hungary had no experience or precedent to follow. They had, therefore, themselves, to begin the trial and error process of developing a new cultures, based on unfamiliar assumptions in existing organisations. Such profound and complex change could not come quickly. Meanwhile the habit of looking 'upwards' for guidance was deeply ingrained among educational institutions. However, when such guidance was requested by, for example, the Head of IEAS, there was little response.

'I The Ministry likes silence, very much, enormously. Whenever we approach them and ask them what their expectations regarding the future would be, they keep silent' (Admin 8)

It seemed that MEC, having devolved responsibility for higher education, (other than its funding), to individual institutions was both unwilling for democratic reasons, and unable for the sorts of reasons suggested above, to offer support or guidance to those working to maintain educational provision in the classroom. Colleagues' opinions of MEC's apparent inactivity were uniformly unflattering, but showed some evidence of understanding MEC's need to 'survive' and deal with their own 'chaos'.

'The Ministry is trying to survive and chooses survival tactics. There seems a big gap between the ministry and reality in society, they seem to ignore people's everyday problems and introduce measures that are not justified by anything at all". There are a board of people deciding on questions of great importance without knowing anything about what's happening in the background, this is my feeling at the moment.' (Coll 9)

'The Ministry don't know what it is like in schools and what teaching is like. ...They don't go out to schools to have a look at conditions, they just decide things in their office.' (Coll 6)

'It seems very chaotic at the Ministry. I'm not sure if they are even aware of our existence.' (Coll 7)

'The Ministry are just interested in whether there are enough teachers in schools and not asking for too much money. I might be wrong, but they are so little in evidence so it's difficult to know what they want.' (Coll 3)
4.2. Local Leadership in Debrecen

The university in Debrecen was itself struggling to cope with the managerial and organisational planning demands of its new self-government. In addition most members of IEAS had little disciplinary interest or expertise in more recent notions of language teacher education. Insofar as they were able to provide administrative and disciplinary assistance, they did so, but as the Director of CETT remembers, they were unable to give much help beyond the provision of literature and linguistics courses for the philological part of the curriculum.

'Apart from people volunteering to teach for us I got very little sympathy and very little help.' (Coll 5)

The university's choice as Director of the new CETT was a well established member of the university who had been deputy head of the English department for ten years. However, at the time the range of leadership and management duties expected from someone in such a position were limited, and even those that did exist seem, in his case, to have been mostly carried out by his Head of Department.

1 Life was getting on from one day to the next. I didn't have any knowledge about how things worked. ... I didn't know because (the Head of Department) did it himself. (Coll 5/3)

If the criteria for his selection are considered, his qualifications for the post, (according to senior members of IEAS at the time, and in his own opinion), were his academic rank and the fact that he was well known nationally as a lexicologist and a first-class teacher of English grammar.

'My understanding was that we needed someone from the department who was quite well known nation-wide in terms of language teaching. He had always been the number one language teacher in this area, and in terms of language he had nation-wide recognition and good connections in this area. ... His other side was not really known at that time' (Admin 4)

'CJ was appointed because he was an Adjunktus and had a reputation in the field and because it (The CETT qualification) was only a college degree he was qualified. Otherwise he couldn't have been, because you need to be a Docens.' (Admin 1)

"He (the dean quoted above) picked me from the staff of the English department, probably because I had always been in charge of the foundation training for 1st and 2nd years, giving all the language types of classes... and
various types of more or less specialised courses. ... All in all I had been involved in teaching English at this university level in many areas. Also he said I could represent the new department because I was sufficiently well known in professional circles... my name was pretty well known in the country, to show to outsiders who is behind this all." (Coll 5)

It is interesting to note here that, in Debrecen, even before CETT had admitted any students, it was already being assumed by the university hierarchy that the qualification that the students obtained would be ‘only’ a college degree. In contrast all implementers and students for the first year of implementation at least assumed it would be a university degree. The effects of this confusion will be discussed at length in Chapter 5.

From the university's point of view, a formal leader of CETT was thus appointed. He was a known quantity, familiar with the deep action of the university culture. However, as will be seen, the organisational skills needed to plan for the immediate and longer term development of an institution and the distinct professional skills required to design a new curriculum and a staff development programme that would ensure its survival, would need to come from elsewhere.

5. The effect of regional differences on the project in Debrecen

There is a long history of rivalry between the east and west of Hungary and between Budapest and the provinces. The Director of CETT, himself Debrecen born, saw this as principally the result of economic differences.

'The west of the country has always been more prosperous and more educated and the east poorer and less educated ' (Coll 5/2)

Data from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (1999) suggests that these differences continue to the present day. In 1997 for example, average monthly net earnings in Hajdu-Bihar, the county of which Debrecen is county town, were 70.1% of those in Budapest. Local government spending was 37.5% of the Budapest figure.

Debrecen itself, situated in the very east of the country, twice (briefly) the capital, the centre of the Calvinist church in a largely Catholic Hungary, never occupied by the Turks and arguably the second largest city in the country , (approximately 250,000 people to Budapest's 2.5 million) has a strong sense of its own identity. In the view of outsiders, one
born in Budapest and the other in the Hungarian part of Romania, one result of this sense of civic identity, is a greater resistance to change.

'I there is a greater adherence to tradition here, a greater reluctance to accept the new. I think it is also a sense of resentment at being neglected. There's always the fact that this region has been (more) neglected, not for decades but for centuries than the west of the country. It's a vicious circle. People who are well trained have tended to move to Budapest or the west of the country.' (Coll 4/2)

'I don't think Debrecen could be taken as the same as other parts of Hungary. Cultural habits are so different. ... It's much more eastern, there is a lack of sensibility to openness, put together by the geographical location, the cultural heritage. Debrecen is called the Protestant (Calvinist) Rome, this reveals why Debrecen is as it is. The lack of openness to new and alternative things is very high in this region.' (Part 3)

Within Debrecen, the university (founded in 1912, although a Calvinist theological college has existed in the city since the 17th century) is, together with the Calvinist church, a major influence in the city. Within the university, the English department had for many years been nationally prominent and had always taken the lead in trying to bring the Hungarian university level English teaching community together.

'It was the Debrecen department that first in the history of this country organised Anglistikoi Napok (English studies days). In Debrecen every second year (from the late 1960s/early 1970s) they staged a national forum, a conference for all who cared to come along and read papers. ... The Budapest department have not until now (1997) staged one.' (Coll 5/2)

CETT Debrecen was thus situated in an inward-looking, conservative part of the country, connected to a well established English department with a strong, confident culture and a clear sense of its own national significance and importance. Such a department was not likely to be immediately open to changes brought in from the outside.

6. Educational culture in Hungary

As a teacher education institution, CETT was situated at the very centre of any educational culture. Its graduating teachers, had to fit the educational expectations of Hungarian society as a whole, as represented by schools, headmasters, fellow teachers, students and parents, and of the higher education system, (the university) with its fixed view of what constituted an appropriate academic training for a language teacher.

6.1 Beliefs about education in Hungarian culture
As quoted in chapter one, Lawson, writing about the former Communist countries of the region in 1994 noted that;

'A common root problem is a history of absolutism, referring to a belief in the authority of one true ideology, the only legitimate form of government... an absolutism consistent in its essential rejection of pluralism and relativism.' (253).

Kaufman (1997:27) points out that this history of absolutism stretches back to well before the communist period.

Throughout Hungary's history, from the original Magyars, through the Turkish occupation and the Hapsburg domination, a brief period of liberalism and nationalism to the Soviet domination, the structure of social educational authority in Hungary represented top down implementation of the plans of the ruling authorities.

The educational absolutism most often referred to as typical of their educational culture is what Hungarians call the Prussian System. Characteristics of this system are a very formal classroom atmosphere in which fact-based knowledge is transmitted from teacher to pupil to be learned (memorised) and later tested as delivered. Colleagues who are products of the culture's Prussian system, some now with children attending schools in Debrecen, describe the system in very similar terms.

'It was inherited from the Prussian system. Toughness is good and is equated with a great workload and high requirements in exams and lots of exams.' (Coll 4/2)

'We say it's similar to the Prussian system of education last century. Children had to learn and memorise texts and facts and our (language) teaching is rooted in this.' (Coll 10)

'In Hungary, people right across society regard education as being the transmission of knowledge. Teachers have a certain amount of knowledge that they have to transmit to their students and learning is determined, can be spotted when the knowledge is tested. So the job of the teacher is to tell facts to students from primary school right the way through to university level, and for those students then to be tested on whether they have managed to retain those facts and, if they manage to reproduce what the teacher has said, they get a top mark.' (Coll 3)

'Education is the framework within which knowledge can be absorbed by the learner and learning is the act through which the learner gets to the knowledge. While getting to the knowledge learners have to go through periods that are not pleasant. In Hungary the view of education does not have enough happiness or joy for me... children in school are not there to entertain or be entertained.' (Coll 7)
'You need education to get more knowledge. When you have learned facts you have knowledge. You go to school to learn facts and when you have learned them you gain knowledge.' (Coll 6)

Seven of the nine Debrecen, school-based, supervisors who returned questionnaires also agreed that the Prussian system remained the prevailing one in schools. They listed a strict hierarchy, the teacher in charge, a lot of rules, discipline, silence, the teacher lecturing to the whole class, passive students and lack of individualism as characteristics.

Some colleagues felt that the communist period with its insistence on a single correct worldview and its avoidance of any areas of controversy such as the history of the 1940s and 1950s, intensified the existing view of education.

'The Communist state wanted black and white answers and wanted to make the world outside believe that everything was perfect the way it was. There were no problems, no doubts in peoples' heads, no questions because nothing could have been more perfect. Any discipline that raised doubts in peoples heads was dangerous.' (Coll 7/2)

'Many people would agree... Here are the facts, learn these put them in your head. But there is a growing dissatisfaction with this because the Communists overdid it. One had to regurgitate what one was given... We had to pick up knowledge that we knew contradicted social realities, so Hungarians got a good education in how bad certain views of what knowledge is, are.' (Admin 1)

Some colleagues felt that in an increasingly competitive post-communist world, education was beginning to be seen more as a product to be obtained for future instrumental purposes than as something desirable in itself.

'Education as such is respected by the majority but if you ask them what they mean by education... most say it is needed for a career or status, but the spiritual value of knowledge isn't highly respected. It tends more and more to be about facts and not knowledge as a state, a general way to handle phenomena in the world.' (Part 3)

'Now, if one generalises, most people are less interested in education than the product of education, the certificates and degrees and good jobs. They don't care what is behind it, education has been devalued.' (Coll 9)

Hungarian educational culture showed many features of the individualist culture outlined in chapter two. The communist government's tendency to insist on 'correct' answers to every question had reinforced the pre-existing tendency to view knowledge as facts, and learning as the ability to memorise facts and repeat them to the teacher on demand. Such a concept
of education was in strong contrast to the more cooperative educational culture which strongly influenced most of the outsiders involved in the implementation of ELTSUP.

6.2. Teachers and teacher behaviour

In a society with an instrumental view of education, teachers' success became increasingly judged by their perceived ability to provide the knowledge that would enable pupils to pass the exams that determined success within the system. For such teachers, good subject knowledge was crucial for the good teaching that would lead to good learning. Implicit in this view of the teacher is that the teacher is the source of all knowledge in the classroom. A student, a colleagues and the BC INSET advisor for the region (who observed over 200 teachers in their classrooms during his four years in Hungary) agreed on this.

'That a teacher must be good in his/her subject is the leading value of the teacher, not the methodology or the way of handling children.' (Part 3)

'A very solid knowledge base is always mentioned. Knows a subject 100% which is only possible if the subject is facts. MOST (original emphasis) important is to have the knowledge and to be able to pass it on and to control students' work.' (Coll 7)

'...the fount of all knowledge. They tend to teach from the front and think it's their job to give information and knowledge.' (Admin 10)

Teacher student relationships in such transmission based classrooms were formal. A very perceptive mature student at the university pointed out that Hungarian schools and classrooms were a kind of diglossic linguistic domain (Fasold 1997 Ferguson 1967), in which the language that students used among themselves was topically, lexically and grammatically different from that which they used when interacting with teachers. This is no doubt partly true in educational institutions worldwide. However, Hungarian is a language in which the term for 'you' can be expressed in two, separate, more and less formal, ways which then affect how you express what follows, and the hierarchical social rules governing the choice of 'you' are still quite strictly observed. This common sociolinguistic feature of the language highlighted for one mature student, the extent to which, even at university level, students and teachers remained distant from one another.

'Students have two different languages, one for the teacher and one among themselves. It is very interesting to note the sharp switch in language, not just the topic, even the grammatical set is different. The teacher used to be and still is a part of an unknown, distant and high world.' (Part 3)
To sustain this image of inhabiting a 'distant, high world', teachers had to be seen to 'know' at all times. The BC outreach co-ordinator and a Hungarian colleague felt that this need to know both reinforced the primacy of facts, since only they can certainly be unambiguously known, and made teachers fearful of students' questions lest they reveal their lack of knowledge.

'(if you) look at education in terms of providing facts it means a clear job for the teachers, they know what to do.' (Coll 3)

'I was a good old Hungarian teacher, who likes to know everything, who feels secure when she can answer all the students' questions. A teacher who doesn't mind the students posing questions but is always worried about questions that she cannot answer.' (Coll 7)

Within such a system there was no place for student feedback on teachers' performance or course content at any level of the education system. Teachers were arbiters of what had to be learned and of how the appropriate knowledge should be transmitted. The Director of CETT recalls that when, in 1991-2, it was proposed that student evaluation should be introduced in the university faculty of Arts, teachers were extremely surprised.

'...the faculty was considering introducing student evaluation ... it caused a kind of consternation, shock and apprehension. They were a little afraid of the consequences if the views were critical or negative. People were not used to being criticised. That's a disease, a professional by product of teachers. They are dominant in the classroom. All the students are so much subordinate to their views and judgements that they are not used to getting something back by way of criticism and evaluation.' (Coll 5)

The working atmosphere of the Communist period, where access to unambiguous information was difficult, and a general fear of criticism prevailed, was not conducive to active co-operation among and between teachers. By the time the project began to be implemented, there were additional constraints on finding time to co-operate imposed by the growing need for many teachers to seek supplementary employment to maintain what they considered to be a reasonable standard of living. Teachers at all levels in Hungary, therefore worked in considerable isolation. Such isolation is of course not unique to Hungary, Sirotnik (1983) reports finding that the same was true in the USA, when he looked at Goodlad's 1976-78 study of 1000 elementary and secondary classes, and Heckman (in Goodlad 1987) again found the same in his study of schools in Los Angeles. What the quotes below from the BC INSET advisor and colleagues from two different institutions do, however, suggest is that, in Hungary, in-class isolation seemed also to be accompanied by a lack of professional coordination between teachers outside the
classroom even among teachers teaching the same subject or teaching students of the same level.

"I'm amazed, I still find it unsettling. There is a school where I'm doing a project. There are five teachers in the department. I took 3A, 3B and 3C. I asked the teacher who took 3A 'what are 3B doing?'. She didn't know. 'What book are they using?'. She didn't know. It happens all the time. Many teachers don't know what their colleagues are doing because they never talk about work, they talk about anything except school. ... Teachers don't meet at meetings at school. I don't know a school that has regular meetings. One reason is that teachers see teaching as only one job of many which in most cases it is, and they don't want to spend free time on it." (Admin 10)

"If we got a decent salary and had more time to teach and research we would have more time to share with each other. Given the current set-up it's sometimes very difficult to organise a department meeting to discuss urgent things. We all feel unhappy, but given these circumstances I don't think we can do anything else." (Admin 4)

"I have no idea how my colleagues teach, when or what they teach. ... Under the previous system at school everybody was doing his own things and not letting anyone have a look at it because they were afraid of judgement. ... If nobody knows about me nobody can criticise me." (Part 4)

6.3. English language teachers

The relatively few English language teachers graduating prior to 1989 were expected to have a good knowledge of the facts of their subject as their primary qualification. Their professional training therefore aimed to equip them firstly, with personal language proficiency at a high level, and secondly, with the facts about the language that were necessary to be fully able to teach and explain the grammar and word formation rules of the language and a wide ranging vocabulary. In addition, as colleagues point out, society expected that those studying English at university, and so qualified to teach at secondary level, would also be provided with a proper academic training.

'... an academic training both in the literature and history of the country and also all related subjects. In this country in an English teacher training department you have to read English and American literature. This is one of the big musts." (Coll 5)

'We've got to think about Hungarian society as a whole. The way people, the general population think about people with higher qualifications. They should be well informed in general. I don't think anyone would respect an English teacher who doesn't know things about literature, doesn't know names... at least the major brand of literature and history." (Coll 4)
At the time the ELTSUP was planned, English language teachers were, therefore, teachers of a subject, which, like any other, had its own body of knowledge to be learned and transmitted to students. However, (see section 6.7) there is evidence that some teachers were already aware, in theory at least, of some of the principles underlying communicative approaches to English language teaching, which suggested that some of the ideas that ELTSUP would introduce would not be entirely unfamiliar.

6.4. Universities

The three physically separate CETTS were administratively part of host universities. Hence, although Hungarian higher education of course contains other types of institutions, I will discuss only universities. The former Rector of the University of Debrecen, speaking in the mid 1990s, considered Hungarian universities to be traditionally academic rather than vocational, to promote theory over practice and to admire the 'hard' over the 'soft' sciences.

'Hard sciences are hard sciences and applications are less regarded. This is still a very important and serious matter.' (Admin 1)

This differentiation between the 'hard' Sciences and the Arts was, in Debrecen, reflected in the departmental membership of the highest academic body in Hungary, the Academy of Sciences in Budapest. While IEAS had no members, a colleague whose husband worked in the Institute of Mathematics described it thus.

'In the Institute (Mathematics) at least five members are members of the Academy of Sciences, absolutely academic, at the highest level of their professional careers, so there are many academic minded people.' (Coll 7)

In the early 1990s almost all university graduates were dual majors and qualified as secondary school teachers. However, most academic departments spent minimal time and energy on their teacher training role and those connected with this aspect of work, mostly those in Pedagogy departments, were of low status, both for reasons already mentioned and also, as the Professor of Pedagogy previously cited notes, for historical academic reasons.

'On the continent in the 18th century when the training of teachers appeared at faculties at the universities, there was the Philosophical faculty. [.....] Those who later became priests, medicines, lawyers everybody has to make this philosophical
studies which is a sort of introductory studies. That’s the reason in the historical sense for this relative low status of the teaching as a profession because everyone has to complete these studies, but teachers ONLY have to complete this one. In contrast the other people went further and the teachers remained.[.....] After world war two, the so-called universities of science, ELTE (Budapest) KLTE (Debrecen) and JATE (Szeged) are universities of sciences practically with two faculties, sciences and philosophy and practically they train teachers. Once admitted, output teacher. But of course at university level the teaching profession and the teacher as such is not very highly appreciated by the other departments, the so-called scientific departments.¹ (Admin 7)

Teachers therefore, when compared with other professionals, were not highly esteemed in academic terms, and the emphasis on research in Hungarian higher education, as elsewhere, further diminished the value accorded to teaching within higher education institutions. 

Once again, however such attitudes were not unique to Hungary, as shown by Goodlad’s comments on American public universities below. (Goodlad 1990a in Fullan 1991: 299).

'The decline of teaching in favour of research in most institutions of higher education has helped lower the stakes of teacher education. In regional public universities, once normal schools and teachers colleges, the situation has become so bad that covering up their historic focus on teacher education is virtually an institutional rite of passage.'

The lack of importance attached to teaching, as compared to research, within the university in Debrecen is noted by a number of colleagues below.

'In the university is absolutely not important your teaching... The methodology in Hungary is not recognised in the university. In our institute are more than 60 people and two people are working in methodology.' (Admin 11)

'It depends on the mission statement of the university. Even if it's a research university... whereas I think one should research and publish when working at such a university I think one should also be a good teacher. There is more and more realisation that... teaching experience is very important.' (Admin 1)

'We encourage colleagues to offer courses based on their individual research. So there is no division line between teaching activity and research activity.' (Admin 8)

The tendency to diminish the importance of teaching was exacerbated, in IEAS, as the former Head of English recalls, by the rapid increase in student numbers immediately after the political changes. Prior to 1989 the English department had been very small, admitting 20 or fewer students each year, and during these years all department staff had been language teachers.
'... for decades (we) taught language parallel with literature and we knew how important it was.' (Admin 1)

By 1994 annual student intake had risen to over 100. With students now able freely to choose which university they wished to attend, it was necessary to develop a wider range of specialisations in order to attract them. Consequently the balance which had existed, between classroom language teaching and more specialised, research based teaching, became more and more difficult to maintain.

'Now, with more specialisation, (we have) staff for this and that. I keep saying to literature colleagues, language in a literary seminar is as important as anywhere else, but some answer 'this is literature not language.' (Admin 1)

Paradoxically therefore as access to foreign languages expanded, being a good language teacher ceased to be an important criterion for appointment as an academic in a university language department. Language teaching increasingly became the province of the youngest and least experienced members of staff whose future success would now be judged, in Hungary as elsewhere, not by their teaching, but by their higher qualifications and publications in a recognised discipline.

A similar process occurred regarding language teaching at CETT Debrecen. Staff, who had initially been recruited principally for their language teaching skills, found as the institution grew in size that they needed to specialise in areas of teacher education. Language teaching at CETT too became increasingly the domain of the newest arrivals and more or less qualified part-time staff.

Hungarian higher education culture thus showed many of the features of the individualist end of the educational culture continuum and of Bernstein's 'collectionist code' (Bernstein 1971 in Holliday 1994). It was strongly discipline and content based with clear boundaries between disciplines. It was also hierarchical, both in terms of a hierarchy of institutions and of the disciplinary areas within them. This comes across clearly in the comments below from a member of the university's Maths institute, the BC Outreach co-ordinator and a CETT colleague.

'In higher education it is firstly the discipline not the global personality of education that is important.' (Admin 11)

'Remember there is a very strong hierarchy in the Hungarian education system. University teachers at the top and nursery nurses at the bottom. Anyone below
the rank of university teacher feels that they haven’t quite made it. Teacher training colleges all feel they haven’t reached the pinnacle.¹ (Coll 3)

¹ … (in English teaching in Debrecen there is ) a very strong hierarchy at the top of which the literature people stand who look down on the language and linguistics who look down on the methodologists, and the methodologists can only look down on the lektoratus (service language department) and the lektoratus look down on the language schools and god knows who.¹ (Coll 2)

Established Hungarian universities therefore shared many features with universities in other countries. They were extremely conscious of their status in the higher education hierarchy. Teacher education was not seen as an area for serious academic study and teaching ability was increasingly secondary to evidence of successful research potential.

6.5. Language Teacher Training

Language teachers were trained at three different types of institutions. Lower Primary colleges ran three to four year courses for teachers of children up to age 10. Upper Primary colleges had four year courses for teachers of 10-14 year olds and Universities had five year courses to train teachers for secondary schools. Until the early 1990s all students at Upper Primary colleges and Universities were double majors, qualified to teach two subjects on graduation. In what follows only the training of language teachers at universities is discussed.

Debrecen, with its well established English department, had a longstanding reputation for producing good teachers of English. According to the Director of CETT, a Peace Corps survey of Hungarian English teachers in 1991 found that:

¹ The majority of teachers of English in the country, rather than the big cities … come from Debrecen, they graduated here. There are more Debrecen graduates in the country than Budapest graduates, even in the west.¹ (Coll 5/2)

Hungarian educational culture expected individual disciplines within teacher training institutions to provide students with the subject knowledge that they would be required to transmit to their eventual pupils. In addition students were required to attend a very small number of subject specific methodology classes. By far the largest part of their teacher training consisted of non-subject-specific teacher training courses provided for students of all disciplines by the Pedagogy and Psychology departments. The structure of teacher training and the low status of those supplying it is described below by the Professor of Pedagogy quoted previously, who had carried out a research project into the role of university methodologists in the early 1990s, and by a CETT colleague.
Teacher training is a shared activity by different institutions, structures of a given university. Let's take history teachers. He or she has to complete educational studies, didactics, much psychology and the methodology, how to teach, how to manage the classroom... and this is shared partly by the two structures, Pedagogy and Psychology... and supplemented by the methodologist who is sitting in... the history department. That's the key person, but he or she is dedicated to the discipline not to Pedagogy or Psychology. ... We made forty interviews with these methodologists all over the country and with other people as well, and one could state that their position was relatively low in consequence of (being regarded as) somebody who proved to be incompetent in the science. If he could be a good scientist, historian, geographer and so on he wouldn't be a methodologist.

(Admin 7)

'I think in the academic world the teaching based around subjects that prepare students for teaching are not regarded as academic subjects and so those dealing with them are not recognised as proper academic staff.' (Coll 7)

Despite some 300-400 hours devoted to 'teacher training' the results, in terms of preparing language teachers for the classroom, were generally perceived as poor by many CETT colleagues, all of whom had themselves graduated from IEAS the 1980s.

'When I graduated... I felt how little I knew about teaching. We had very few methodology classes one or two semesters of 2 hours per week. All the other subjects were trying to teach some kind of factual information and then we had this methodology teacher who was talking about some esoteric things in teaching. I basically didn't quite know what the person was talking about. I have very vague memories of what we did in those (pedagogy) classes. I think I was bored.' (Coll 2)

'We started our careers without having any guidance as far as teaching was concerned. We had to struggle for 3 or 4 years until we knew how to teach. We knew about Pestalozzi and teaching in China 2000 years ago, but nothing about real teaching.' (Coll 9)

Let me describe the Methodology I had in the fourth year. We had a two hour seminar for one semester for all the students, about 20. She (the teacher) sat behind the desk for the whole session asking us questions which had to be answered in turns. The question was asked to student one, then student two, until all 20 of us had given an answer to the same question. How can you train teachers this way? (Coll 1)

'We had methodology in the fourth year at university, 12 sessions. We just had a look at the secondary school textbook. We looked at the pages, had a lesson plan and that was all.' (Coll 6)
'When I went to university teacher training was non-existent. In the timetable we ended up with almost nothing.' (Coll 8)

One important consequence of this inadequate preparation, noticed by the BC INSET advisor as he observed teachers in the region for four years in the first half of the 1990s, was teachers' lack of understanding of what they were doing.

'...they don't really know why they are teaching what they are teaching. (which leads to) a lack of self confidence from a lack of any belief about why they are doing something, a lack of reasonable philosophy about why they do things.' (Admin 10)

Prior to graduation, in the fifth year at university trainees were obliged to complete a teaching practice. This consisted of two components. The first was two weeks unsupervised practice in a school of the trainees' choice. This, naturally, often tended to be the school they attended themselves or a school attended or taught at by relatives or friends. The second, supervised and assessed, teaching practice was held in one of a few officially accredited 'Practice schools', most of which, according to a colleague who previously taught at one, are

"excellent schools not typical schools at all, let alone the kids"(Coll 7)

Teaching Practice involved between 10 and 15 hours of supervised classroom teaching, culminating in an exam lesson for which trainees were given a mark. The post of teaching practise supervisor was both prestigious and fairly lucrative. Those appointed were always experienced teachers, but they were given no special training for their role. As CETT colleagues describe below, teaching practise appeared in students' mark books as a 'subject' like any other, and teaching ability was treated as an objectively assessable quality, to be marked in the same manner, and using the same performance scale, as all other subjects. Colleagues' comments suggest that they were aware of how unsatisfactory this situation was.

'Most supervisors give '5s'(the top mark-excellent), and it's unrealistic. ... It has to have a mark because it is a subject.' (Coll 10)

'I had a two week teaching practice. I taught 8 lessons per week. ... I was sure this was ridiculous, ... but the book had to be signed.' (Coll 1)

'The practical preparation was what you got from your supervisor and they were as trained as you were. They were trained on the basis of what they saw as language learners or as students. One would think that things would develop over
the years and so if we as students in 1981 got that sort of training I'd believe that those in 1965 would have got even less.¹ (Coll 8/2)

The fairly small number of English teachers already working within higher education institutions and secondary schools were on the whole proficient users of English with a solid knowledge of language form and vocabulary and a varying knowledge of English literature and history. For the formal requirements of the Hungarian education system at the time, their training was entirely adequate. However, the individualist educational culture which the language teacher curriculum represented was based upon very different ideas about language proficiency and the language teaching and learning process from that which would be introduced by the ELTSUP project.

6.6 Likely resistance within the educational environment.

Given the culture of the Hungarian education system as a whole and the more particular regional conservative tendencies some, at least passive, resistance was likely, to a language teacher education curriculum which, in the words of a CETT colleague

'... did not focus so much on facts, more on skills, teacherly skills and attitudes. Not so much literature and history, facts, facts, learn the dictionary from A to Z.' (Coll 2)

Perceptive Hungarians at CETTs in Budapest and Debrecen were aware that the 3YP, offering a university level teacher training qualification in three rather than five years would, if successful, threaten the very basis of the current four and five year teacher education system.

'There was a lot of opposition to creating something new. A lot of conservative university authorities realised that this is a real danger in the sense that is new, very contrary to their ideals and if they let us set a precedent, the rationale for the five year programme will be gone.' (Admin 2)

'This kind of training wouldn't have any academic subjects. Well if it works and students graduate from here and go out into the teaching profession and teachers and headmasters say, yes, they are good, then the natural next question would be, are the academic subjects necessary?' (Coll 4)

In addition, 3YPs, whether based in physically separate CETTs or within existing five and four year departments, were staffed by young, 'unqualified' lecturers, most of whom had recently been English teachers at secondary schools. These newcomers often behaved as if they knew how to run a teacher education programme, worked in what were often better
material conditions and, to begin with, earned slightly higher salaries than their older, more experienced colleagues in the university English departments. As the BC outreach co-ordinator, working in the Debrecen English department in 1991 points out, all of these factors contradicted what was generally expected from newly appointed university staff.

'The people on the three year course telling them how literature or civilisation should be taught when they have no experience of teacher training or higher education at all. Regarding themselves as equals to the staff who had worked in higher education for a long time. ... (They were) resentful, because anyone starting a new job has to go through apprenticeship, put up with what they don't necessarily like ... and these CETT staff coming in and not putting up with it, making unjustified demands. They complained about things that none of the Institute people, in worse conditions, ever complained about.' (Coll 3)

Finally, large amounts of World Bank funding were used by the MEC to develop and equip 3YP programmes. Consequently established university English departments received less. In Debrecen, adding insult to injury, BC, on setting up the 3YP, withdrew the lektor that they had provided for IEAS since the 1970s. It is not therefore surprising that 3YPs in Debrecen and elsewhere were viewed with a certain amount of jealousy, suspicion and resentment by many members of traditional university English departments.

6.7. English language teaching in Hungary

State supported access to English in schools pre-1989 had been principally via the handful of bilingual schools or the more prestigious grammar schools (gimnázium) in the main cities. Schools which served as practice schools for higher education institutions, were particularly likely to have offered western foreign languages. CETT students interviewed although they vary in their opinions, suggest that English classes that existed in schools were already sometimes different to classes in other subjects, especially classes in the other language, Russian.

'I learned in a special English class which had 8 hours a week. So it was not just learning a language also practising. We watched video quite a lot. It wasn't like in many schools. ... To start with there was an emphasis on grammar but then they tried to improve other abilities.' (Part 5)

'I had a really good English teacher at school, she had brilliant methodologies so I enjoyed English classes in the last two years of high school. But in the first two we had a terrible teacher or maybe only her methods were terrible. We had only to learn by heart and translations and basically that was it.' (Part 6)
Chapter 4b. The Planning context

'... (there were) smaller groups and it was more relaxed than other classes... but the methods were not at all communicative, in that sense it was not different.' (Part 7)

'Some dialogues and role plays, not very creative, we had to learn it. We were not taught to have self-confidence in using the language but it was different from other classes.' (Part 8)

'I was lucky and had quite enjoyable English classes. A summary of the class should be more practice and less theory. My teacher did it differently from others. Other teachers were following the grammar translation method.' (Part 9)

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 show answers given by students responding to a similar question in the questionnaires described in chapter three.

Table 4.3 Proportion of students answering 'Yes' to the question 'When you were at secondary school, do you remember English classes being any different from classes in other subjects?'

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44 (61.9%)</td>
<td>25 (67%)</td>
<td>24 (55.4%)</td>
<td>15 (41.6%)</td>
<td>26 (66.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we look at the ways in which noticeable numbers of students stated English classes to be different we find that these cover some of the features mentioned in the quotes above.

Table 4.2 Proportion of students who answered 'Yes' at table 4.1, mentioning each of the features listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>N=44</th>
<th>N=25</th>
<th>N=24</th>
<th>N=15</th>
<th>N=26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lessons more learner-centred. More chances to speak, give my own opinions, and participate.</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>65.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A friendlier atmosphere, less tense, special, not a lecture</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More varied materials and interesting activities</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents come from all over Hungary and all left secondary school between approximately 1990 and 1997, and are therefore unlikely to have been taught by any CETT graduates. The tables thus suggest that at the time that the 3YP began there were, in some schools already a few noticeable differences between English classrooms and those of other subjects. It needs to be borne in mind, however, that in other subject classrooms the more or less undiluted transmission-based transfer of knowledge, had changed little, even
by the late 1990s. The differences appreciated in the English classroom in the earlier part of the decade may therefore in many cases have been the result of slight rather than major changes in classroom management, learning activities and teacher-learner roles. As will be seen in the next chapter, when entering schools on their teaching practice, many CETT trainees did not find language classrooms all that different from when they had left them.

It is nonetheless interesting to consider what might have brought about the early changes, however minor, in the English classroom. As has already been mentioned, some English teachers had attended the BC summer schools offered in Hungary from the early 1980s on. These, introducing Hungarian teachers to new language teaching techniques and a wider range of materials, will have demonstrated possibilities to some. The extreme lack of success of most Russian teaching in terms of enabling learners to use the language, the result partly of poor motivation for political reasons, but also of poor language pedagogy, may also have contributed to some English teachers' determination to teach differently. The generally positive attitude towards Britain that existed in Hungary and the identification of English with the desirable aspects of the west, as viewed in American films on TV, may also have played a part in raising motivation both of students and their teachers for learning English. Whatever the causes, a colleague who taught English during the 1980s remembers English teachers as already being different.

'It has always been common knowledge that English language teachers are to a certain extent different. In the old system they were different to the extent they were allowed to be different. Up to the present day I know that teachers of other western languages learn tricks from teachers of English because they don't have the access, are not well organised, the language teaching disciplines in other countries as in English.' (Coll 7/2)

State control of school textbooks ended very soon after the political changes. British English Language Teaching (ELT) publishers were quick to exploit the new market in Hungary, and the other countries of the region. By 1991, 'communicative' textbooks were already widely available and these, together with the rapid increase in the provision of professional development courses, workshops and conferences, offered by publishers, the Peace Corps, the United States Information Service and BC, all helped, in a colleague's opinion, to give school English teachers a sense of professional identity, that teachers in other subjects lacked.

'Even when I started teaching in 1989, English teachers had a stronger sense of professional identity because of the organisations that have been launched around
The ELTSUP project therefore entered an ELT context in which some of the terminology and basic principles of the methodology that the project planned to introduce were known to a few teachers, albeit mostly those working at prestigious secondary schools in the larger urban areas. However, as will be seen, often the effect of this 'knowledge' on what actually happened in the classroom, was more 'apparent' (Gagliardi 1986) than 'real' (Fullan 1991).

6.8 Teacher Autonomy

The previous section suggests that for at least some teachers of English, a measure of autonomy had been achieved even before 1989. For the majority of teachers, as state employees there was little autonomy in practice, even though, as the previously quoted Professor of Pedagogy notes, in principle, personal initiative was encouraged.

'At school level there was a centralised curriculum. A new curriculum was introduced in a gradual way from 1978 on. ... The servile reflexes were relatively very high and deep rooted in our system and this is one of the reasons why Hungarian education as a whole wanted to accept and realise this Party resolution. ... These new curricula were very maximalist, full of material and, of course, in pedagogical rhetoric. ... They highly emphasised the autonomy of pupils and of teachers, but this was rhetoric. To be autonomous one has to have the chance to make decisions ... the content was regulated and there was only one textbook for each subject with a whole range of (supplementary) materials surrounding the one and only textbook.' (Admin 7)

There was only one textbook and the requirement was that in '... every school every teacher taught every class the same content from the same textbook on the same day.' (Horvarth 1990:209). This was so that if a child moved '...from Debrecen to Budapest or Miskolc, or any other place then you can carry on using the same books.' (Coll 5/3)

In such a situation most teachers had neither the motivation, nor, as the Professor of Pedagogy again points out, the skills, to be autonomous in the classroom.

'...to be free and autonomous at classroom level one needs a huge amount of tools, not only in the practical sense, but tools as methods and procedures and ways of teaching ... and they don't have such an amount of tools.' (Admin 7)

One must additionally remember that the Party was present in every school and would depending on the subject taught, be more or less watchful of each individual teacher's behaviour. Although English teachers were less restricted than, for example, History
teachers, the pressure to conform and just teach the textbook, thereby also having to do
less thinking and so less work, must have been considerable. The Pedagogy professor, and
two CETT colleagues all confirm the above.

'One of my colleagues had conducted many surveys among headmasters and one
of the questions was how they were appointed, nominated. The basic thing was
prior to the system change the position of the headmaster was political not
professional. The loyalty of the headmaster for the Party and system was highly
appreciated and expected.' (Admin 7)

'Basically they(headmasters) were Party appointed which didn't mean they were
all bad, but they had to be part of the system to reach such a high position.' (Coll
2)

'In those days it was very strict. You could just remove some people on the basis
of politics. 'This is not a good comrade". They gave you a bad name and then they
hanged you.' (Coll 8/2)

By the time the project began headmasters had begun to be elected, a wider range of
textbooks was available and the prevailing political climate became, at least in spirit, more
democratic. However, a teacher in a secondary school in 1989-1990 and two ex students
teaching from 1994 onwards, all note how teachers and school administrators, used to a
unified system, continued in many ways to behave as if the old constraints still existed.

'Some change was brought about by the fact that school heads are not appointed
anymore but are elected (by the staff). This brought about a kind of liberation in
schools in general, but more in the school spirit than in the subjects and the way
they are taught.' (Coll 2)

'Older teachers were taught differently, they thought it was best. Then they went
to university and saw the same thing there and they were taught to teach in the
same way, and now they have twenty years of practice and they won't change.'
(Part 6)

'I had complaints when I didn’t want to order a new book, somehow I felt they
despised that I didn’t finish a book in a year and (thought) that I won’t teach
enough if I don’t teach four books in four years. They are not interested in what’s
in the book, just finish 4 books. It’s unusual not to finish 4 books in 4 years. It’s
the pattern in other subjects.'

Communist rule in Hungary lasted for barely 40 years. This period is however, long enough
to ensure that very few active members of the working population in 1989 had any
experience of another system. In education, as in all other state run organisations,
individuals had rarely, despite rhetoric to the contrary, had the chance to influence their
working environment. For the majority of citizens to make the transition from passive, spectators to active participants would require time. There was no reason to expect individuals within education to move faster than others.

7 Main themes emerging

This chapter has considered aspects of the context into which the ELTSUP project was introduced. Some its principal features are summarised below.

7.1. Effect of socio-economic changes on project goals

- Teachers like all other sectors of the population had to cope with enormous socio-economic changes as a result of the move towards a market economy.
- Teachers' standard of living began to diminish as their salaries failed to rise in line with inflation.
- Teachers' status was likely to decline in a society in which social standing began to be more crudely associated with income.
- Demand for people with good western foreign language skills was high, and therefore, especially in the faster developing west of the country, opportunities for well paid employment outside teaching grew.
- The prospects of achieving the quantitative goals of the ELTSUP project diminished.

7.2. Limited government involvement in ELTSUP.

- Within the wider change context in Hungary, ELTSUP was only a small project.
- The new right-of-centre government and newly autonomous organisations of all kinds that had previously been state controlled, were all trying to adapt their administrative and management structures to an environment in which the balance of responsibilities between the state and its citizens had fundamentally altered.
- MEC, having agreed to fund ELTSUP, took no further part in the project implementation other than to pass the necessary legislation to allow graduates to teach at all levels of the school system.

7.3. Change within the wider environment and lack of experienced leadership resulting in little energy for change within the education system

- All levels of all Hungarian organisations suffered from a severe shortage of leadership experience.
Chapter 4b. The Planning context

- Newly elected leaders (often in fact 'old' leaders in new roles) at all levels of the education system had to try and deal with a range of responsibilities, for matters such as curriculum, materials, admissions and relationships with organisations above and below them in the educational hierarchy, that had previously been dealt with by the State.

- Their subordinates, equally unprepared to take on new responsibilities, continued to look to leaders for instructions as they always had done.

- The speed and extent of change, in all aspects of life simultaneously, meant that in many cases at all levels of the education system, despite elected leaders, and apparent changes to the curriculum and materials, what happened in the actual classroom changed little.

- Few existing organisations wished to take on new responsibilities and 3YPs in many institutions received little institutional support.

7.4. A deeply embedded 'Individualist' educational culture

- The culture displayed many of the features of the Individualist educational culture outlined in Tables 2.1-2.3 in chapter two.

- Hungarian assumptions about the nature of education, their concept of knowledge, the process of learning and teaching and the manner of assessment were all centred around the transmission of factual information from knower to learner and the notion of a single correct answer to almost any question.

- Language teaching in schools, mostly of Russian until 1989, concentrated on the teaching of the grammatical structures and vocabulary of written language, for the purpose of reading and translation.

- At university level, where the language training was supposed to produce language teachers, there was a greater emphasis on the spoken language, together with further courses in the formal structures of the language and in literature and civilisation.

- Teacher education prepared a new generation of teachers to transmit knowledge to learners.

- Subject-specific pedagogical training was minimal, teaching practice more or less a formality, and systematic professional development for teachers ended with their graduation.

- From the subject hierarchy of 'hard' and 'soft' sciences, to the classroom hierarchy of teacher and student, to the local hierarchy of primary and secondary schools to the
national hierarchy of colleges and universities, the place of the individual within the education system was clearly defined. Co-operation between individuals, departments and institutions was rare.

7.5 A broadly Mechanistic organisational culture

- Little experience of managing or leading change.
- Any changes implemented top down without wide consultation.
- A definite hierarchy even if actual roles were not always clear.
- Discouragement of individual initiative, and reluctance to take personal responsibility for actions.
- Lack of access to explicit information for most organisation members.
- Reluctance to commit decisions to paper.

7.6 ELTSUP as a perceived threat to the status quo

- The fact that the 3YP was to grant a university degree to its graduates was a significant threat to the structure of higher education as then constituted.
- Its university degree status would probably be strongly opposed by existing tertiary level institutions.

7.7 The Debrecen environment

- The particular history of the eastern part of Hungary, of which Debrecen is the capital, tended to make the region and the city inward looking, conservative and suspicious of outsiders.
- The English department at the university had its own strong culture and was nationally prominent as a source of high quality English teachers and many of its members therefore felt little need for change.
- The 3YP project, implemented by outsiders and newly recruited junior staff, and attempting to introduce major curricular change to a highly regarded existing language teacher education system, was likely to be viewed with scepticism.

7.8 English language teaching open to change

- English was closely connected in many people's minds with the desirable aspects of the 'west', and mastery of the language was known to have potential instrumental benefits in the new market economy.
In the early years of the project students' motivation to learn English was likely to be high. Insofar as there had been any developments towards a different classroom culture within Hungarian education prior to the political changes, these had taken place among English teachers.

In the next chapter we look at the process, in Debrecen, of turning the ELTSUP project from a paper agreement into a tangible reality.
INTRODUCTION

At each ELTSUP institution, for implementation to be possible, it was now necessary to realise a plan so far existing only as a set of general statements on paper. A physical location for the 3YP needed to be found and equipped, staff and students needed to be recruited and thought needed to be given to a curriculum and teaching materials. This chapter, covering the period May to September 1991, examines the more detailed planning process at CETT Debrecen.

1. What needed to be planned?

In May 1991 agreement was reached between the university and BC that a 3YP would begin in Debrecen, in a separate building, in September of the same year. In the interim four months it was necessary to plan on both the practical and the professional sides.

1.1 Practical Planning

All negotiations between the university and the BC so far had been conducted on the Hungarian side by Head of IEAS, who was simultaneously Dean of the Arts faculty. It was he, and other members of the university who now identified a building for the new CETT and organised the channeling of World Bank funds, supplied by MEC for the purpose, to refurbish and equip it. Hereafter members of the university played a much reduced role in the planning process and leadership was devolved to the newly appointed Director of CETT.

One of the new Director's first tasks was to advertise to potential students that CETT existed as part of the University of Debrecen, and offered a three year single major English programme to those who had passed the university entrance exam. Applications for what appeared to be a three year degree course were many.

Finding staff was more difficult. In Hungary at the time, there was little mobility of labour, and few qualified English teachers anyway would wish to move to the traditionally poorer
east of the country. Hence the 3YP had, as the Dean recalls, to compete directly with the rapidly expanding English department for the small pool of locally available potential candidates

‘There was not much of a pool available. The English department had its own problems recruiting people because suddenly we had many more students here too, and we needed teachers fast.’ (Admin 1)

The Director looked for young teachers, with open minds and good language skills. Thanks to the precedent set by CETT Budapest when negotiating the planning of their establishment the previous year, he was able to offer salaries about 10% higher than those offered by the university.

‘I could only recruit people from outside the university. ... One of the main things, the people should have a good command of the language ... preferably young people with a few years of teaching experience. ... This was a conscious effort on my part because ... these people can always relearn things... because they haven’t got those ingrained routine types of activity.’ (Coll 5)

The first three staff were graduates of IEAS. Two were secondary school teachers in Debrecen with 2-3 years post qualification experience, and the third, slightly older had worked at the university 'lektoratus' (Service English department) for several years. All three were appointed to the academic grade of 'tanarseged' (lecturer), as were their immediate successors in the following years. The final recruits in 1994 were however not appointed as academics, instead they were classified as 'nylevtanar' (literally language teacher, more or less equivalent to a Teaching Fellow at a British university employed solely to teach and not expected to be research active). These classifications were to become significant when the integration of CETT into IBAS was being planned in 1996.

These three, and the five further staff recruited in the first year of the project, (four also graduates of IEAS and one from the Russian department), had been attracted to working at CETT for a number of personal reasons in addition to their recognition of the inadequacy of the teacher education system, quoted in chapter 4.B. section 6.5 above. They saw the move as a change to something new, which for many also had the advantage of a career move from secondary to tertiary level. As the statements below suggest, for most new CETT staff members, the expected gains substantially outweighed the loss of job security that was a consequence of leaving the secondary sector.

‘The chance of working at the university or affiliated to the university had some kind of prestige value.’ (Coll 5)
Chapter 4c. The Planning process

'I wanted to do something more, higher, intellectual, not just everyday routine teaching. Also I knew it was a new place and in a new place there is always the potential that it will be formed by the participants.' (Coll 2)

'I expected it to be interesting, different and new. It was a move out of the business of routine teaching. I recognised I was moving upwards. I realised that at secondary school there would be no opportunities for training. Any study trips that were offered were to people in higher education. I wanted to study, go abroad.' (Coll 1)

'The challenge. Teaching in secondary school was routine for me after six years.' (Coll 6)

'Professional development and a chance to learn…. A good opportunity to participate in something different.' (Coll 10)

'Working in a higher education institution.' (Coll 7)

'I knew it was something practical and I'm a practical person. I hoped to practice those things here.' (Coll 8)

The atmosphere among the staff at this stage, in Debrecen as in Budapest, was one of great enthusiasm for the proposed new venture. Since the Director was absent due to illness at this point, it was two of the first three staff and a colleague who joined the following year who, even before being officially appointed, took responsibility for the supervision of the work being carried out on the new building and for ensuring it was appropriately equipped.

'Everybody was very much involved to the extent that the person could contribute.' (Coll 2)

'I got involved before it started. I got involved in writing the list for the book order and the marking of the written papers for the entrance exam. I was not an official member of staff when I was doing this. … The introduction of the new programme involved finding a place, providing a budget and stuff like that. These were taken care of. We decided how to rearrange the rooms, which walls to take out, what furniture to put in... I remember going to furniture shops to pick furniture, to decide on what sorts of curtains and carpets. I came into the building when the workers were around knocking down walls, saying we want big classrooms here and small ones there, everything.' (Coll 1)

'I was very involved in setting up of CETT. … (The Director) was ill, he had some health problems and was in hospital. It was Coll 1 and I doing the furnishing and coming here and discussing where walls should be and things like that.' (Coll 4)

By September 1991, therefore, thanks to a combination of efforts from participants at different levels of the project environment; the MEC providing funding, the University
identifying and obtaining access to the building, and the CETT staff supervising its
refurbishment and equipping, a building able to greet the first intake of 3YP students did
exist. However, the professional skills required to turn the 3YP from an idea into a reality
were not yet available.

1.2 Professional planning

As a result of the haste in which the project was planned, it was only possible for BC to
make the most cursory attempt to ensure that when implementation began there would
Hungarian staff with some professional understanding of what was required. In summer
1990, prior to the opening of CETT Budapest in September, BC arranged for three groups
of Hungarians to spend three weeks in the UK attending short courses in Teacher/Trainer
Training, English for Special Purposes (ESP) and ELT Management at three different
locations. Included in this group were two members of IEAS, and one from the Russian
department. Two of these three were eventually recruited to work at CETT Debrecen.
Neither however, were among the first intake of new CETT staff which suggests, as two of
those chosen report below, that at the time, the choices were made randomly.

'I think it’s accidental, purely accidental how things shaped up later on... it
wasn’t a principled basis of selection just who was available.' (Coll 4)

'I was a person (working in the Russian department) interested in language
teaching and therefore chosen.' (Coll 8)

One of the first group of implementers had, on her own initiative, attended a one month
language teacher training course at a private language school in Budapest after leaving
university. This, as she notes below, was helpful to her as an example of how differently
language teacher training could be approached, and so useful when considering what form
a new teacher training programme might take.

'This gave me a different perspective on teacher training. I’m not now saying
better but different, a lot more involving, practical and I thought that one month
provided me with more ideas about teaching, and perhaps basic principles too,
than the teacher training I had received earlier.' (Coll 1)

However, such courses are not designed, and would not claim to be sufficient preparation
for the process of professional and organisational planning that the ELTSUP project would
involve.
Chapter 4c. The Planning process

The original project framework stated its aims in only very general terms which were not subsequently fleshed out in detail by other documentation. As two newly recruited staff remember, nobody was therefore clear about what form the 3YP was supposed to take, in terms either of underlying professional approach or organisational framework.

'I hadn’t seen a document which said this is what you are supposed to do, or this is what the institute is planned to look like. ... I think it got clearer as we went along. I think I wasn’t quite clear at the beginning. We were very young and beginners. In those days there were quite a lot of things I simply hadn’t heard about, basic concepts in methodology and language teaching. It was even strange for me to speak English for a whole day and handle and make sense of what is said to me and I got terribly tired because it was something very new and we had to get used to it very quickly.' (Coll 2)

'Clear aims hadn’t been verbalised. We looked towards an unclarified aim with the assumption that it was going to be better.' (Coll 1)

Even a year later, it was still unclear to some newly arriving colleagues what exactly the 3YP stood for and aimed to achieve.

'It was a hazy mist. Living from day to day. When I arrived it was quite a shock, the staff meetings were all in English. So my performance had to improve.' (Coll 8)

'I knew something about the framework but not what was inside.' (Coll 7)

In terms of clarifying what the programme was supposed to deliver, the BC contribution would be crucial.

1.3. The role of BC contractees.

Those who would be responsible for such clarification within 3YP institutions were the BC appointed Assistant Directors of each 3YP. They were recruited during early summer 1991 to reach Hungary in late August, just before the first students arrived. In their original discussions with each institution the BC had anticipated the importance of their role within the new programmes and had tried to make clear their would not be that of the familiar ‘lektor’ who merely gave English conversation classes. Instead the Assistant Directors would be expected to play an important part in leading the implementation of the project. In Debrecen Hungarian colleagues appeared to understand the need for such outside assistance.
"The British Council made it clear from the very beginning that these are going to be high-powered, senior posts, not you know warm bodies in the field, and that (the British Council post holder) would have the same rights as the Hungarian Director," (Coll 4)

"I think the British Council knew as well as anybody else that the presence of the Brits, especially at the beginning, was essential. ... Here the Director said ‘Co-Director’. This little word is important because he didn’t see himself as Director and (The Assistant Director) as his deputy." (Coll 2)

"When (The Assistant Director) first arrived her position was Deputy Director. I told her I viewed her as Co-Director. I gave her a full hand, complete independence, no subordination in any way. I expected her to give me her assistance whenever I needed it and I needed it fairly often." (Coll 5).

In addition to supplying the new 3YPs with at least one professionally trained member of staff, this direct BC involvement in the execution of the project helped, as the Dean recalls, to give the 3YP greater credibility in the eyes of the more conventional Debrecen academics, within both the English department and the wider university.

"It was not just Hungarians from this school and that school brought together on their own. The British Council personnel meant that there were people there who KNEW. (his emphasis) We knew that you knew what you were doing and that was important." (Admin 1)

From the very beginning the leadership of the new CETT was divided between the Hungarian Director and the BC Assistant Director (in Debrecen called ‘Co-Director’). Exact professional and administrative responsibilities were never, however formally and unambiguously divided between them, and this lack of ‘decision allocation’ (Louis and Miles 1992) eventually caused problems.

2 The model of Teacher Education

As may be imagined, given the paucity of professional experience and guidance available, CETT Budapest, established a year before all the other institutions exerted great influence on all other 3YPs in the early stages of the project. The Director of CETT Budapest was keen to share their experiences.

"CETT Budapest preceded everyone by one year. We wanted to offer what we could to the other departments and they could use them as much as they wanted in the light of their own attitudes and circumstances." (Admin 2)

In Debrecen before the BC contractee arrived, implementers recognised that the Budapest model offered a source of essential guidance.
'There was this idea of the model of Budapest CETT, so whatever documents we had or ideas about the shape or form the training should take came from Budapest.' (Coll 1))

'I had to ask for some materials from Budapest CETT, their curriculum and tried to establish those sorts of classes.' (Coll 5)

The existing language teacher training system, outlined in the previous section, was acknowledged as inadequate by most staff working on the 3YP. The conspicuous failure of Russian teaching to provide learners with the ability to use the language for even the most elementary purposes, was widely recognised. It was therefore uncontroversial to agree that teachers graduating from 3YP institutions, should be equipped with the professional skills needed to provide their learners with a level of language proficiency that would enable them to use English for their own purposes in the new economic and social environment. However, although there was general agreement that a new model of language teacher education needed to be developed, even the BC ELO at the time had no particular model to propose. 'It was not a conscious choice to go for the reflective model.' (Admin 5)

Again, it was CETT Budapest that provided both an outline framework for a new teacher education curriculum and a rationale to underpin it. The Director of CETT Budapest remembers that the development of their model, greatly influenced by the concept of the reflective practitioner (Schon 1983, 1987), as adapted for language teacher education by Wallace (1991), began with:

'... a few buzzwords; teacher education and development not teacher training, the reflective teacher. Being a teacher is a life-long process, pretty cliché sounding things. A more practical course, closer to schools, closer to realities, less focus on literature and linguistics, more focus on methodology and language competence. But it doesn’t exclude the important role of philological subjects in anyone becoming an English teacher. “without Shakespeare nobody should graduate as an English teacher” to put it bluntly. ... When I set up CETT I hadn’t come across the ‘reflective teacher’ as a buzzword, but it seemed like the direction we should follow, to produce thinking animals. Partly it was an outcome of experience, but we were able to specify it more clearly as the years went by. British Council expertise helped a lot and teacher educators were invited to come and speak to us, and all imported to Hungary this idea of the reflective teacher, for better or worse.' (Admin 2)

Such a model, with its underlying assumptions of teacher development as an on-going process, of the need for learning through doing and hence considerable enhancement of the practical aspects of the curriculum, of learners as active participants in their own
professional growth, together with the, as yet hidden, implications for teacher and learner roles that all the above implied, was in every way different from the prevailing teacher training model familiar to, and experienced by, the Hungarian participants.

For this model to stand any chance of succeeding, Hungarian 3YP staff would themselves have to undergo what Louis and Miles (1992) refer to as a 'Transformational' change in their beliefs about their degree of personal responsibility for their own development and that of the 3YP institution, about education, language, teaching and learning. These new beliefs would also have to be manifested as a set of consistent new behaviours, appropriate for developing a new programme, which aimed to train language teachers in a very different way. However positively disposed 3YP colleagues were to the idea of major personal change, such changes, requiring a major readjustment of fundamental attitudes and the learning of new skills and behaviours could not happen quickly. It was probably fortunate that the daunting scale of the change that each implementer had embarked on, was not clear to anyone at this stage.

In Debrecen at this point, the process outlined above had barely begun, therefore the only area in which curricular preparations could be made was for the familiar 'philological' subjects such as literature and history. For these, the Director recalls, CETT was able to call upon the professional skills of the members of the English department who were:

'... conscientious and good colleagues and they felt it was their moral obligation to assist, to help provide their knowledge and professional skill in this new form of training.' (Coll 5)

Insofar as planning the more innovative aspects of the teacher education components of the curriculum was concerned, a colleague admits that nobody really knew exactly what to do.

'We knew a BC person with the title of Assistant Director would be coming and the Director also knew this because he had no experience in teacher training and so no clear understanding or ideas about what had to be done. So we all waited for the British Council person. She arrived late in August and that's when we sat down and in a week or week and a half before the semester started, sat down to work things out.' (Coll 1)

Within the four months of the planning process in Debrecen, the immediate practical needs for premises and equipment were extremely well met. On the professional side of the project, given the lack of previous experience and different cultural assumptions, little could actually be planned. The professional responsibility for both the planning and
implementation of the 3YP would, to begin with, rest on the BC Assistant Director. In addition her assistance would be crucial, if her Hungarian colleagues were to be enabled to begin their personal ‘transformation’ outlined above. She, however well qualified professionally, had received no leadership or management training, no Hungarian language training and no real briefing about the environment that she was entering. The implementation stage began with most planning still to be done.

3 Main themes emerging

In this chapter we have looked at the more detailed practical planning process that enabled the 3YP at CETT Debrecen to welcome its first group of trainees in September 1991. Some themes that emerge are summarised below.

3.1. Many versions of the ELTSUP project.

- Institutions varied widely in the funding and energy that they were willing or able to put into planning for the practical needs of the 3YP.
- Before the project had even begun institutions varied in terms of the physical setting of their 3YP, the relationship of the 3YP to existing structures, their proposed intake, and whether there were to be 3YP- dedicated staff.

3.2 Unprepared outsiders assuming professional responsibilities

- All project institutions outside Budapest were equal in their uncertainty about what the new teacher education model actually entailed in practice.
- The documents produced by CETT Budapest provided valuable initial guidance.
- Newly appointed staff in most institutions had no teacher education experience and were products of the existing educational culture.
- The documents required someone who could translate them into action. In most cases this was the BC appointed Assistant Director.
- From the very start the professional leadership of the 3YP was in the hands of outsiders.
- Outsiders arrived very shortly before the first students were due to appear to introduce a new teacher education model which, whatever its eventual form, would be substantially different to what existed.
- They had little or no background knowledge about Hungary and its existing educational culture to enable them to anticipate some of the problems that might
arise, or to guide them towards developing an appropriate curriculum and the syllabuses to implement it.

- They almost certainly spoke no Hungarian.
- They had few immediate opportunities to begin to investigate the 'deep action' (Holliday 1994) of the institutions they were part of.
- They were good examples of the sort of change leader described by Bullock et al (1997), working under time pressure, in an unfamiliar cultural context with newly encountered colleagues.

3.3. Planning as part of implementation.

- The lack of any professional planning prior to the arrival of the BC Assistant Directors immediately before the beginning of term, meant that planning and implementation began more or less simultaneously.
- What implementation would look like would only become clear over time.
- ELTSUP was bound to be a process project.

3.4. The choice of the 'reflective model'

- Budapest decided to try and develop a 'reflective practitioner' teacher education model for the 3YP.
- Budapest was the only (my emphasis) model available when the 3YP began elsewhere, it is natural that their example was influential.
- I believe two factors contributed to its selection.
- One was that it was 'fashionable' in western ELT circles. Michael Wallace's book 'Training Foreign Language Teachers' published in 1991, (30 copies of which I found on the shelves when I arrived in Debrecen), put into print ideas that had been gaining currency in ELT teacher education since the late 1980s.
- The other is that the newly appointed implementers were keen to distance themselves and the 3YP from the unchanged (and until 1989 seemingly unchangeable) Hungarian educational culture.
- The Reflective model, with its recognition of the trainee as an individual, its stress on the importance of practice as well as theory, its belief that teacher education is a continuing developmental process and its insistence that there is no one right method, was very much in tune with the new freedom represented by the 'democratic' present, and suggested a clear break with the over-regimented past.
Chapter 4c. The Planning process

- In 1990-91 few Hungarians yet recognised just how difficult the transition to a post-socialist system would be, the practicalities of implementing such a model were secondary to the idealism and optimism that such a model represented.

- It is ironic that outsiders were introducing a teacher education model to Hungary that was in fact no longer current in UK teacher education in the years following the 1988 Education Act. It gave implementers a false impression of what teacher education in a 'democratic' system was like.

- It represented, if anything, a theoretical approach to language teacher education developed in British and American universities, rather than one actually being regularly applied in practice to the training of teachers for mainstream state education systems.

3.5. Debrecen

- The 3YP in Debrecen was, materially, extremely well provided for. The building was large and well equipped, and, as the BC had wanted, was located approximately two kilometres away from the main university building where the English department was situated.

- Three enthusiastic, but totally inexperienced Hungarian staff had been recruited, keen to make a success of the new venture.

- Decision allocation however remained a problem since responsibility for the professional leadership of the project remained unclear.

- The Hungarian Director had overall responsibility for the implementation of the new 3YP. He was to begin with, professionally extremely dependent on the BC contractee.

- The exact relationship between CETT and the university was also undefined. Although administratively autonomous, all MEC funding was, despite BC requests, channelled through the university.

- Relationships with the university were thus important, and the potential for friction over finances existed, should such relationships become difficult.

In Chapter five we move on to look at the implementation stage of the project in the academic years 1991-1995.
5. THE IMPLEMENTATION STAGE

The three chapters that follow investigate the implementation phase of the project at CETT Debrecen. This phase is taken to cover the period from the first intake of 3YP students at CETT Debrecen in September 1991, to the establishment of the new Department of English Language Studies (DELS) as part of IEAS in July 1996.

CHAPTER 5 A. IMPLEMENTATION CONTENT

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INTRODUCTION

During the period covered by chapter five the initial quantitative aims of the project were effectively abandoned as a result of decisions, made by both the Hungarian and the British parties to the ELTSUP agreement. They were replaced by more explicitly qualitative aims, although no formal agreement regarding these was ever signed. Chapter 5A considers the decisions made, introduces the new aims, and discusses how these changes added to the overlap between the planning and implementation stages, and so turned the implementation of the ELTSUP project into a series of evolutionary planning cycles.

1. Implementation as evolutionary planning

Fullan (1991:92) asserts that

'There is frequently no definitive ‘Change’ in question at the beginning of the process of implementation. ... We never fully know what implementation is or should look like until people in particular situations attempt to spell it out through use.'

This was certainly true of the ELTSUP project in Debrecen, as implementers waited for the arrival of the BC Assistant Director in the closing pages of chapter 4C.

Implementers at most ELTSUP institutions were professionally unprepared for the task ahead, both as teacher trainers and in terms of establishing and managing new institutions. Although there was general agreement that the 3YP should provide a different sort of teacher education, designing the necessary curriculum and materials, deciding how they
would be taught and working out what staff training would be needed for full implementation, in most institutions began only with arrival of the BC contractee, a week or two before 3YPs received their first intake of students.

Detailed planning and implementation ran in parallel as necessary parts of the process of trying to clarify and then achieve the change aims of the project, throughout its lifetime. As will be seen, there was arguably one year between 1991 and 1998 in which no major new planning took place. For the rest of the time, planning of two kinds took place. For at least the first three years of ELTSUP at Debrecen most planning related to the design of syllabuses and materials for immediate implementation. Such plans often required more or less extensive adaptation in the light of actual implementation or of changes in the immediate or wider environment. In the later years of the implementation stage and thereafter, as the implications of changes to project aims became clearer, while planning for immediate implementation remained necessary, it also became possible to plan for implementation up to a year ahead. One of the first implementers in Debrecen, noted that to begin with the project was planning and implementation occurred simultaneously.

'There are two ways that you can go about things. You can either start here and then proceed as things come, or you start, you plan, and then start doing and start working. ... There was no planning in this sense.' (Coll 2)

As will be seen in chapter 5B, it was fortunate that the context of the time and place initially forced CETT implementers into an evolutionary approach to planning, where curriculum content and so the behaviours that supported it, had to be adjusted in the light of '...constant inquiry and readjustment of objectives as problems emerge and the situation changes.' (Checkland.1985:144). They therefore became familiar with the reality of frequent change from the very beginning, and so were better prepared for the effects of the major policy changes on the part of the two main project sponsors, which followed and which required major replanning to meet the readjustment of project aims.

2 Changing project aims.

2.1 Lack of support for quantitative aims from the Hungarian side.

It had always been obvious that if the 3YP were to give students a full university degree, the rationale for the five year university course and the four year teacher training college courses would become questionable. Although, as far as is known, no open lobbying of MEC by the established higher education institutions took place, both the Director of
CETT Budapest and the then Dean of the Arts Faculty in Debrecen, two of the most influential members of the English teaching community in Hungary, suggest that pressure was put on the Ministry, although they differ as to which type of institution felt most threatened.

'I very much think so, in fact I am positive. There was a lot of opposition to creating something new. A lot of conservative university authorities realised that this is a real danger and ... if they let us set a precedent, the rationale for the five year programme will be gone.' (Admin 2)

'I wonder whether it wasn't the Teacher Training College rather than the University lobby which kept it as a college rather a university degree.' (Admin 1)

Opinions also differ as to whether there ever was an official public statement that students would get a university degree. In Budapest the Director remembers that there was.

'I remember clearly that when the Deputy Minister of Education opened the first ever academic year for three year students (September 1990), he announced black and white that it was worth a university degree.' (Admin 2)

In Debrecen, where the programme began a year later, there seems from the beginning to have been no doubt in the Dean's mind about the level of degree to be offered.

'It is in the documents that this is a college degree. People were led to believe that the mistake was here and so kept hoping for a while. But there was confusion because at the same time the Ministry also said that with the qualification one could also teach in a secondary school and nobody could teach in a secondary school with the 4 year teacher training college degree.' (Admin 1)

The documents he refers to which I had never seen before I began this research (see appendix 17) support this statement.

Staff and students on the Debrecen 3YP were however, unclear about what exactly the qualification was and what students would be able to do with it when they graduated, as the BC Outreach Coordinator (OC) explains.

'Initially students were told that they would get a university degree. A constant issue was what are we training the students for? They were supposed to be allowed to teach at primary and secondary school, but the law hadn't been changed about who could teach in a secondary school. At the time you needed a university degree to do it, so we assumed that the 3YP was a university degree qualification.' (Coll 3)
Chapter 5 - 5a. The Implementation content

Matters were not finally clarified until the publication of the Higher Education Law of 1993 (see appendix 18 for extracts) which stated clearly that after full-time education lasting for three years, one could only be granted a college degree (Section 85/1), that a university degree required at least four years of full-time higher education (Section 85/2), and that the holder of a college degree was entitled to continue studying at university for a university degree. (section 85/7). The qualification was therefore equivalent to a teacher training college four year qualification. However, since it was a single major programme, graduates would be allowed to teach their single subject, English, at both primary and secondary level. Thus MEC tried to legislate both to save the quantitative goals of the ELTSUP programme, the provision of English teachers for (mostly) secondary schools, and to maintain the status quo in higher education.

To begin with 3YP graduates with 'college' degrees were recruited to work at secondary schools, previously the sole domain of those with 'university' degrees. By the end of the implementation period, however, it seemed as if the 5YP domination of secondary teaching was reasserting itself. 3YP graduates working in secondary schools began to feel uncertain of their position, as one, working at a highly regarded secondary school in Debrecen, explains.

'They didn’t tell me, they didn’t put it that way but somehow I felt the need to upgrade my degree (to a university degree). The headmaster said that those with three year degrees cannot teach advanced classes. That really scared me. Then there were the days when they had to send teachers away, and I was really scared because this would give them a good excuse to send me away.' (Part 6)

The Higher Education Act of 1993 which consolidated the grip of the Universities on the provision of degree level teacher education courses was, in the words of the BC ELO 'the kiss of death for the 3YP.' (Admin 5)

The effect of this ‘downgrading’ of the degree was intensified by the passing, also in 1993, of the national Public Service Law, which clearly specified the rates of pay and promotion routes for all public servants according to their level of qualification. This was another major blow to the desirability of a 3YP qualification as the Director of CETT Debrecen realised at the time.

'The tragedy basically was that the three year schools were established and then this Public Services Law came which set up categories for payment and promotion possibilities and it undercut the basic objectives of the 3 year schools. Because if
we didn’t have this very strong discrimination between the Teacher Training type of degrees that represent a lower income bracket and professional prestige than the University degrees, this difference would not be so sharp.‘ (Coll 5)

As may be imagined, the combination of these two Hungarian government decisions, occurring just before the graduation of the first cohort of students from CETT Budapest, had a significant influence on the project’s chances of achieving its original quantitative aims. On the one hand it made 3YP graduates even less likely to enter teaching after graduation since their status within it had been diminished; instead they were far more likely to try to look for other employment or to transfer to a 5YP programme, do two further years study and emerge with a 'proper degree'. On the other it made the 3YP as a programme less attractive to students and so affected the calibre of students applying. From both points of view, therefore, the government legislation negatively affected the morale of 3YP staff, and also the standing of 3YPs within their host institutions. Now unambiguously identified as 'college degree' awarding establishments, their place in the higher education hierarchy was clear.

2.2 Revision of aims on the British side

In September 1993, just after the first graduates had emerged from CETT Budapest, a BC commissioned, external evaluation of the ELTSUP project took place. Its Terms of Reference included:

"To suggest future directions for the project for the period 1993-94 to 1996-97 and prepare draft strategies for the project which would aim at sustainability in the medium to long term." (Alderson and Gwyn 1993:8)

An evaluator visited all nine ELTSUP institutions over a three week period. The importance attached to these visits varied from one institution to the next. In Debrecen, (where the first students were just about to enter their third year), the following quotes suggest that the evaluation visit caused few ripples

'He came to visit us here and ... what he asked by way of collecting materials looked all simple and straightforward and easy to answer and so on. He didn’t seem to be very inquisitive.' (Coll 5)

'We had questions relating to the past. From the beginning to the time of the visit. We thought the evaluation had been achieved. I don’t remember many questions as to the future. 'Where do we go from here or what sort of changes would you like to see?' It was absolutely focused on the past. I think we were so narrow-minded
that we were much more concerned about the personal issues related to the project. Who would succeed (The BC Assistant Director who had just left). (Coll 1)

At the last institution to join the ELTSUP programme, where the students had just completed their first year, the Head of Department felt that the formal evaluation visit finally made her colleagues realise that the project might actually be of some value.

'People started to realise that something was going on that might be interesting. It was an important event in the life of the department. Then was the first time that we were all confronted with the fact that, like it or not, something new was introduced, something which is worthwhile.' (Admin 9)

The recommendations of the evaluation report (see extracts in appendix 19), published in the spring of 1994 included a public statement of a change of BC aims for the ELTSUP project.

'The Council should ensure that formal agreements, binding upon all partners are drawn up to safeguard project objectives.... These should specify to the Ministry and institutions the conditionality (their emphasis) of BC support. ... A strategy needs to be developed at each institution for the integration of the three year programme into regular degree programmes. ... In particular plans need to be made for the future integration of the CETTs where they exist. ... Each institution should prepare a written statement of how it proposes to continue to be involved in the ELTSUP project.' (Alderson & Gwyn 1993:22-23)

It also recommended that the cohesion of the project be improved.

'The Council should establish a Project Management Board involving all interested parties, reporting to the BC and the Ministry, which will ensure regular discussion and monitoring of project developments.' (opcit:23)

Furthermore, in recognition of the growth in the BC ELO's responsibilities as more and more projects were established in Hungary, they suggested that she have some management assistance.

'A full time Project Implementation Manager reporting to the ELO [.....]should be appointed to assume responsibility for the month by month, week by week management of the project.' (op cit :22)

In stating that three year programmes ought now to be considering how they could introduce their teacher education innovations to the mainstream, BC's stated aims moved from being straightforwardly quantitative; to produce as many well trained teachers as possible to meet a pressing need, to qualitative; trying to change the nature of English
language teacher education within the existing educational culture. This was a much more ambitious aim, and implied a far more long-term commitment. It is not clear whether the implications of this change of focus were fully understood at the time. The BC ELO at the time considered that this report:

'made the quality focus explicit' (and that) 'the Hungarians understood the words but not the implications.' (Admin 5)

The change of emphasis certainly came as a surprise to some of the implementers of the 3YP at CETT Debrecen

'I think this was the first time that I started to realise that the long-term goal of the BC is basically to get it (the 3YP innovations) incorporated into the traditional type of training.' (Coll 5)

'I don't think I thought of changing the system. I was happy to work in a place where I could work along different lines with different ideas.' (Coll 2)

'Well, I had hoped from the beginning ... but it (a change to the mainstream language teacher education system) was not verbalised or perhaps people may not have been aware of it themselves.' (Coll 4)

The immediate action taken by the British Council was three fold. Firstly they advertised for a Hungarian Project Implementation Manager to take over administration of the project, filling the post in May 1994. Secondly, they set up a Project Management Board (PMB) as recommended by the report. The evaluators had recommended that this should consist of a fairly small number of representatives from the universities, the teacher training colleges, MEC and the BC, who would decide, with inputs from and the consent of all project institutions, the future evolution of the project.

To be successful a PMB required a sense of project identity, trust between institutions, and the existence of a core of senior Hungarian project members with a clear sense of future directions. None of these existed. Each institution insisted on having its own member on the PMB, and the half dozen PMB meetings that took place, continued to rely heavily on the BC representatives for their inputs. The PMB, therefore, expired quietly towards the end of 1995, having achieved very little.

Thirdly, the BC asked all ELTSUP institutions to draw up a document by May 1994, outlining the manner in which they intended to move towards the integration of the 3YP into their existing four or five year structure (see appendices 20 & 21). It was made clear
that future BC support would be conditional on the joint signing of satisfactory agreements. Separate agreements were eventually signed with all institutions. However, as the Hungarian PIM recognised, these were effectively just pieces of paper with no binding force.

"... in some cases it (having the agreement) was totally useless because although the BC kept to its side the institution didn't keep to theirs." (Admin 6)

The extent to which the conditionality of future support was ever a real threat depends on whether the BC would in fact have pulled out if institutions had refused to sign such an agreement. The PIM is doubtful whether the decision to give up the project could actually have been made by BC at local level.

"From a personal point of view she (the ELO) might have decided to withdraw, but I don't think the BC would ever let her do that." (Admin 6)

MEC's reaction to the evaluation report's recommendations was to commission two senior Hungarian academics to write a paper on how 3YP elements might be merged with the four and five year programmes. The paper was written, and discussed at the PMB, but its status was never clarified and its suggestions were never acted upon.

Each institution now moved towards meeting the new qualitative aims of integration in its own way and at its own speed. Those making little or no progress were gradually dropped from the 'Project' so that by the beginning of academic year 1996-7, when the CETT Debrecen integration process was formally complete, there were only five ELTSUP institutions, each very different, still in receipt of regular BC personnel and/or financial inputs.

3 Project timescales

In chapter four it was noted that as a result of the speed of political change, the project had been entered into with a minimum of forward planning and without any real environmental assessment. It is not therefore surprising that there was little awareness of the complexity of the changes that newly-democratic Hungary would have to cope with.

When the project agreement between the MEC and the BC came to be renegotiated in 1994, there was still little apparent awareness of the extent of the changes in their wider environment being experienced by most Hungarians. Nor was there any overt
acknowledgement that successful achievement of the new aims would require complex change (Fullan 1992) on the part not only of the implementers, but also of representatives of the existing teacher education system within the university and schools. The intergovernmental agreement was again signed to run for only three years. (see appendix 22 for a discussion document relating to this phase). The agreement did not, however, result in any formal readjustment of the original PF (whose own actual status as a formally agreed document was never completely clear) What was actually meant by the new qualitative focus of the BC's inputs turned out to be a matter for negotiation between BC and individual institutions. The second phase of the project, from academic year 1994-5 onwards was characterised by such negotiations and, where satisfactory agreements could not be reached, by the decision to withdraw support.

The PIM, speaking in 1996 during negotiations between MEC and BC for the third stage of the project, suggests that, given the complexity of education projects generally, and the unique historical context in which ELTSUP was situated, this piecemeal approach to project funding may have diminished the ultimate effectiveness of what was achieved. If longer-term agreements had initially been made, with more carefully chosen, more committed institutions, she believes the results might have been better.

'It's not the same now that the project is phasing out to say that the extra 2-3 years we have got may give us a chance to show at the end that there has been an impact and that overall it has been a good investment. It's (the project consisting of a number of short stages with no guarantee of continuation) not the same as if there had been a longer time-span at the start of the project so that you can plan from the very beginning, to build up, develop gradually and get to the climax at the end of which is sustainability and everything in its place. We missed some momentum which we can't make up for now in retrospect. ... Education (change) is such an involvement, there are so many factors together, that if you want it to be feasible, you need to plan for ten years. I would say big changes need ten years in education.' (Admin 6)

The frequent mismatch between the length of commitment that donor agencies are prepared to make, and the complexity of the changes that they hope their aid will lead to, continues to be, a source of frustration.

4. Main themes emerging

This chapter has seen the overt project aims shift from quantitative to qualitative. Few of those involved at the time, certainly not myself, seem to have understood the implications
Chapter 5 - 5a. The Implementation content

of this reorientation, in terms of the scale of the change that would now be necessary for
the aims to be met. Some of the main themes that emerge are summarised below

4.1. Effective abandonment of quantitative aims

- On the Hungarian side the downgrading of the 3YP as a qualification worth having,
  by both the Higher Education Act and the Public Service Law, lessened the likelihood,
  even outside Budapest where alternative employment opportunities were fewer, that
  most graduates would go straight into teaching.
- From the BC's point of view the above is likely to have contributed to their
  receptiveness to the evaluation report's main recommendations.
- The second 1994-1996 agreement between MEC and BC was broadly couched in
  terms of merging the new and the old, although details were left to be determined.

4.2. Changing changes

- Before any 3YP institutions, except Budapest, had yet completed the first cycle of the
  3YP curriculum, implementers were asked to think about how what they had just
  begun to introduce could be integrated into the existing system.
- Given their inexperience and the processual nature of 3YP implementation, asking
  implementers to adjust their barely-defined curricula to make them acceptable to an
  existing system, which was a best neutral and at worst hostile to the whole idea of the
  3YP, was demanding a great deal.
- The potentially stressful effect of this reorientation on implementers who were still
  becoming familiar with their new professional teacher educator roles, appears not
  have been considered.

4.3. Formal delegitimisation of the 3YP as loss of support for the implementers.

- The formal signing of the Higher Education Act and Public Service Law signified, I
  believe, the beginning of the end of the idealistic and enthusiastic phase of the project
  in Debrecen.
- The fact that the universities retained the sole right to award a university degree
  showed 3YP implementers that they would not be supported in any professional
  confrontation with the status quo.
4.4 Erratic, top-down project leadership.

- The policy making levels of the 3YP leadership acted independently of each other, and sometimes in ways that were inconsistent with their previous behaviour.
- MEC first committed considerable funds to the project (through World Bank), and then passed a Higher Education and Public Service Laws that ensured that quantitative project goals would fail to be met.
- BC commissioned an evaluation without any consultation with implementers as to its terms of reference and who might best be suited to carrying it out.
- The evaluation was carried out by outsiders who, although professionally eminent, knew little about the local cultural context.
- Their conclusions were accepted, once again without any consultation with those affected, even though they would fundamentally change the orientation of the project.
- Clear evidence of top-down decision making and a lack of communication or involvement between national and local level decision makers.
- Little sign of the change process viewed as a 'whole' with the policy makers and implementers working in harmony to achieve agreed aims.

4.5 Many versions of one project (revisited)

- What, exactly, the integration of 3YP into existing structures should involve was never defined or agreed by the two sides to the project agreement.
- The attempt made via the PMB to achieve a unified solution failed partly as a result of inter-institutional rivalry and distrust, and partly because few institutions, outside Budapest, had leaders with both the strategic planning skills to create a realistic, staged framework for the integration of 3YP innovations into four and five year structures, and the prestige to ensure that any agreed plans were carried out.
- The implementation of the project at each institution thus evolved completely independently, each 3YP negotiating its plans with the BC individually, usually on a year by year basis. ELTSUP became ever less of a project.

4.6 Moving towards a vision?

- If one takes one BC aim for its involvement in the region as helping the 'democratisation process', then the reorientation of project aims to introduce complex
educational change to existing systems could be viewed as working towards this aim of helping the development of democracy.

- Moving from separate 3YPs towards integration with the existing system may therefore be seen as movement towards a consistent, though loosely defined and very flexible, vision.
- The vision, if it existed, was never explicitly shared with the implementers.

4.7 Evolutionary change needing two types of planning

- During the first three years of the implementation process, most planning related to matters that would be implemented more or less immediately, or for the readjustment of a previous decision in the light of feedback.
- During the later part of this stage, there was in addition some longer term planning for what was to be achieved one or two years ahead.
- Planning for immediate implementation is more flexible and open to readjustment since its outcomes are not dependent on a sequence of future events occurring as expected.
- Planning one or more years ahead, is far more vulnerable to changes in the environment, since the implementation of what has been planned is usually dependent on events occurring as anticipated during the intervening time.
- It is fortunate that most major external environmental changes that related directly to the project, took place during the first three years of the implementation stage, at a point when planning was almost all short-term.

In Chapter 5B that follows, we look at some features of the environment in which the implementation stage of the project was situated.
CHAPTER 5B. THE IMPLEMENTATION CONTEXT

<table>
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<th>Implementation</th>
<th>Continuation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pettigrew &amp; Whipp 1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change Content</td>
<td>Chapter 4A</td>
<td>Chapter 5A</td>
<td>Chapter 6A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change Context</td>
<td>Chapter 4B</td>
<td>Chapter 5B</td>
<td>Chapter 6B</td>
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<td>Change Process</td>
<td>Chapter 4C</td>
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INTRODUCTION

'Only when we understand the precise nature of the host body can we design our innovatory grafts with any confidence that they will be acceptable.' (Hargreaves 1986: 149-50).

In this chapter we attempt to understand the 'host body' within which the project implementation occurred.

Such understanding was especially difficult at this time and place, since the period covered by this section, the first half of the 1990s, was one during which Hungary, both as a national entity as represented by its government and as ten million individuals, tried to understand and adapt to the new economic, social and political circumstances which followed the elections of 1990.

The right of centre MDF government elected in these first elections was, in 1994, replaced by a strongly left of centre MSzP government headed by Gyula Horn, a leading figure in the final communist government. There was thus no consistent government policy towards many aspects of national life throughout the period. A colleague considering the effect of political changes on the MEC, notes that the concept of a politically independent civil service, able to provide continuity of implementation despite changes of government, had yet to be fully established.

'The 3YP started under the previous government. When we had just started here the government changed and I’m sure the whole Ministry staff were dismissed or left by their own choice because of the change of government. Since the new government, we’ve had two Ministers. … It seems that if there is a new Minister, the whole top-level staff changes too, the administrators don’t leave, but the policy level people change all the time. It’s very bad because once they get the hang of it they leave, and the whole thing starts all over again.' (Coll 7)

Within education, the MEC’s encouragement of institutional autonomy, in terms of curriculum and administration was formalised at tertiary level by the Higher Education Act,
and expanded at primary and secondary level by the National Curriculum of 1995-96. This, while providing a core curriculum of topic headings and weightings for the various subjects, left it up to individual schools and teachers to adapt these into syllabuses appropriate to their own circumstances.

However, MEC seemed to be

'oblivious to one implementation fact: the way in which they go about change within their own organisation is a fundamental part of the implementation process.' (Fullan 1991:253).

Change within MEC was itself only just starting to take place. In the period under discussion, MEC had three different Ministers representing two different political orientations who had few experienced senior civil servants to assist them. Inherited organisational structures and attitudes meant that, for example, the introduction of the new curriculum, was perceived by those charged with implementing it as having been introduced without consultation. This was not in itself surprising to many in the light of recent history. However, the consequent lack of clear guidance and support from MEC in how to implement what was suggested, meant that many of those involved with administration and teaching at the institutional and classroom levels of the education system, continued to do what they knew how to do, which was naturally more or less the same as they always had done.

Many fundamental aspects of the organisational and educational cultures described in chapter 4B, therefore continued to affect the ELTSUP implementation process, largely unchanged. Educational institutions at all levels had been placed, without preparation, into a situation of professional, though not financial, autonomy. Inevitably, even in the areas where they did have real professional choices, there were few people with the skills or confidence to make them

Horvath Attila (1990:212), writing about Hungary in transition, describes the situation thus.

'As authority was taken away, there was no experience or competence to cope with the newly gained freedom. Frustration cried out for a paternalistic state.'

A logical reaction among ordinary people to such an abrupt withering of the all-powerful state, is, as previously noted, to do what you have always done. This reaction, seen below in former East Germany, could also be observed in Hungary.
'Being on their own, teachers are guided in their beliefs by their own past experience and their ... traditions: that is the structure of the past ... school system, their own socialisation experience in that system and the routines of teaching procedure.' (Mintrop & Weiler 1994:272)

The background to every aspect of the implementation process was thus one of a society in transition. Below some of the more specific contextual influences are discussed.

1. Direct and indirect effects of legislation on project implementation.

1.1 Government policies

The Higher Education and Public Service Laws were both passed during this period (see chapter 5A, section 2.1). The former with the implications it had for 3YP graduates' position in the hierarchy established by the latter had wholly negative effects on the morale of both staff and students within the project.

Staff working on the 3YP had initially received slightly enhanced salaries. These had already begun to be eroded by the time The Public Service Law (PSL) was passed. This aimed to replace the ad hoc, flexible manner in which individuals within institutions had previously been able to gain salary increments and promotions, with a system which was clearly transparent and fair to everyone. The Director of CETT Debrecen describes how teachers used to be rewarded under the communist system and how this was affected by the Public Service Law.

'...as time went on you spent more and more years in the actual service so you got this increment, a promotion financially. And of course since we knew each other very well, you had a certain reputation and people who stood out as people able to teach very well, teach interesting classes and get a good reputation among students, that led to some extraordinary promotions. ... When this Public employees, Civil Service Law was brought back ... all these people who got ahead, even financially, on merit, that was in retrospect done for nothing ... because the authorities made everything equal, even the finances. ... It was a huge uproar among professional people, university people and also in the schools, because it was unjust.' (Coll 5/3)

A colleague recalls that the 'extraordinary promotions' referred to above, were flexible and could be awarded by various levels of the central or local organisational hierarchy.

'It didn't have to be a ministerial praise, it could be a rector's praise or local council's. And of course there was the Pedagogus Nap, what you called Teachers'
Day, when we were given some bonus, and that was usually on November 7th. So, for example it could happen that I got some money in a year, perhaps twice. It hasn’t happened since I was here (at CETT). 1 (Coll 4/3)

The PSL therefore, removed any further possibility of such occasional payments for extra responsibility or exceptional performance since salary levels were now, as a colleague notes based entirely on;

'The number of years teaching and your qualifications (which) put you into a category and it didn’t matter whether you were teaching at primary school or university level.' (Coll 2)

Although passed in order to make the system of remuneration for public servants transparent, it did mean that the flexibility to reward good performance was lost. A CETT colleague and the Director, quoting a university colleague, describe the negative effect of this on the attitude of public servants, including teachers.

'The present system may be very democratic, but it’s very inflexible and doesn’t use motivational factors. So people say, "why should I make an effort if it's not appreciated?" (Coll 4)

'... all you have to do as a teacher, anywhere, not only at the university, is to survive things and live as long as you can, because that is in your interest. It is not in your interest to work twice as much as your colleagues because it is not recognised properly. It is extremely difficult to get ahead with outstanding performance.' (Coll 5/3)

In the first one or two years of the project, prior to the introduction of the PSL, the initial salary enhancements and overall enthusiasm meant that staff efforts were little affected. However, as the effects of the PSL with its lack of financial acknowledgement of extra responsibilities began to be felt, it did begin to have a negative effect on staff commitment to their work on the project.

The Higher Education Law (HEL) was also significant in that by downgrading the degree to a college level qualification, 3YP graduates were placed at a lower level in the salary scale than those graduating from 5YP programmes. This, according to a one of the first implementers, meant that over time the type of students applying to the 3YP altered.

'The students were supposed to be getting a university diploma. When they realised they wouldn’t, this place slowly turned into a kind of teacher training college where weaker students came. Every year we got weaker students which didn’t motivate the teachers.' (Coll 2)
In addition fewer and fewer of the students attending the 3YP actually entered or planned to enter teaching in the state sector, as can be seen in Table 5.1 using data from student questionnaires.


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<tr>
<td>1994-1996</td>
<td>(35) 49.3%</td>
<td>6 (15.8%)</td>
<td>7 (19.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 graduates</td>
<td>N= 38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998 graduates</td>
<td>N=36</td>
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This decline was only partly the result of the poor conditions of service for teachers generally, exacerbated by the lower status and hence salary granted to 'college degree' graduates. It was also caused, initially at least, by the more attractive employment possibilities in other fields, and more long term by the possibility of continuing to do two further years study and complete their university degree. This option was strongly supported by the Director of CETT Budapest.

'Most (3YP) graduates at our university would like to carry on to get the full degree instead of the less prestigious college degree. I approve of the automatic switch to the last two years. At our university it is automatic, others have certain obstacles or a quota.' (Admin 2)

After initial hesitation, the university in Debrecen followed suit. Any students who had graduated from CETT and were able to pass certain papers from the 5YP filter exam at the end of the second year, could enter the university for two further years to complete a university degree. The overall result was therefore that a significant proportion continued straight into further study after graduation.

Table 5.2 Proportion of graduating students continuing their studies 1994-96, and intending to continue their studies 1997 and 1998
(NB it was quite common for students to study part time while working, especially if not actually studying on a full time 5YP programme)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1994-1996 graduates (N=71)</th>
<th>1997 graduates (N= 38)</th>
<th>1998 graduates (N=36)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joining 5YP in an English department</td>
<td>16 (22.5%)</td>
<td>14 (36.8%)</td>
<td>12 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying other subjects elsewhere</td>
<td>20(28.1%)</td>
<td>16 (42.1%)</td>
<td>11 (30.5%)</td>
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This too had a cumulatively negative effect on CETT colleagues' morale.

'Later on students who came here were not particularly interested in what they were doing. Few of them wanted to become teachers really and so you lose your interest as well.' (Coll 2)

A final factor contributing to implementers' feelings that their work on the 3YP was not adequately valued either by their fellow professionals or by Hungarian society at large, was the fact that the British professional qualifications gained by the staff could not be formally recognised since they did not exist in the Hungarian system of academic qualifications.

The seven staff members who completed or were in the process of completing British MA and M.Ed degrees in Applied linguistics or Language Teacher Education during this period, found that these counted only as a second undergraduate degree and hence led to no increase in salary or status. The RSA Diplomas completed by two others, were not recognised in any way.

1.2 The perceived attitude of the Institute of British and American Studies (IEAS)

Throughout the period implementers and trainees felt 'looked down on' by staff and students from IEAS. To a certain extent this was inevitable given the fact that IEAS, as an extremely well established part of the Arts Faculty, had a strong 'corporate culture.' Such a culture, according to Webb and Cleary (1994:92), had;

...a structure of beliefs about what (you do), how good you are in that field and how the (institution) should be run. These beliefs are historically based, difficult to change and permeate the unwritten rules of (institutional) conduct. They are only partly amenable to rational influence, in the form of feedback from the market or other outside observers. Such beliefs form a crucial part of the framework within which decisions are made.'

The self confidence and certainty inherent in such a culture meant, in the opinion of the BC Outreach coordinator who had previously worked there, that their disparagement of a new unproven institution teaching a number of new and previously unknown courses, was to be expected.

'I doubt if the literature people in the Institute regarded Applied Linguistics or Methodology as very serious, but they probably wouldn't regard Biology or something like that as being as important as their own subject. So it's not necessarily that they feel any different about our branch of academe than they do about any other.' (Coll 3)
Nevertheless, the extent to which such feelings of superiority were openly verbalised, especially in the first year or two, did not help to make the new institution feel a valued part of the university, as the Director, staff and students all recall.

'They made sure that I heard them (the derogatory remarks), they were intended. Not very often, but every time it happened it wasn’t very pleasant.' (Coll 5)

I think we have a feeling that we are looked down on. That’s because we haven’t got the qualifications and the academic professional background that we would be expected to have if we worked over there.' (Coll 4)

'Personally I could feel it sometimes when I had to go over there and meet colleagues. I could feel ‘oh you are from there’. Even if we are called tanarseged and adjunktus we are not considered to be one. It’s not very academic to teach methodology and language practice, anybody can do it, they think.' (Coll 6)

'We heard it not only from the five year students but the teachers too. ... The main point was that we were just doing three years and the others were doing five. It’s shorter so it’s not as good as what they are doing. It wasn’t explicitly said but you could feel it every time and every place.' (Part 4)

'One of our teachers kept calling us ‘retrainees’ and sometimes called us an ‘evening course’. (Part 7)

This feeling, experienced by many of the SS, continued throughout the lifetime of the programme as shown in Table 5.3

Table 5.3 Proportion of students graduating 1994-1998 answering 'Yes' to the question 'Did you personally ever hear five year teachers or students make rude remarks about three year programmes like the one at CETT?'

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37 (52.1%)</td>
<td>22 (57.9%)</td>
<td>27 (75%)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The initial antipathy to the 3YP on the part of the Institute was largely due to ‘academic snobbery’. In addition, some of the implementers interviewed suggested that there may have also been an element of jealousy, not only of the initially higher salaries, but also of the extensive use of World Bank funds to establish the very superior working conditions that the CETT staff enjoyed.

'They probably thought that all the money (World Bank) would come to them. This was not true. .... They might feel envious because this is a nice building, a
well equipped space if you compare it with their space which is a lot worse than here.' (Coll 7)

'When I arrived here salaries here were higher than at the university which caused tension. Colleagues there were envious. The place here was well equipped, nicely furnished. If they came over here they saw that we had better conditions than they had over there.' (Coll 8)

Given the extremely hierarchical nature of the university culture, for such material advantages to be enjoyed by the least experienced staff was bound to cause antagonism. In such circumstances it is not surprising that a 3YP subculture should develop.

1.4 The development of a CETT subculture

If a subculture may be defined as:

'A subset of an organisation's members who interact regularly with one another, identify themselves as a distinct group within the organisation, share a set of problems commonly defined to be the problems of all, and routinely take action on the basis of collective understandings unique to this group.' (Van Maanen and Barley 1985, quoted in Hatch 1997:226),

then a likely result of the tension between IEAS and CETT staff and students was the development of a subculture. This fluctuated between being a counter-culture and an orthogonal subculture (Siehl and Martin 1984 in Hatch 1997: 230). During the first few years, at times of severe conflict with the university, it was often a counter culture, which had to defy the dominant values of the wider institution in order to establish its own independence. Once established, it became mostly an orthogonal subculture, maintaining a set of values and behaviours different from, but less explicitly in conflict with, those of the university.

The separate physical location of CETT Debrecen intensified the sense of separateness. Informants agree that the physical distance was both beneficial, in allowing the establishment of a different programme without interference from or close scrutiny by the established departments of IEAS, and unhelpful in prolonging and intensifying the sorts of attitudes outlined above and making students feel less part of the university as a whole. The Dean at the start of the programme answering a question about the physical separation explains its effects thus:

'I don't feel if it (physical separation) hadn't existed there would have been animosity, but it's certainly not positive because the closeness of the two institutions, mixing more and more and discussing each other's problems could
have helped. It has not been negative, but it would have been positive to be closer.' (Admin 1)

In retrospect some implementers now also agree that closer contact between all involved in English teacher training would have had some desirable results in terms of reducing mutual suspicion and distrust

'It would have been more useful if we had all been together because they would have known much more about the work we do here.' (Coll 2)

'If we had been within the university building there would have been much less friction, we would have seen each other as colleagues rather than as different. ...But it (the separation) was positive because it allowed the programme to be developed as different from the 5 year programme. We were able to achieve far more as regards the TP structure and format and the methodology because we were separate and so felt free to.' (Coll 3)

'One problem is the separate building. ... This is not very favourable. ... If we really start working on it and co-operate with members of other departments we will be in a better position.' (Coll 9)

During the early years of the implementation process however there was a real feeling of alienation from the university. The poor communications systems typical of the organisational culture sometimes led to;

'something like whispering games where the message is continually being changed as it is passed from one to another.' (Tangerud in Hopkins 1987:139).

The tendency in such circumstances was to assume the worst and take mutual antagonisms as read, rather than to try and do anything to lessen them. Responsibility for the unpleasant atmosphere ought therefore, as the Director and a colleague now acknowledge, to be shared.

'We are at least as much to blame. It very often happened that at staff meetings half the staff meeting was about how nasty they (IEAS) are. We were always defensive and ready to jump at every opportunity to feel touchy.' (Coll 7)

'I must add that our staff too is responsible for a number of things. For years our staff hasn't gone over and attended lectures, meetings, conferences and professional gatherings. ... People here are always too busy, they never go. One of the reasons they are not well known is because they have not been there enough. They (IEAS) never see these people.' (Coll 5)
Among the students there was a noticeable attitude shift over time towards the different physical location of the 3YP. A substantial minority of the first one or two cohorts of students found the benefits of the physical separation - the smaller, more homely environment and closer staff: student relationships - more or less cancelled out the negative aspects - not feeling part of university life, being denied information, not meeting enough people-. Later entrants were less certain of its advantages. Thus one of the 1991 entrants when asked whether the separation had been an advantage or disadvantage said

'Both. It was positive because it strengthened self-reliance and links between students and staff. Bad because we were really cut off from everything and treated as the lepers of the English department.' (Part 4)

An entrant from 1993 asked the same question, answered more negatively.

'I think it would be negative. In my opinion the fact that we were in a separate building helped separate us much more.' (Part 10)

Data from student questionnaires shows a marked decrease in those seeing the separation as unambiguously advantageous, over time, see Table 5.4 below. This is likely to be connected to the less close staff:student relationships at CETT as the implementation process took its course, to be discussed in chapter 5C.

Table 5.4 Results of students 1991-1998 answering the question 'Overall was the fact that CETT was situated some distance away from the main university buildings an advantage, a disadvantage or both'?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1994-1996 graduates (N=71)</th>
<th>1997 graduates (N=38)</th>
<th>1998 graduates (N=36)</th>
<th>1997 first year students (N=44)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advantage</td>
<td>22 (31%)</td>
<td>1 (2.6%)</td>
<td>1 (2.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disadvantage</td>
<td>42 (59.1%)</td>
<td>16 (42.1%)</td>
<td>12 (33.3%)</td>
<td>20 (45.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>9 (12.7%)</td>
<td>20 (55.3%)</td>
<td>23 (65.8%)</td>
<td>24 (54.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Effects on education of the socio-economic environment

The years covered by this section were a period during which the socio-economic certainties of the socialist period were abruptly stripped away and had not yet been replaced. Many aspects of what Guba and Lincoln (1994) describe as a paradigm, 'a worldview that defines for its holder the nature of the 'world', the individual's place in it and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts.' (in Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 107), were having to change.
In fact, most adult Hungarians were being forced to experience a very rapid Paradigm Shift, "a profound change in the thoughts, perceptions and values that form a particular view of reality." (Kuhn 1970 in Holliday 1994:76) It is not surprising, therefore, that Hungarian society should exhibit a number of new tendencies in response to the new uncertainties.

One result of the move towards the market economy was the growth in unemployment, previously virtually unknown. For those with jobs the nature of work changed. Jobs which in the socialist period had often been undemanding of individuals' conscious thought and effort, began in the market economy, to expect greater personal participation. For those made redundant, acquiring the skills needed to find a new job, was not easy. Whether employed or not, with inflation running at well above 20% per annum throughout the period, many people had to take on one or more supplementary jobs in order to make ends meet. Within such a stressful socio-economic environment the perceived value of education per se diminished and it was, as already noted, increasingly seen purely as a means to an economic end.

Society became less homogenous as political pressure to conform lessened, economic differentials increased, and people had less time to devote to their personal and family relationships. Colleagues and ex students ranging in age from 25 to early 50s noted that lack of mutual respect, individualism and increasing jealousy and envy between individuals, were features of the changing society.

'People are less respectful to each other, even in the streets. There is a change of people's attitudes to one another because of changes in society. Everything is a bit looser unfortunately.' (Coll 10 aged late 30s)

'People don't respect each other nowadays. I meet people the same age or older than me and they don't respect each other.' (Part 7, aged 28)

'If you live in a society driven by envy it is difficult not to be influenced by that. (I have noticed it) in many fields and walks of life. Changes have occurred which might mean the envy factor grows. Gaps in material life and worry about our jobs.' (Coll 7 aged 41)

'Prior to the political change this society was relatively closed and in the economic and social arena there was relative equality. There was not the huge chance to make a big career. Now there is polarisation and huge social and economic distances have been created in consequence of the change.' (Admin 7, aged early 50s)
The higher ups don’t care what happens to other people. Businessmen employ others for 10-15,000 HUF (30-50 GBP). They know they can’t live on the money but they know they can get anybody because there are so many unemployed, so they don’t care. This attitude is characteristic nowadays. People don’t want to help others. (Coll 9 aged early 40s)

The effect of this loosening and diminishing of interpersonal respect on the parent-child relationship and so on the behaviour of students at all levels was also remarked on by several informants, especially ex students now working in schools. While this might in part reflect their own insecurities as newly qualified teachers, the comments are consistent with the quotes above.

The social background of the parents determines how you are taught to look at things. Their (the students- primary level) problem wasn’t that they were not motivated but that it wasn’t a value to know something. ... Knowledge doesn’t mean anything so why bother with this whole thing? (Part 8)

Sometimes I feel the need to be treated with more respect (by secondary school students), not to have them shout at me for example. Things I don’t expect or accept from others around me. I don’t like them doing those to me. .... Not only students, their parents behave the same way. (Part 7)

I wasn’t the best kid when I was at grammar school, but I wouldn’t dare do things like they (13-14 year old at Upper primary) dare to do now. Talking back to teachers, the language they use is pretty shameful. Parents now don’t spend very much time with their children because the work’s changed. Everyone now fights for their job, tries to keep it, tries to get on up the ladder. (Part 5)

Whatever changes the 3YPs tried to bring to the English language teacher curriculum, had to be implemented alongside the, as yet unclearly defined and imperfectly understood, social changes within the wider society, by implementers struggling to cope with their own personal version of the paradigm shift. With outsiders, British contractees, largely driving the initial stages of curriculum development at CETT Debrecen and most other ELTSUP institutions, the likelihood of mismatch between some of what was proposed in the early stages of project implementation and the changing socio-economic environment, was high.

3 The educational environment

Much has already been said both above and in chapter 4.B (sections.3, 4 and.6), about Hungarian educational and organisational culture, the minimal role played by the Ministry in guiding change and the difficulties inherent in implementing the changes implied by curricular and administrative autonomy. Here therefore, only those aspects of the
educational environment which changed further during the implementation stage, or which have not previously, been touched upon fully, will be discussed.

3.1 The status of and attitude towards teachers

There is complete consensus among all involved in teaching at CETT Debrecen that the economic and social status of teachers at all levels continued to decline throughout the period. In a society in which status was increasingly linked to earning power, that of teachers could not but fail to decline. A mature student just about to graduate as a teacher and a CETT graduate teaching in a primary school describe the social perception of teachers thus.

'A scholar is looked at not as a person of dignity, but a mix of a fool and a person who does not do useful things.' (Part 3)

'A student said humorously a few weeks ago 'A teacher is not a human being, he is just a teacher.' That's the way I think many people think about teachers.' (Part 5)

The decline in prestige of teachers is indicated by the professions bracketed with teachers in the following quote from the Budapest Sun, one of two weekly English language newspapers in Hungary. Speaking about the current pay of health care workers, the article notes that their current rate ‘... puts them below teachers, car mechanics, mail handlers, builders and railway workers.’ (Budapest Sun Vol V/46. 20-26/11/1997 :4).

This loss of prestige and economic purchasing power was particularly galling for teachers of English like the implementers, who had previously been in short supply and so felt themselves to be slightly special.

'Six years ago(1990) it was something, a recognised position to be a teacher of English. But I don't think today (1996) being a teacher is recognised at any level. It's more like you pity somebody who's a teacher.' (Coll 1)

Although, to begin with, many teachers at CETT Debrecen and other ELTSUP institutions had been extremely enthusiastic and involved more or less full-time in the establishment of the 3YP, as time passed, they too became disillusioned and increasingly part-time as they felt the need to take on other jobs to support themselves and their families. The picture painted by two colleagues, of teachers who work full time at their main teaching job, suggests a level of asceticism and dedication that they feel it is unreasonable to expect.
'There are some (teachers who are happy and enthusiastic) but they're the weird lot. People who are addicts to their work and who try to care as little as possible about their day to day existence and financial problems.' (Coll 8)

'It depends on what you expect from life. You see if you just live on your basic salary and spend all your time on your profession of course you can get further ahead, but then you have to restrict your needs to a very basic level.' (Coll 4)

Inevitably social attitudes towards teachers and teaching as a career communicated themselves to the 3YP students also. Thus when MEC complained to the Director of CETT Budapest about the small number of 3YP graduates entering teaching he commented as follows:

1 In the circumstances in Hungary now it is almost impossible for a young person to make a family, make ends meet on the ridiculous salary they can get in primary or secondary school. I was rebuked by the Ministry of Education on several occasions. 'We set you up, where are your graduates? At which primary and secondary schools?' I had to say 'Sorry, we can't force these graduates to go into primary or secondary school. ... Why don't you raise salaries five fold and then we'll see.' (Admin 2)

Table 5.5 shows CETT Debrecen graduates' responses, when asked whether they would go into teaching if the salaries and or conditions were better.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24 (66.6%)</td>
<td>20 (62.5%)</td>
<td>18 (66.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suggests that at CETT Debrecen at least, it was not teaching per se that was the problem, but rather the terms and conditions of service. When asked how much they would regard as an adequate salary for a novice teacher, almost all were far more modest than the Director of CETT Budapest above, mentioning a sum between 50% and 100% higher than the actual pay they would receive.

3.2. Perceptions of and attitudes towards (language) knowledge and learning
The positive attitudes to learning English engendered by the initial excitement of being able to study the foreign language of one's choice, rather than having to study Russian, soon died away. By the end of this period the head of a university department that ran parallel five and three year programmes noted

'English as a school subject has lost its appeal as the forbidden fruit . . . and now students along a wider range of aptitude, attitude and motivation need to be taught English.' (Nikolov 1996:84)

Perceptions of what constitutes knowledge and how learning takes place remained largely unchanged in most schools for most subjects. Although throughout these years language learning was recognised as different, to the extent that most classes were divided into half for language lessons, giving class sizes of 10 to 15, language proficiency continued to be seen by most parents, headmasters, examiners, teachers, and therefore of course students, as another body of knowledge to be learned. This view was strongly reinforced by the format and emphasis of both the classroom tests taken by all and the formal language exams encountered by the more academic minority - entry exams to prestige secondary schools, the Intermediate State Language Exam, the school leaving exam and the university entrance exam.

Consequently many trainees on teaching practice and graduates entering schools, found it difficult to implement the methodology they had been trained in, when confronted by students in whose view language and language learning, still meant knowing how to form correct grammatical structures and the meaning of individual vocabulary items, and memorising such knowledge for a few days around a particular test. One of the CETT Language Practice teachers felt that even trainees arriving at CETT took some time to take classes which emphasised the development of oral/aural proficiency, seriously.

' ...it (Language practice) wasn’t considered to be a class at all. It was just going into the class, talking and leaving the class. ... The students don’t feel they learn there. They can learn words at home, they can talk English alone if they want to. But literature they cannot learn alone, or methodology or linguistics or grammar. Therefore it (Language practice) is not considered to be serious, because they don’t learn anything. Then after a while they realised they did.' (Coll 6)

This was the perception of some trainees in an environment which positively supported the idea of classes devoted to (mostly) language skills development, where the same teacher might have the same students for up to five hours a week for up to two years, and where
the students, whatever their attitude to teaching, were usually keen to improve their English.

For trainees on teaching practice, or newly qualified graduates entering schools in which few, if any of the above supportive factors existed, pupils' perceptions of what language learning entailed were bound to be more difficult to change. CETT graduates now teaching in primary and secondary schools explain what happened on teaching practice and what happens in regular classrooms thus.

'When I started TP we tried to be learner-centred trainees. We asked the students 'what would you like us to teach you?'. "Grammar, because we want to pass the exams.' If you can transform sentences and translate them, then you are a good student, and this is easy to measure. So it's convenient for everyone.' (Part 4-Primary school)

'...If you get to teach a class where there are kids who are aware of the aims and objectives to fulfil, they don't really like to play (language) games, because they said, it's unnecessary. The only thing they have to learn is grammar, because that is what is to be asked in the entrance exams for the grammar schools. I know it doesn't come from the kids but their parents.' (Part 5-Primary school)

'one of my good students chose German to take the eretseg (school leaving exam). He's much weaker at it, but he said it's a much clearer language. You have rules there. It's much simpler. I think it is the way that other languages at my school use the grammar translation method. Only English teaching is an exception.' (Part 7-secondary grammar school)

'Sometimes it (communicative language teaching) doesn't really work, but that's not because of the method itself. ... The problem is that the Hungarian education system and the language teaching system, the whole State Language Exam is not about how to use the language, but how to learn it, how you know the rules. This needs different teaching, a different methodology, ... I have a student who is always trying to write down everything I'm saying. I go "mark, don't write everything down'. He comes to me after class and asks, 'how I shall I prepare the maximum way? How shall I prepare for you?' I say 'try to co-operate, you don't need to write everything down.' There are some students like him. They have to change the whole point of view of learnin.' (Part 6- secondary grammar school)

A secondary school teacher from a small town near Debrecen points out that the above was made all the more complicated at secondary level by the fact that due to school autonomy different primary schools introduced foreign languages at different ages and also gave different numbers of lessons per week.
'Language teachers in all kinds of secondary schools have to face not only mixed ability groups, but also mixed-level groups, as students coming from different primary schools have different levels of language proficiency. There may be beginners, false beginners and pre-intermediate students in one group. It is the ELT-teacher's job to prepare all these students for the same exam. It is a very demanding job.' (Kovacsne 1997-written assignment)

Other CETT Debrecen graduates who completed questionnaires reported similar problems in trying to apply a broadly communicative methodology in Hungarian classrooms. Problems that were frequently reported, included the following:

Unmotivated, uninterested students who insisted on being taught in the traditional manner.
Students who refused to, or were not used to, speaking in class.
Mixed ability classes.
Lack of equipment- video, tape recorder, photocopier etc, needed for a wider range of activities.

In addition to the student reaction, attempts to deviate from the accepted norms were not necessarily welcomed by either colleagues, headmasters or parents as described below by a number of CETT graduate teachers.

'I know quite a lot of people are disappointed with communicative language teaching and return to the grammar translation method. That's what they are required to do if they want to fit in with the school requirements. One colleague ... says he knows how he should teach, but the load that he has doesn't let him do what he wants, because if he is the only one of four teachers who can't finish page 50 by mid-November, then he's a bad teacher.' (Part 4)

'I wasn't told how to do things, but I realised that if I didn't do it the way they do then I would have pretty big problems, not with the staff but mostly with the parents. ... They expect each teacher to do the same as the others do. So if you don't use the same way of teaching, and don't bring results as the other teachers do, then you have to face the parents.' (Part 5)

'The principal does not like us. ... He doesn't like languages. He's very envious of us having smaller groups, but we can't prove we are working. Even more so if we use our freer methods, singing, playing, involving the students, then it seems we don't do serious work. ... He won't tell us what he expects us to do, just tells us it is not good the way we are doing it and that he expects the students to be perfect when they finish grammar school. ... They learn languages for two or three lessons each week and are not proficient speakers after four years. They can speak about History (in Hungarian) for ten minutes, but they can't ... speak English continuously, so it's not obvious for the principal what they have learned.' (Part 7)
Chapter 5b. The Implementation context

The same confusion about quantity and quality that demands that language learning should show tangible quantifiable results in terms of exams passed, or number of pages completed, is identified by a colleague when she explains why, on the whole, headmasters (especially in secondary grammar schools) continued to prefer to employ more expensive, less well trained graduates of the 5YP rather than those emerging from the 3 YP:

'I think headmasters and Directors are happier to employ university graduates than our students, only because they know it's the university. ... It's just a conception of university. ... Five years, great they must have learned better and more.' (Coll 6))

If the above comments were true of primary and secondary schools in a city like Debrecen, conditions in ordinary schools in smaller towns and in the countryside would certainly not be any more favourable. A very thoughtful and hard working teacher from a secondary school in a small town in the region points out that:

'Most secondary and vocational schools do not make more effort for foreign language teaching than for other subjects. They have problems with unmotivated, mostly disillusioned students, who 'learn' English because it is compulsory and they have not got any special or further purposes with it. The problem is these students have to take the same compulsory exam at the age of 16 or 18. ... Do the exam requirements match the reality of two hours per week, undermotivated, low ability, students without special aims for learning English?' (Kovacsne 97 -written assignment)

Whatever teacher education and subject methodology framework was adopted at CETT Debrecen needed to take the above realities into consideration. Since there had been no environmental assessment and professional leadership of most 3YPs, including Debrecen, was in the hands of culturally naive outsiders, it is unsurprising that curriculum and syllabus planning, especially of methodological courses, consisted of planning-implementation-feedback-replanning cycles. (See chapter 5C)

3.3 English teachers as agents of change

The above makes it sound as if the investment made in English teacher education throughout the period were largely in vain. However, although English is just one subject among many within schools and could not therefore, alone, be expected to change a longstanding educational culture, the investment by external agencies like the Peace Corps, United States Information Service (USIS) and BC in both pre and in-service language
teacher education, and by publishers and professional organisations like IATEFL in conferences and workshops, did have some effect.

In the first place it meant that the teacher training received by English teachers was far more varied than that in other subjects, due to the great differences in curriculum content and training approach between the institutions at which they were trained. The British Council INSET advisor for the region noticed this during his four years travelling mostly around the smaller towns in the North East of Hungary, observing teachers in their classrooms.

'There is a very big range of styles of teaching and of experience and different ways of having been trained, more so than with the other subjects. ... I can think of a couple of staffrooms where some English teachers couldn't possibly identify themselves with other people in the school teaching English because they are so completely and utterly different. In fact it's almost like two departments.' (Admin 10)

Two CETT graduates working in Debrecen support this. The first has five English teachers in his school and feels, 'I can co-operate with two' (Part 5). The second, is one of nine English teachers. 'I have three colleagues the same age as me and we teach the same way. There are at least five other teachers who basically use the grammar translation method.' (Part 6)

The INSET advisor noticed that those who had been exposed to either pre-service or regular inservice inputs did plan and deliver different classes to those who had not, and that this was noticed by other teachers in schools.

'Many English classes are different. Not as different as I'd like them to be, or the people who are training them would like them to be, but there is definitely a difference. Also in each school there is a kind of feeling among other teachers that English lessons are different. ... In some cases they are envious that English teachers can do what they want and get away with it and also envious of the support and training they've had. In other subjects they'd almost like to do those things but don't know how to, and then obviously you've got the old traditionalists who see it all as the modern world, mayhem. But from that point of view English has an identity. ... Any teacher who comes to INSET sessions or goes to conferences will have come across all kinds of ideas about different learning styles, getting to know your children, developing skills, how if you have sixteen children talking, it will be quite noisy. This has been prevalent for five or six years, the same kinds of messages.' (Admin 10)

Informants and commentators varied in their opinions of the extent to which such 'differences' actually affected other teachers or students, beyond merely noticing a
difference. As mentioned previously it had long been the case that teachers of other foreign languages used English teachers as a source of new language teaching ideas. By 1996 the then Head of IEAS thought that students would eventually notice the difference between what was expected of them in English and what was expected in other subjects.

'Sometimes it means some interesting conflicts in secondary and also in primary schools, because other subjects are usually taught in a much more conventional way. So students in secondary schools are often disturbed when they go to a class of English and then to a different class, and they sooner or later will notice that they are expected to have two kinds of attitude. Because one of the points about the attitude ... is that students should have a feeling of liberation at a class, a student should be made uninhibited. ... In most of the other classes they are still strictly controlled. I find it extremely important that you have introduced this kind of attitude and I am sure that it is also very influential outside our profession. I am sure that sooner or later this more modern kind of pedagogical attitude will influence teachers in other subjects too.' (Admin 8)

Two further quotes support the suggestion that the different attitudes and expectations introduced to the English language classroom may eventually have a wider influence on Hungarian educational culture. The first, from a paper given by Honti Maria, Deputy State Secretary for Education at the conference on Quality in English Language Teacher Education (QELTE) in Budapest in 1996 suggests that MEC was aware of the need for cultural change and felt that English language education, was, to an extent, paving the way:

'...the avant-garde tendencies of language education, or rather of education in general have found their way into Hungarian teaching practice through the English language., through English language education. It was the teaching of English language that most prominently conveyed for the schools the challenge of interactive teaching and showed them that interactive teaching is not simply a fashionable language education method, but is a phenomenon that carries a warning that the entire educational culture will change, and also indicates the direction of the future transformation.' (Honti 1996:19)

The second from the graduation thesis of a CETT Debrecen student also sees language teaching as a possible Trojan Horse leading to wider changes in the education system as a whole.

'So far only language teaching has been strongly critical, in its approach and methods, of the Hungarian education system. This resulted from the obvious failure of the language teaching of the last period (1947-89) and the great need for speaking languages that has emerged recently. This open criticism has moved the old approaches and methods from their stagnating deadlock. It will be interesting to see in years to come, how the changes that have been introduced into language teaching have an impact on the whole Hungarian educational culture.' (Pap 1997:35)
During the period covered in this section feedback from trainees suggests that the majority of teachers of other subjects, especially in secondary schools, showed little evidence of being overly influenced by innovations in the English classroom. At primary level, where he did most of his INSET work, the BC Advisor did however note signs of interest in incorporating some of the practices of the English language classroom to the teaching of other subjects.

'I think in that (primary) area of schools English could play a leading role in developing different practices in other subjects. As you go further up there will be less and less scope for it.' (Admin 10)

Overall therefore the above suggests that the introduction of a different educational culture, demanding widespread changes to well established attitudes and behaviours, among teachers and learners will always take a long time. The speed of any such change will only be slowed yet further if educational planners fail to recognise that changes in the classroom need to be supported by culturally consistent teacher education, examinations and materials.

3.4 Financial and organisational constraints.

Education budgets throughout the period were tight. In 1995-96 some teachers, including English language teachers, were made redundant. There were rumours that the number of class hours to be taught would be increased and that the division of classes for language lessons would be ended. With each local authority now principally responsible for funding the schools in its area, using money allocated on a per capita basis by central government, differences began to appear between schools. Factors determining such differences included whether individual rolls were growing or falling, the extent to which local authorities in different parts of the country could afford to supplement central funds and the degree to which parents were willing and able to contribute to the costs of a particular school. As noted in chapter four, Hajdu Bihar county in which Debrecen is situated is one of the poorer regions of Hungary. Little extra local government funding for schools was available.

Institutional autonomy meant that a great deal more administrative and planning work had to be done by those in positions of authority than had been the case under the communist system. Also the prestige, useful Party connections and material benefits that used to accrue to those in positions of authority no longer existed to the same extent, and, thanks
to the inflexibility of the Public Service Law, had not been replaced by other equivalent material incentives. Consequently it was often difficult to find individuals willing to take on leadership roles. A colleague remembers hearing from her former colleagues about how hard it was to find a successor to the principal of her school, one of the biggest grammar schools in Debrecen.

'I heard that it wasn't easy to persuade the next Director to accept. It's mainly money, but too much responsibility as well and not too admired. It's (the post of principal) not too popular and not too easy. (Previously) there wasn't really more money, but the responsibility wasn't that much because they shared it and if they made a mistake it wasn't that serious because one wasn't one person responsible for it, they could share it.' (Coll 6/2)

Some of a Head teacher's new responsibilities, referred to above, are detailed by another colleague.

'Now school heads have quite a hard time. Not that many want to be head because it's easier being an ordinary teacher. Nowadays schools have to compete for students because they get support according to student numbers. If there are not enough students the head has to fire some teachers and it's not easy.' (Coll 2)

A vice-dean at the university, simultaneously head of the Linguistics department, also noted how the losses entailed by taking on positions of responsibility have begun to outweigh the gains.

'Our faculty pre-1989 had a strict hierarchy and people fought for key positions and to keep them for as long as possible. Today that is not typical. ... Perhaps under the old system you had more influence. You didn't get much money but you had good connections, Party connections and to leaders in various positions. ... A couple of years ago if you were Vice Rector or Dean you didn't have to do much extra work. That's changed now a lot because of autonomy. ... The extent to which it is possible to make international contacts has increased which means much more work, the system of financing the university is more work and it's all more work for people in administrative positions. I personally won't undertake to take two such positions at the same time again.' (Admin 4)

In a few schools in the more affluent areas, the shortage of funds could be compensated for to some extent by the parents. But this brought its own problems, both in terms of their expectations, and in actual interference with how teachers taught as experienced by a former student teaching at a primary school in one of the richest suburbs in Debrecen.
Since most of the schools are left on their own financially they have to find a way to get the money that is necessary to run the school financially and most of it is given by the parents. ... They think that they have got and know everything better than we do. Parents are always aware of things much better than teachers, so they can give you many ideas how to improve your teaching. (Part 5)

As well as failing to tailor its policy to acknowledge the general lack of leadership experience in the country, central government failed to provide resources to support and encourage quality teachers to take up leadership positions. Instead, through the introduction of the PSL, it made it virtually impossible to materially reward those prepared to take on leadership roles, through official channels. It is not therefore surprising that the quality of institutional leadership was often one factor retarding the implementation of changes to educational culture and practice.

ELTSUP trainees therefore often entered schools on their teaching practice and/or as teachers in which the influence exerted by both leaders and parents (who provided essential funding) favoured existing methods geared to passing existing exams. It was therefore difficult for them to develop confidence in their use of the principles they had been taught on the 3YP. It was rare for generally under-rewarded school heads to be keen innovators, eager to support trainees in their attempts to introduce different teaching and learning styles.

4 Leadership and Management at CETT Debrecen

Medgyes (1994:82) describes the relationship between leaders and led during the period of central planning as follows

'...it was the Politburo's job to issue directives, the Ministry's job to turn them into laws and regulations and our job at universities and schools to implement them.'

Given the above, it is not surprising that the Director of CETT Debrecen approached his role aware of its inherent difficulties. His previous experience had been as deputy head of the university English department in the years before and immediately following the political changes when, as already discussed, the responsibilities of leadership were far more limited. He was now in charge of a new venture for which he had had neither prior professional nor management training, and towards which many of his erstwhile colleagues within the department, to whom he might have turned for help, felt at best lukewarm.
Chapter 5b. The Implementation context

'... traditionally if you are appointed Head of Department in this country you simply find yourself in this new position with lots of responsibilities, lots of skills that you have to have by way of administration, dealing with finances, dealing with the curriculum, dealing with staff, dealing maybe with disciplinary problems and, on top of that in our school, dealing with ancillary staff like porters, caretaker and the cleaning ladies and all the problems associated with the running of the building. You are not trained in these. You either know some of them or, if you don't you ask others and then you make mistakes... It takes years.' (Coll 5)

If, as Pettigrew and Whipp (1991:143) suggest,

'The art of leadership ... would seem to lie in the ability to shape the process in the long-term, rather than direct it through a single episode.'

then the lack of previous experience was even more telling, since the Director felt that

'... the most difficult of this is planning ahead curriculum-wise, to be able to see what we have to do say in two years time.'

The professional inexperience of the Hungarian leader was to some extent mitigated by the professional experience of the BC Assistant Director. But, however professionally capable the BC appointees were, the fact that neither the first appointee nor the Hungarian Director had experience of managing either people or organisations did, as will be seen, cause problems as the planning and implementation processes evolved.

Another area lacking clarity, perhaps inevitably in the context of a totally new, unplanned, programme such as the 3YP, was that of defining who was ultimately responsible for taking which decisions, especially regarding budgetary matters and curriculum content. CETT was administratively independent of IEAS and answerable to the Dean of the faculty of Arts. The Ministry funding for 3YP students was, however, sent to the university to be released to IEAS and by them to CETT. The leverage that this gave the IEAS, and the lack of clarity about exactly how much money was available and who had the right to spend it on what, was initially, a source of much bitterness as the British Outreach Coordinator remembers.

'There were a lot of rifts as a result of money. Our budget not being separate and so having to ask for cash all the time was awkward. People went over and it came out as 'we demand our money', whether they meant it like that or not.' (Coll 3)

In terms of the curriculum, since the initial project documentation gave no guidance whatsoever either as to what it should contain, or as to who should decide, theoretically anything was possible. To guide them the implementers at CETT Debrecen had on the one
hand documentation from CETT Budapest, and on the other the extremely different ideas of IEAS. With a Hungarian Director who had no teacher education experience, a British Assistant Director with no knowledge of either Hungarian educational culture or what Coleman (1988:157) calls the 'informal order' and Holliday (1994:40) the 'deep action' of the Debrecen university context, and no clarifying documentation to fall back on, at least one of the original Hungarian staff felt:

'...it was not clear what we could decide and what we had to conform to. Obviously the British Council had certain expectations, but it wasn't clear what the British Council and the University had agreed on, at least not for me. How far could we go? Sometimes there were ridiculous disputes. Now it seems ridiculous that we started to talk about it because it was all decided and it was no use talking about it. We could have spent the time and energy on more useful things.' (Coll 2)

The project implementation phase therefore began with everything still to be planned, an inexperienced leadership and no clear decision allocation among the two co-Directors. No single person had both sufficient information, and the professional and management experience necessary, to gain a complete overview of what needed to be done and how it might be approached.

5. Recognition

So far the impression may have been given that most of the implementation period was spent trying to negotiate a purely hostile and incompatible environment. This was not so since, especially after CETT graduates began to appear in schools on teaching practice in September 1993, implementers began to get positive feedback, about the quality of the graduates produced from practice schools, and teaching practice supervisors.

'They (practice school supervisors) have a good opinion of the trainees. They can agree that they are well trained.' (Coll 10)

'They (schools that have our students for TP) are more positive than negative.' (Coll 7)

'I've heard from people in the town, parents, that this is a success. Teachers going out from here can stand their ground and yes, they are good.' (Coll 4)

Private language schools, especially in Budapest and the west of the country where there was more demand for their services, were among the first to realise the potential of 3YP graduates as one such graduate and a colleague report..
Chapter 5b. The Implementation context

'The first question they (language schools) ask is "did you come from the 3YP or the 5YP"? I think they appreciate the 3YP people much more. They ask for a lesson plan and the 3YP people really know how to do a lesson plan as compared to the 5YP. These language schools are more interested in language teaching, not teaching literature or descriptive grammar.' (Part 4)

'One of our ex-students has heard that language schools accept 3YP people much more readily because they have a much better repertory of methodological skills at their disposal than those 5YP graduates.' (Coll 4)

Table 5.6 suggests that around half of the CETT Debrecen graduates who actually had experience of state school classrooms, found that the methodological training they had received was useable there. Compared to the figure for 5YP students from IEAS in the right hand column, CETT students were very satisfied indeed.

Table 5.6 Proportion of 1994-96 CETT graduates actually teaching in state education, and of 1997 and 1998 graduates who had completed their Teaching Practice in state school answering 'Yes' to the question: 'Do you feel that the Methodology training you received, prepared you for the realities of teaching English in Hungarian classrooms?

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<td>19 (54.3%)</td>
<td>21 (55.3%)</td>
<td>18 (50%)</td>
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Such broadly positive feedback from a substantial proportion of trainees is likely eventually also to have influenced the attitude of IEAS and the university when the time came to discuss the more formal merge of CETT into IEAS as the Department of English Language Studies with which this chapter ends. As the Director of CETT states below, this acceptance included recognition of our teacher education skills.

'As the years went by, the news got around that this is a good department. The rector the other day said 'all the people know that the work there is representing a good standard and people say that it's a good place', so eventually it got to the higher level of the leadership of the faculty.' (Coll 5)

The head of the Linguistics department, when asked if he considered the CETT programme to have been a success, answered:

'In general terms yes. I think the new approach to teacher training is an achievement, something that is needed.' (Admin 4)
By the end of this period even though the UK university Masters level qualification continued to have no official status within the Hungarian system, the value of the CETT staff’s experience and professional qualifications was acknowledged by the Head of IEAS.

'Although MAs from Britain are not officially recognised, they are semi-officially, because everyone knows that although the official viewpoint in Hungary is that our university diploma is equivalent to an MA, this is not perfectly true. ... We regard it as something extremely important. When we made the proposal to the University Council about the merge we indicated all the MA degrees of the CETT staff there and I am sure these were seriously considered. Even if MA as such doesn’t exist here, everybody knows what it practically means.' (Admin 8)

Although staff and students at CETT had some justification for feeling like a beleaguered sub culture in the early years of the implementation process, the above quotes suggest that by the end of the period they were working in a local environment that was broadly appreciative of much of what they did. The feeling that 3YP graduates were accepted within the local environment as 'proper' teachers, despite their 'short' course, was one of the first stages in the growing acceptance by members of IEAS, of CETT staff as worthwhile professionals and colleagues. This more positive atmosphere, and the slightly more relaxed interpersonal relationships that it brought with it was part of the context of the latter years of the implementation period.

6 The British Council

The project implementation period saw two changes to the manner in which the project was managed at national level.

6.1. The recruitment of Project Implementation Managers

It became clear, as the number of projects in Hungary grew, that the BC ELO in Budapest would require some assistance in their management. In response to one of the recommendations in the evaluation report, in spring 1994 three Hungarian project implementation managers (PIMs) were recruited to work under the ELO, each with particular responsibility for the management of one or more projects and the contractees working thereon. The ELTSUP PIM had a language education background, had been deputy head of a large secondary school in Budapest and had also worked for Budapest CETT as a Co-Trainer/School supervisor for trainees on teaching practice. She therefore had relevant previous professional and project-specific knowledge. She was, over time, to
have an important role in determining how ELTSUP's impacts might be sustained and reinforced.

However, no sooner had the PIMs been recruited than the BC ELO who had initially established the project departed. This change in British Council leadership postponed the identification of their real roles for quite some time as is explained below.

6.2 A new ELO

The ELO who had planned and set up the ELTSUP project left Hungary in summer 1994. She was replaced by a colleague whose previous ELT experience had been in Africa and South East Asia. He describes his preparation for taking over the Hungarian operation below.

'I had a very brief tour round headquarters (London), but they don't know what's going on here. The only useful briefing time was the time with (Admin 5) but that was not in itself very useful because we didn't talk about key things. Effectively there was no briefing. You sort of reinvented and rediscovered things. ... BC is driven by simple manpower difficulties. (Admin 5) left, was scheduled to leave and left. I was expected to come and replace her. I couldn't come at a certain time. I came for a brief visit and then went back to tidy up in Malaysia because that's what I needed to do for the Malaysia post and I came. There was not time to have a month's Hungarian (language classes). No time to have a further period of orientation with (Admin 5), or a lengthy period of briefing at headquarters because I was already two months late. So I came straight from what I was doing in Malaysia to start what I was doing in Hungary with only a half hour stopover at Schipol between the two.' (Admin 3)

He arrived from Malaysia, having had a one week briefing in Budapest some two months previously, speaking no Hungarian and taking responsibility for an operation with a budget some 20 times greater than in his previous post, where he had worked with Malaysians who:

'Knew well what they wanted out of ELT. They could put forward a proposal for the kind of thing they wanted and give us drafts of what the PFs ought to say, to which we reacted and they reacted. It was a genuine shared document. ... There were people who wanted to take things over, the Education Ministry was developing its own ideas. ... They wanted the Brits to stay as well but didn't want them to stay doing the same thing.' (Admin 3)

His previous experience had consequently been of a very different, in many ways more sophisticated, project environment than the one he was confronted with in Hungary. A
situation in which the Hungarians had not yet seriously considered the notion of fully taking over the ELTSUP project, where the three PIMs who he had had no part in recruiting, had themselves not yet fully identified their role, and where the budget allocation, though substantial, was unclear from one year to the next. Time was needed to acclimatise and for much of 1994 and 1995 therefore the BC leadership of the project was tenuous and distant. Since there was no centralising leadership provided on the Hungarian side, this effectively meant that there was no check on the tendency of each ELTSUP institution to go its own way.

7. Main themes emerging

This chapter has discussed some of the main features of the wider and local environments in which the implementation process took place, and some of the ways in which these were likely to affect those trying to implement project aims.

7.1 Education as part of a changing wider environment

- National educational changes (institutional autonomy, a new higher education act, a new national curriculum) were introduced in a piecemeal way into an education system that was situated in a wider environment, itself trying to develop new, workable systems to replace the stable, centrally planned, system of the previous 40 years.

- The socio-economic polarisation in society at large affected schools directly.

- Traditional unquestioned teacher-student relationships were influenced by the readjustments to family life, arising from the need for parents to take on multiple jobs to make a living in uncertain circumstances.

- School funds and so facilities began to depend on their own fund-raising efforts and especially on parental contributions.

- Richer and poorer schools began to emerge, depending on their geographical location and the material prosperity of their students' parents.

- The shortage of leadership experience within education (as within all other areas of national life), made it difficult for schools to adjust easily to the wider range of responsibilities devolved from the state to the institution.

- Many schools were not open to further methodological innovation.
7.2 The commodification of education acting against change

- In an increasingly competitive economic environment in which individuals' social status was increasingly defined by their income, education in general began to be viewed as a commodity, necessary for the achievement of future material goals, rather than as something having intrinsic value.
- Exam passes provided evidence of educational achievement and the influence of the examination system on the school classroom grew accordingly.
- In the language classroom the influence of the nationally organised State Language Exam system was particularly strong. The language exams within this system changed little in their preoccupation with testing knowledge of structure rather than use during the period under discussion.
- It became, if anything more difficult for 3 YP trainees to introduce teaching and learning styles that did not fit the exams into their classrooms.
- Complex educational change cannot fully succeed if it is introduced to one part of an educational system only.

7.3 Lack of leadership for change meaning little real change.

- Organisational structures and attitudes throughout the country were having to be reconsidered to meet the new, far greater, responsibility, hastily devolved to institutions by central government.
- Lack of experienced managers and leaders was a national problem.
- Leadership in education was not a financially attractive proposition. Underpaid leaders were unlikely to wish to expend their energy and skills to devise and implement new organisational and management systems appropriate to the rapidly changing environment in which all organisations now needed to situate themselves.
- Many of the potentially positive effects of institutional autonomy remained unexplored due to the lack of experience and motivation of those charged with its implementation.
- National government bodies, themselves equally short of experience, offered little guidance and support.
- In many educational institutions, especially at school level, little actually changed, either in the manner in which they were run, or in what actually went on in classrooms.
• 3YP trainees entering such classrooms were not encouraged to experiment.

7.4. Effects of the project environment of the declining socio-economic status of teachers.

• The Higher Education law and the Public Service law did nothing to enhance the status and material wellbeing of the teaching profession.
• They ensured that fewer and fewer 3YP graduates would wish to enter teaching.
• 3YP places were increasingly filled by those unable to obtain a place on a 5YP.
• 3YP became used as a springboard from which to transfer to the 5YP after graduation.
• Decreasing student interest in teaching, the supposed raison d' etre of the institution, negatively affected staff morale.
• Staff enthusiasm decreased further as a result of the need to find alternative sources of income in addition to their university salary.
• The amount of time staff were able to spend on their work for the 3YP decreased noticeably.
• 3YP teamwork and staff:student relationships became less close.

7.5 ELTSUP as a ‘Project’

• Individual versions of the 3YP emerged in each institution.
• Institutions varied enormously both in the degree to which their Hungarian leadership were willing and/or able to enter into the medium to long term planning that any successful attempt to integrate the 3YP into the mainstream required, and in their commitment to the implementation of any agreements that were eventually signed.
• ELTSUP as a project sharing a clear common goal and implementation process ceased to exist.
• Thee term ‘project’ increasingly became an administrative convenience for BC funding purposes rather than a functioning reality.

7.6 Effect of pre and in-service training on the English language classroom

• Some graduates of ELTSUP institutions did enter the school system at both primary and secondary levels.
• Systematic INSET opportunities for English teachers, sponsored by BC and others, were far greater than for teachers of other subjects.

• 3YP graduates, and those, usually younger, established colleagues participating in INSET courses did, to varying extents, bring a different orientation towards language education to some of the schools in which they worked.

• Even though often unable to implement many of their ideas because of factors mentioned at 7.1 - 7.3 above, they were if keen enough, nonetheless, able within their own classrooms, to try out some of the principles of different approaches to language teaching and learning, and so widen the range of possible teacher behaviours within their school.

• English classes in many schools did continue to be perceived as 'different' from classes in other subjects, in terms both of the pupil behaviours expected and the range of activities that occurred.

• If there were any changes of teaching behaviour occurring anywhere at all within the Hungarian educational culture at school level, they were more likely to be taking place in English classrooms than in others.

7.7 The 3YP subculture in Debrecen.

• CETT Debrecen was a new, small, institution with young inexperienced staff.

• Set within a strong educational culture such as existed within the university in Debrecen, and dealing with non prestigious subject matter like teacher education CETT could only be low status.

• The downgrading of the 3YP qualification merely emphasised the difference in status between the two, 3YP and 5YP, teacher education routes through the university.

• 3YP staff and students felt 'looked down upon.

• A strong 3YP subculture developed.

• It had positive effects in terms of esprit de corps and a willingness to work hard to try to achieve mutually agreed goals.

• Negative effects include:

• exaggerating the extent of the hostility exhibited towards the 3YP by the established culture. increased stress and insecurity

• "Us and Them" attitude, not helpful, when it came to consider ways in which the 3YP subculture might integrate with the dominant university culture.
Chapter 5b. The Implementation context

- The lack of confident Hungarian leadership of the 3YP meant implementers felt they were unable to represent their point of view with conviction, and on more or less equal terms, in negotiations with the university.
- By the end of the implementation period there was beginning to be evidence from some senior members of IEAS that some of the changes introduced CETT were appreciated.

7.8 The importance of a working example of change in action.

- If CETT had not existed, it would have been far easier for IEAS staff to ignore the teacher education ideas that it represented.
- The 3YP actually happened in Debrecen. CETT was conceptualised, given a physical reality, staffed and proceeded to train teachers well enough to satisfy most of the local schools and language teachers who had contact with it.
- This visible success on their doorstep was difficult for IEAS to ignore entirely.
- Relative success, coupled with BC demands for integration, and the original IEAS strategy, all contributed to the agreement to establish DELS.

7.9 A changing culture at IEAS

- possible to have with institutions in the UK, Canada, Australia and the USA, enabled many staff members to experience what was expected of university staff and students in other educational traditions.
- Although IEAS changed slowly in terms of its methods of teaching and examining, the curriculum became far more flexible in order to attract students, with the introduction of a credit system and the relatively wide choice of possible course combinations that this made possible.

7.10 3YP 'fit' with local reactions to complex national changes.

- Local environments react differently complex changes in national life.
- The extent to which educational changes in any given institution are accepted or rejected, will depend on how well these changes 'fit' the reactions of the local educational community to the more complex wider environment.
Chapter 5b. The Implementation context

- CETT Debrecen needed to adapt its proposed changes to the manner in which the local environment, represented in its case by the university and the Debrecen school community, was responding to the national changes.

- Within Hungary, Debrecen was not at the forefront of change, the 3YP needed to bear this in mind.

In Chapter 5C we investigate the processes that implementers at CETT Debrecen went through from initially establishing the separate 3YP, to ending the implementation stage as a department of IEAS.
INTRODUCTION

We have seen in chapters 5A and 5B that the implementation period was one in which both the project aims and many features of the wider environment continued to change. In this chapter we discuss the 3YP implementation process at CETT Debrecen from its very beginning in 1991 up to the effective end of the 3YP as a 'live' programme when CETT became DELS and merged with IEAS in July 1996.

For the first two years of the process I was not in Hungary. From September 1993 - July 1998 I was Assistant Director of CETT and later Curriculum Advisor at DELS. It may surprise readers that I do not contribute personally to the story with anecdotes and memories, and that there is no direct reference to my role in the interview quotes. As already noted in chapter three, section 4.2.2, this lack of direct reference to me and my role was a feature of the interviews. However readers may wish to bear in mind that I and my BC colleague were the contractees referred to in this and all subsequent chapters, from September 1993 onwards.

The implementation process at CETT Debrecen is aptly characterised by Everard and Morris (1985:171).

'...implementing change is not a question of defining an end and letting others get on with it: it is a process of interaction, dialogue, feedback, modifying objectives, recycling plans, coping with mixed feelings and values, pragmatism, micropolitics, frustration, patience and muddle.' (:171)

That being so, the analysis that follows is bound to be what Geertz (1973), calls 'intrinsically incomplete'. Although, the implementation process can, in retrospect, be considered as taking place in two stages, for the participants at the time it was very much a matter of never fully knowing "what implementation is or should look like until people in particular situations attempt to spell it out through use" (Fullan 1991:92). The pattern of
change that emerges from this analysis is thus one of an "ongoing process made up of opportunities and challenges that were not necessarily predictable at the start." (Orlikowski and Hughes 1997)

The first phase of the implementation process, at CETT Debrecen (academic years 1991-1993) was a race. Implementers had simultaneously to design the form and content of the curriculum, prepare and teach the courses needed to put it into practice for a student body that reached 200 by September 1993, and develop their own professional teacher education skills. The curriculum form and content changed frequently during these first years, as it sought to achieve a balance between the, still unclear, 3YP vision and the coercive and normative institutional pressures (Meyer et al 1987) of the immediate and wider environment. The final version of the curriculum made it easier for 3YP graduates to enter 5YPs to compete their university training, as a result of the changes to the 3YP degree brought about by the 1993 Higher Education Act. Students entering in September 1994 were thus the first to work through the final version of the curriculum.

The next phase, academic years 1994 and 1995, rather than being a period of consolidation, were instead spent responding to the changes in the BC project aims arising from the 1993 evaluation recommendations. As required by the evaluation recommendations, an agreement between IEAS and the BC had been signed in summer 1994. This document (see appendix 23) agreed to work towards some kind of integration of the 3YP with the main university English teacher training system. It included among its pledges that KLTE (University of Debrecen) will:

'Develop a strategy by May 1995 which will ensure that there are long-term safeguards for the practical orientation of CETT teacher training programmes and its innovations in teacher training in KLTE…'

'Develop cooperation with the IEAS teacher training programmes and work towards the compatibility of CETT's and Institute's programmes.' (Agreement between KLTE and the British Council Hungary under ELTSUP project 1994-1996: 1)

These years were taken up with outline planning, negotiating and finally detailed planning for the whole new set of changes demanded by the merge of CETT with IEAS, which took place in July 1996. There was thus, throughout these five years, no point, except perhaps for some months in 1994-95, at which it was possible for CETT staff to stop, draw breath, and be in the slightest bit 'reflective' about what they were doing, why they were doing it and how it might be done better.
Chapter 5c. The Implementation process

This was a result of the BC's new qualitative aims. Hungarian implementers, who were still developing their professional skills, based on new beliefs about language and learning and demanding different teaching behaviours, were suddenly required to face in a new direction, which demanded further professional cultural readjustments. The pace and quantity of change was too great to fully absorb comfortably. Personal losses began to outweigh personal gains.

From the start of the project it was obvious that only part of the 'new' teacher training curriculum would be provided by the 3YP staff. The Budapest model, to which all other institutions initially looked for guidance, included classes in literature, linguistics, history and civilisation given by members of existing English departments. As noted in chapter 4 B, (section 6.3), these philological inputs were considered necessary to meet the normative institutional pressures of the educational culture in which the 3YPs were situated and also reflected the strong personal beliefs of the Directors of the two largest CETTs (Budapest and Debrecen) that more focus on methodology and language competence should not mean abandonment of the philological subjects that conventionally filled most of the curriculum.

In Debrecen, due to changes in the external environment, uncertain leadership at CETT and poor communication between CETT and IEAS, it took most of the first two years to agree a 3YP curriculum balance acceptable to all involved in Debrecen. The more detailed discussion below is restricted to the new courses that were introduced as part of the CETT 3YP curriculum.

1 Curriculum Planning and Development

With the arrival of the British Council Assistant Director two weeks before the first students were due to begin classes in September 1991, decisions about what and how they should be taught, and by whom, could no longer be postponed.

As noted (in Chapter 4B, section 6.5), the Hungarian implementers were already at a point which Lamb (1995) calls the first stage of mental change, that of "doubting aspects of (their) current practices or beliefs." and were keen to learn. The vision of what the 'new' teacher training ought actually to mean in practice had yet to emerge, as two of the original Hungarian participants acknowledge.
'Clear aims hadn’t been verbalised. We looked towards an unclarified aim with the assumption that it was going to be better.' (Coll 1)

'I think it got clearer as we went along. I think it wasn't quite clear at the beginning. ... I think things were slowly dawning on us as we started to do new things.' (Coll 2)

Since neither the MEC nor the BC in Budapest appeared willing or able to clarify what such ‘new things’ ought to be, it was, for all concerned, a matter of identifying the “general direction” and “starting walking” (Louis and Miles 1992: 201). For the Director, and members of his staff the first halt on this walk was CETT Budapest.

'I had to ask for some printed materials from CETT Budapest, their curriculum and I took a look at it and tried to establish THOSE (his emphasis) types of classes. Then when (Assistant Director) arrived she was also instrumental in clarifying some of those topics and courses that were new. (Coll 5)'

'We had the curriculum (from Budapest) and a few course descriptions. I think we tried to model them in the beginning rather than initiate anything ourselves.' (Coll 1)

One implementer who had worked as a Methodology teacher at the university previously and who joined CETT a the end of the first year recalls that general principles as to how the 3YP should differ from what was already available had been agreed.

'....there was a major framework as to how the teacher training should be set up, like that there should be more teaching practice and methodology should have a higher number, but there were other things that went by trial and error.' (Coll 4)

Although there was as yet little detail about what exactly the curriculum should contain, there was a strong feeling among the founding staff, (who had all graduated in the Communist era) that one important way in which the ‘new’ teacher education curriculum ought to differ from the ‘old’, was in its responsiveness to trainee needs and expectations. Consequently as they note with the BC outreach coordinator, that student evaluation of, and feedback on, courses was a particular feature of the 3YP, especially at the very beginning.

'There was a real concern with giving them (the trainees) what they wanted and finding out what they thought of the courses that were actually being run.' (Coll 3)

'Getting feedback on a regular basis, minimum at the end of term became part of my routine.' (Coll 1)
There were lots of evaluation sheets handed out and there were things done about them and we personally felt bad if we got bad feedback. (Coll 2)

Student reactions to what was being simultaneously planned and implemented thus made an important contribution in the early years to the 'constant inquiry and readjustment of objectives as problems emerge and the situation changes' (Fullan 1991), that culminated in the 1994 curriculum (see appendix 22 for a version of this)

1.1 The First Year- Language Practice

Trainees entering the 3YPs had all passed the university entrance exam in English, albeit usually with lower scores than those entering the 5YP. Students passing this exam (see appendix 23) after the type of secondary language learning experiences outlined in Chapter 4B above, could be assumed, in Widdowson's terms (1977), to be more familiar with the 'usage' than the 'use' of the language.

Since the professed aim of the 3YP was to train language teachers, the initial emphasis on the development of trainees' language proficiency was understandable. Especially important were the oral/aural skills needed for effective classroom teaching and least emphasised during their school education, and the academic reading and writing skills needed to cope with the English language demands of the 3YP courses.

The 1991 intake, the first year of training at CETT Debrecen, therefore received 12 hours per week of Language Practice (LP) classes. The aim of these was twofold. First, to develop learners' proficiency as outlined above and second, influenced by Tessa Woodward's idea of 'loop input' (1991), to use the teaching in LP classes to explicitly demonstrate some of the language learning and teaching principles and techniques that trainees would be introduced to in greater detail during their methodology training in the second year.

Such self-conscious demonstration of the principles of 'good practice' was particularly difficult to achieve with a staff that had not been trained in either the broadly 'communicative' methodology that was assumed to be required, or the ideas about the nature of language and language learning on which it was based. Most initial staff training thus took the form of one month RSA TEFL Certificate courses. Such courses were, and remain, principally geared to the training of teachers for the UK influenced private language school sector. They were thus extremely challenging to Hungarian preconceptions about the role of the teacher. In addition, as examples of language teacher
training courses, the experience gave colleagues a false impression of the ease with which classroom methodology training could be put into practice, and so how easy it would be for 3YP trainees to apply their methodological training in the very different state school context. Some differences between private and state sectors, in applying a communicative methodology during teaching practice, in are shown in Table 5.7 below, (adapted from Wedell and Gibson 1995:22).

Table 5.7 Some differences between English language teacher training in the private and public sectors in Hungary during the early to mid 1990s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trainee at a private language school</th>
<th>Trainee in the state sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodology training</td>
<td>Practised immediately on the school premises</td>
<td>Practised weeks or months later, in a different location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice Supervisors</td>
<td>Familiar Language school trainers.</td>
<td>Unfamiliar school supervisors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learner motivation of students/pupils during practice teaching</td>
<td>Students with clear purposes for learning. Paying fees. Recognise some responsibility for own learning. High motivation</td>
<td>Pupils with no clear purposes for learning other than ‘the exam’. Often little motivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning context</td>
<td>Often (semi) full time learners, 10-20 hours per week. ‘Communicative’ English teaching not being compared with teaching in other school subjects.</td>
<td>Learning English as one subject among many for 2-6 hours per week. ‘Communicative’ English teaching being compared to ‘traditional’ teaching in other subjects, often unfavourably.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>Customised language classrooms, ample facilities and materials, small classes</td>
<td>Variable classrooms and class sizes. far fewer facilities and materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall contextual support for applying ‘communicative’ methodological principles</td>
<td>Very high</td>
<td>At best some support from supervisors and colleagues, at worst downright hostility.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Implementers did not always recognise these differences when 3YP trainees began their methodology training and teaching practice (see below). More immediately, they also of course responded to their own language teacher training in different ways and hence the type of methodology used in LP classes was mixed and students’ perceptions and experiences of its value varied. Some found the classes very stimulating and useful.
Chapter 5c. The Implementation process

'All the LP classes they had us working in pairs or groups. ... They didn’t teach us by telling us how a game works. First we had to play it and then they explained what the aim was and then we analysed it.' (Part 6)

Others noticed that LP classes varied according to who was teaching them.

' ... I think the language (practice), it depended on the teacher. If you knew (Assistant Director), she was very good at demonstrating the method, but an American like (Peace Corps volunteer), he wasn’t so good at teaching.' (Part 7)

For yet others, the emphasis on LP was not what they expected from a university course.

' ... here at CETT I didn’t like the first year. For me it was too much like secondary school. I had to learn many things by heart, phrasal verbs, too much grammar.' (Part 5)

For the majority though, as can be seen in Table 5.8, the Language practice classes continued to be regarded as useful.

Table 5.8 Proportion of CETT graduates 1994-96 and first year CETT students 1998 answering ‘Yes’ to the question: ‘Were the Language practice classes at CETT useful?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CETT graduates 1994-1996 (N=71)</th>
<th>CETT first year students 1996 (N=44)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57 (80.3%)</td>
<td>35 (79.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 The second year

1.2.1 The need for transferability

By the end of the first year, as rumours about the downgrading of the 3YP qualification became more frequent, even those students who clearly saw the value of the LP classes began to demand a curriculum structure that would offer the option to transfer to the 5YP at the end of their studies if their performance was good enough. This was not a reflection on their perception of the 3YP, but rather a realistic appraisal of their future prospects.

"Would-be teachers want to graduate with a university degree, due to the demands of society and not because of the quality of the English Language Teacher Education programmes." (Nikolov 1996:83)

News of these demands reached the former Dean who was, by now, the Rector.
'I think they (the CETT staff) started to sit down and think about how much literature and linguistics should come from the 5YP when student pressure built up at CETT. Students would like to transfer or, if not, upgrade their degree after a few years of teaching.' (Admin 1)

The changes in the curriculum needed to make transfer possible, inevitably involved accommodating more courses, especially literature, from the 5YP.

With the subculture mentality of the 3YP already strong, this need to accommodate was seen by some implementers as a betrayal of the original aims. Relationships between the 3YP and the 5YP and within the 3YP itself became strained. The BC Assistant Director, a very influential figure in terms of professional expertise, was particularly reluctant to compromise. This shocked both the 5YP leadership and the Director of CETT.

'First there was (the Assistant Director) who was a phenomenon on her own. She managed to shock me with views like 'no novels, modern novels or reading to boost vocabulary'. She said it should be linguistics or Applied Linguistics books. I thought 'that's not life'.\' (Admin 1)

'She came with ideas that we here in this country could not accept. She looked down on classical literature studies, saying they weren't needed and also some of the things that we used to do routinely in the old days in the department. ... We had long arguments about it and... we had difficulties in the approaches of Hungarian and non-Hungarian teachers. ... She had to withdraw, she had to give in because all the staff here, let alone all the staff over there were strongly against her and that meant serious arguments.' (Coll 5)

Factors that contributed to the breakdown in communication between the BC Assistant Director and her Hungarian colleagues within the university were her lack of cultural flexibility and also her lack of Hungarian language proficiency. Allwright and Waters (1994:2) suggest that

'It is vital for the success of a development project that all the people involved ... have the appropriate level of command of the language or languages that are used to pursue the project through its various stages. ... The role of language and the need to provide adequate language training are all too often given insufficient recognition in the design and implementation of projects.'

The ELTSUP project was typical of all projects that I have heard of in giving 'insufficient recognition' to the need for language training. Consequently, according to the BC Outreach Co-ordinator, who spoke good Hungarian, when he arrived at the beginning of the second year, the tensions inherent in the curriculum negotiations were intensified due to the lack of a common language.
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Bargaining was difficult from the BC person's point of view because she couldn't negotiate in Hungarian, so quite a lot was happening that she wasn't aware of. It all promoted an air of distrust. There was an air of paranoia getting worse and worse. By the time I arrived (September 1992) relationships between CETT and the Institute were at rock bottom.¹ (Coll 3)

The downgrading of the degree increased the pressure for the curriculum to approximate more closely to existing norms regarding the content of language teachers' training. LP classes in the second and third years of operation were reduced to eight hours per week, and by the beginning of the fourth year, when the final form of the curriculum was implemented, to five hours, in order to accommodate the wider range of other courses needed to make transfer to the 5YP possible.

1.2.2. Methodology and Language Learning Theory

In the second year the curriculum planning emphasis necessarily shifted to the writing and delivery of the Methodology course, which all trainees took for 5 hours per week throughout the year. There was general agreement among the Hungarian implementers that Methodology was an area of the curriculum that required far greater, far more thoughtful input than was available on the 5YP. Once again the main source of local expertise was the BC Assistant Director. The tensions arising from the disagreements outlined above, together with the inexperience of most implementers, meant that despite her efforts to involve other staff members, the first draft of the methodology materials was very much her own creation. The materials reflected a 'communicative language teaching' orthodoxy following the Presentation-Practice-Production model taught on native speaker teacher training courses at many language schools in the UK. Such a model was not originally designed for, and hence made few allowances for, the local school environment.

The methodology materials were very structured, as above, and supported by a methodology book deriving from the same UK language school background. Given this and the lack of experience and so confidence among the implementers, it is not surprising that a communicative approach was initially interpreted by some as a communicative method.

To support the practical Methodology course, trainees received a weekly one hour lecture course for one semester, called Language Learning Theory (LLT). The aim of this course was to provide a theoretical rationale based on what is known about the language learning
process, for the classroom behaviour and techniques recommended for teachers and learners in the Methodology course.

A combination of factors - far too little time, attendance at lectures being voluntary at the university, its appearance too early within the curriculum and the course initially being presented in too theoretical a manner - meant that this course never really achieved its aim. Later alterations to the content of the course and its repositioning in the TP year had little effect. The integration of theory and practice remained 'a desirable, if elusive goal' (Fullan 1991:293). Although few would disagree with Ainscough (1994:19) that, 'When new techniques are introduced, ... there must be those who can explain why one method is preferable to another,' many CETT Debrecen trainees continued to enter teaching unclear about why they were using the methodology in which they had been trained. In the opinion of one, very practically oriented, implementer, trainees were:

' ... poorly equipped with the MINIMUM (her emphasis) of theoretical knowledge they should be equipped with.' (Coll 7)

The effects of an over-systematised methodology course and insufficient understanding of the theoretical justification underlying the principles of 'communicative' language teaching did not become apparent until the first cohort of students entered Teaching Practice (TP) in 1993-4. At this point, the application of 'textbook' methods to 'real classes' proved to be problematic in several ways. Some of the main problems encountered by CETT trainees in Hungarian language classrooms were pointed out in chapter 5.B. section 3.2. (unmotivated students who were unwilling to participate in oral activities and wanted to focus on the grammar that they would need to pass the exams).

Such problems were not unique to Debrecen, as the following quote referring to CETT Budapest makes plain.

'Again and again the feedback from both school based mentors and from the students was the same. Methodology was too idealistic: it gave our students lovely communicative activities to use with bright enthusiastic children, but did not help them to deal with , for example, mixed level groups of surly uninterested teenagers on Friday afternoon.' (Medgyes & Malderez 1996:23)

Over the following years the Methodology syllabus was continuously revised in the light of trainee feedback and staff observation of trainees in schools, to try and prepare students better for the reality and unpredictability of the classroom. The course materials were sifted and increasingly explicitly acknowledged that there can never be one best method for all
learners in all classrooms on all occasions, and that therefore teachers must be able to adapt their methodology to the needs of the particular context. The supporting textbook was abandoned and the emphasis moved towards providing an outline understanding of what current ideas about language and learning implied for classroom practice, together with an introduction to and practise of some techniques for implementing form and skills learning activities in the classroom. In this sense the methodology materials did, eventually, begin to support the notion of 'teacher development' as an ongoing process requiring 'reflective practitioners', willing to constantly reconsider their teaching behaviour in the light of experience.

As we saw in chapter 5B, section 5, about half of the student respondents were positive about the usefulness of their methodological training. Equally importantly, methodology was the one feature of the CETT curriculum that was recognised by almost all staff within IEAS as being superior to what they provided. This became significant when negotiations opened with IEAS about the future of CETT after the demise of the 3YP, in 1995. (See chapter 5.C section 5, below)

1.2.3 Preparation for Teaching Practice: Identifying and training Co-Trainers(COTs)

The Teaching Practice (TP) on the 3YP was different to that on the 5 YP in four important ways.

- First, it was far longer than the 10-15 classroom hours provided by the 5YP. The TP aimed to give trainees a chance to familiarise themselves with the wide range of pedagogic, assessment and personal skills needed when teaching a class over time, especially when trying to implement different methods. The chance to spend up to three months teaching the same class was felt to be especially important, since 3YP trainees were trying to introduce a more active, participatory approach to classrooms where the teaching in most other subjects remained firmly rooted in the transmission methods outlined in chapter 4.B, sections 6.1-6.2 above. For such an approach to have any chance of success, trainees needed as long as possible to introduce their learners to new attitudes and behaviours.

- Next, it was decided to encourage trainees to work as pairs, taking joint responsibility for one or more classes. This was done partly to provide trainees with moral and professional support in the traditional school environment, and partly, more practically, to make it easier to find sufficient schools to host the extended TP.
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• Thirdly, TP took place in ordinary schools attended by the majority of Hungarian pupils, not, as in the case of 5YP students, in the few special Practice Schools attached to each teacher training college and university.

• Finally, the TP was to be supervised by Co-Trainers, (COTs), teachers in the practice schools who had been specifically trained to supervise 3YP trainees. As the Director of CETT Budapest makes clear, this different TP supervised by specially trained COTs was intended to be a feature of the three year training right from the start of the project.

‘Right from the start there was the idea that we would like our trainees to spend a lot more time in school on TP. The original idea was that students should go to schools for a whole year under the supervision of COTs to take responsibility for one class. ... We hadn’t thought of how to find schools and COTs, and what provision we would have to make if we wanted them to be competent supervisors. So we created a system to give them training in supervisory skills so that they could cope with what we wanted of them.’ (Admin 2)

For such a TP to be possible in Debrecen, it was necessary during the second year of the project to identify possible schools and to recruit and train the school-based COTs who would supervise the trainees' TP. The BC recruited five British Outreach Co-ordinators (OC) placed at the five universities, to be responsible for this aspect of the curriculum. Each British OC worked in tandem with a Hungarian counterpart who, it was hoped, would eventually take over full responsibility for the outreach programme CETT Budapest, one year ahead of other institutions once again, provided the initial model. In Budapest, on the basis of inputs from "experienced teacher educators and supervisors" (Medgyes & Malderez 1996:67) criteria for mentor selection and mentor course design were agreed. All applicants were observed teaching and interviewed. Successful applicants then attended a 120 hour mentor course (the length being that of MEC financed INSET courses in Hungary) one afternoon a week during the school year, with a final week of intensive inputs, before starting their work with students in schools

Debrecen to begin with looked to Budapest. However, with a much smaller population, it had fewer schools and a far smaller pool of English teachers. There was consequently, as the (OC) recalls, very little choice either of schools or of COTs.

‘We were forced to take as many (COTs) as possible, so there was no selection criteria. We accepted all that we could get, otherwise we wouldn’t have had...”
enough to do the TP as we wanted to. So, for the training course, we couldn’t not accept people, because we didn’t want to upset relationships with the schools, and we wanted as many as possible. Some COTs we used even though we were not happy with them because we wanted to use their school or there was no alternative.' (Coll 3)

The OC saw the aim of the first training course as trying to ensure that COTs, who themselves had had a very traditional teacher training, would not be actively hostile to the methods that the trainees used in the classroom, by allowing

‘COTs to see what we were trying to do (in our Methodology training) and so, hopefully, prevent SOME (his emphasis) contradictory messages being passed between Methodology and TP.' (Coll 3)

Not all COTs were willing or able to be sufficiently flexible and self-confident to adapt the ideas that were presented to their own circumstances, and the OC acknowledges that for many teachers, change involved assimilating only “the superficial trappings of the new practice,’ (Coll 3) a further example of Fullan’s (1991:33)‘False Clarity’.

‘It was not completely successful because a lot of Hungarian teachers pay lip service to our sort of methodology, but don’t necessarily follow it and secretly don’t necessarily believe in it for Hungarian students. ... There is definitely sometimes a mismatch between our methodology and what COTs in the schools encourage trainees to do.’ (Coll 3)

Over time, as the methodology course at CETT began to try and incorporate the contextual information provided by COT, trainee, and staff feedback, so the message passed on by the Outreach team to the COTs also changed

‘We try to get round it (the mismatch between what the COTs tell the trainees to do and what they are trained to do at CETT) by asking COTs not to change the way THEY (his emphasis) teach, but to accept differences. They do accept different ways of teaching. If that is what we have managed to achieve, it is quite something.’ (Coll 3)

Overall, the mentor programme in Debrecen tried to ensure that trainees were supported on TP by COTs who understood enough about what the trainees were trying to do, and why they were trying to do it. Such COTS would, it was hoped be able to help trainees through the process of personal and professional development as they tried out teaching techniques and activities very different to those used by other teachers in the school.

1.3. The Third Year: Teaching Practice and Electives
1.3.1: Teaching Practice

Teaching Practice (TP) in Debrecen consisted of two blocks: September to the end of November (3 months) and February to Easter (2 months). For logistical reasons, while trainees could choose the types of schools at which they wished to teach, they were required to spend each block at a different type of school; 'gimnazium' (academic secondary), 'szakkozep' (vocational secondary) or 'altalanos iskola' (primary).

Most trainees worked in pairs. This was partly for purely practical reasons, as the number of COTs and nearby schools willing to participate was limited. However, Debrecen also accepted the rationale of the Budapest TP model, which suggested that pairing would provide trainees with mutual support and cooperation, and also useful opportunities to observe and discuss each other's teaching.

Each trainee or pair of trainees was responsible for all English language teaching, materials preparation and assessment, in one or more of their COT's classes, for the whole TP period. Each individual was required to teach a minimum of 3 hours per week (increased to 5 hours in 1995 after it became clear that trainees could easily cope) and to observe all his/her partner's classes. Each trainee thus taught a minimum of 60, (later 100), class hours in two different types of school and observed a similar number.

COTs were supposed to allocate one or more of their classes to trainees and be present whenever they taught. CETT staff tutors visited each trainee twice a semester (later as numbers grew, once only during the whole TP). During the first semester, COTs were entirely responsible for giving the TP grade. In the second semester they also gave a grade, but the final mark was awarded by the CETT tutor. The emphasis in all COT training was that assessment should reflect the trainees' progress and development as a teacher during their whole TP period. However, the inbuilt mark inflation characteristic of the education system as a whole was evident here also. With traditionally only two out of the five possible marks, 'good' or 'excellent', given for TP, assessment could not be very subtle.

Both trainees and COTs reported very positively on the benefits of the longer TP when asked. The 1998 graduates (N=44) and the COTs (N=9) were specifically asked a question about the length of TP on the questionnaires. The positive aspects mentioned most often by students answering "yes" to the question "do you think it was useful for your development as a teacher to have had a longer-than-usual TP?" were:
Chapter 5c. The Implementation process

- The opportunity both to see how much there is to learn, and to have the time to start to learn it.
- The 'realness' of the experience as compared to going into a school for a couple of weeks. The need to plan ahead and to deal with the results of one's teaching.
- The opportunity to build up personal relationships with students.
- The chance to experience the rhythms of school life over time/ to feel part of the school.
- The chance to really develop confidence.

Eight of the nine COTs questioned also agreed that the extended TP was useful for the trainees mentioning similar points:

- Trainees developed more confidence
- Trainees had a chance to build up a relationship with their students.
- Trainees got used to school life

In addition seven claimed themselves to have learned about different activities and materials from the trainees and so to have given their own teaching a sense of freshness.

However, six COTS also mentioned that they felt such a long TP was harmful to their students because they had to re-teach what the trainees had taught or because discipline problems at the end of TP took a while to resolve.

Although overall the 3YP TP was a success for most trainees, as will be seen in the chapter six, the potential benefits of a longer TP are not yet recognised by the SYP TT system.

1.3.2. 3rd year courses

Traditionally, the final year of a university course in Hungary makes few study demands upon students. On the 5YP the fifth year was devoted to TP and the writing of the graduation dissertation. This attitude inevitably spread to the third year trainees on the 3YP also. Since they had to do a much longer TP and write a classroom based dissertation, they were not particularly enthusiastic about having to follow courses as well.

It was necessary, in the light of the length of their programme, for them to follow certain courses in the 3rd year. In addition to their TP, 3rd year trainees were therefore expected to
follow three courses each semester. Two of these were electives, one each chosen from what was offered in a Methodology strand and a Language Study strand. Initially, the aim of the electives was to enable trainees to follow up in greater detail an aspect either of teaching or of the language that they were particularly interested in. Enormous efforts were made to provide the first two cohorts with a wide selection of possible choices. However, as numbers grew, and staff enthusiasm to develop further electives waned, the range of choices became more or less fixed.

The third course, 'Classroom Studies' aimed to be a support course for TP. What such a course should contain was, however, a source of constant reassessment as year after year course tutors felt unhappy with some or all aspects of it. No other course in the curriculum was so frequently discussed and redesigned.

From a course that tried to use materials from books like Parrott (1993) and Wajnryb (1992) to develop trainees powers of observation of what was actually happening in their classroom, it became one that tried to adapt those materials to the trainees' context. It next tried to emphasise the opportunity to share successful teaching materials, classroom problems and possible solutions. After one year as a dissertation support course, requiring trainees to carry out a small piece of classroom research, (See1.3.3 below), it re-emerged as a more methodologically oriented course, using recently available videos of English language classrooms in the East and Central European region to draw attention to some of the implications of good and less good classroom practice.

Throughout, it was difficult to identify classroom based themes of common interest and relevance to all trainees as they tried to cope with their very individual strengths and weaknesses during TP. It was exacerbated by the reality that most trainees had little or no interest in entering teaching in the prevailing socio-economic circumstances. As of 1998-99, the final year of the 3YP, no definitive course had been established.

1.3.3: The Dissertation

All students graduating from Hungarian tertiary level teacher training institutions have to write a graduation dissertation. 3YP trainees were no exception. At the time of the first 3YP dissertations,(1994), the majority of dissertations on the 5YP tended to be based on the literature, and supervised and marked by the same single member of staff. The only member of staff with dissertation supervision experience, the Director of CETT, remembers his time as a student and supervisor thus.
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'... the things you look for in a dissertation, evaluating it, formalising it, putting it down on paper. I've done this (supervision) many, many times, but we never had such guidelines. It was all left to the discretion of the supervisor. ... We never had any briefing on ... how to do dissertation supervision, what sort of help, how much help we should give to the students. ... I remember my own days as a student. ... He gave me a topic and I started reading and collecting materials on my own ... and occasionally went to him saying 'what do you think?' And he'd say 'alright'.)' (Coll 5)

The form of the dissertation was adapted from that pioneered by CETT Budapest. All trainees were to write 10,000 to 15,000 words based around a small piece of a classroom research, into any aspect of either their own, or others', classrooms that interested them.

In Debrecen, it was agreed from the start that the supervisor would not be the marker, and in the event of a disagreement between the supervisor and the marker the Director or Assistant Director would have the final say. It was also agreed that all staff members should be dissertation supervisors, regardless of their prior experience. The BC Assistant Director and the Outreach Co-ordinator provided staff training sessions, and a Dissertation Handbook for trainees, laying out the likely stages of the dissertation, the amount of support they could expect from their supervisors, and what sort of information or discussion each part ought to contain. As with Methodology, the inexperience of most staff led, to begin with, to over-prescriptiveness, and excessive concern with form and method rather than content.

A national dissertation workshop held in Debrecen, and later adaptations to the dissertation handbook, recognised the need to move away from the initial insistence on quantitative 'scientific' experimental research purely within the individual classroom, since this could not be successfully achieved within the time, resource and skill parameters available to either trainees or supervisors. Instead, as supervisor confidence grew, so did encouragement of the gathering of more purely observational and/or descriptive classroom based data, and using the trainee's understanding of the wider Hungarian educational context to interpret the observed phenomena. A 1995 student evaluation of their methodology course and the dissertation process can be seen as appendix 24.

1. 4 Summary

The evolutionary, nature of CETT 3YP implementation, moving forward in an incremental way towards the formal 'vision' of the final 1994 curriculum, is shown above. The only
curriculum documents available are a briefing paper I wrote in 1995. This shows that CETT courses as a proportion of the 3YP curriculum input represent approximately half in each of the first two years, rising to 100% in the third year. In the final version of the curriculum therefore, 50% of the time in each of the first two years remained filled by traditional philological courses. (See appendix 22) The first years (1991-93) were exhilarating; a group of enthusiastic but basically untrained implementers, trying to cope with the need to design and teach a teacher education curriculum containing courses representing a completely unfamiliar set of assumptions, to increasing numbers of students, in a quickly changing wider environment. The external environment ensured that the years that followed (1994-96) were also unstable. Although the 3YP was more or less established by then, the 1994 post-evaluation agreement between the university and BC (appendix 21), meant implementers' energies could no longer be solely focused upon the 3YP. A new set of planning began for implementation of something different. (See section 5 below)

Internally, ongoing, feedback from CETT staff, COTs and trainees on the practical applicability of what was being taught for Hungarian school classrooms, resulted in discussion about how to adapt syllabuses and materials for individual courses. Individual implementers' developing professional skills and teacher education experience, with its accompanying, greater or lesser, changes in beliefs and behaviours, also resulted in personal alterations to content and more especially to the manner in which it was presented.

Throughout the implementation period, the cycles of larger and smaller scale planning and implementation, followed by feedback and/or changes in external circumstances, in turn leading to re-planning and re-implementation were continuous.

As well as curricular development, CETT Debrecen had to establish an institutional structure and identity. Here, too, little was stable. In the first three years full-time Hungarian staff numbers increased from four to ten and full-time student numbers from 80 to around 200. In addition at any given moment there were always 2 or 3 full-time native speaker staff (BC and Peace Corps) and at least four or five part-time staff, in addition to members of IEAS who came to CETT to teach subjects from the 5YP programme. Good staff-staff and staff-student relationships needed to be developed and maintained, as did working relationships with TP schools and COTs. It was important to try and ensure that the, always uneasy, relationship with IEAS did not deteriorate further, while maintaining an appropriate degree of independence, and to manoeuvre to meet changing BC expectations in the light of the 1993 evaluation. Finally, and most crucially, it
was vital to develop the professional expertise of the Hungarian staff to a point where they could play a full part in all the above.

In the section that follows, the organisational structures of CETT Debrecen and the dynamics of the implementation process are considered in greater detail.

2. Leadership, and management

As discussed in the previous section, CETT Debrecen during the years in question developed and implemented a curriculum which, at the very least, was recognised to be significantly different in teacher education terms to what was on offer at the university. To achieve this, in a sometimes hostile wider environment, with a totally inexperienced staff, required a leader with the professional skills to articulate a vision and the strategic planning skills to provide clear organisational objectives for achieving it (Beare, Caldwell and Millikan 1989, Louis and Miles 1990), the interpersonal skills to help subordinates cope with the uncertainty engendered by change (Pfeffer 1988), and the management skills to plan, and maintain structures to ensure the effective working needed for objectives to be met (Whittaker 1993, Markee 1997). The responsibility to supply such skills fell to the Hungarian Director and the BC Assistant Director.

2.1. Leadership styles and teamwork

As previously discussed (Chapter 5B section 4) the Hungarian Director took up his post, with little personal background in leadership, management or teacher education, and as someone whose previous life experience in a centralised state would have made the development of the sorts of skills listed above a largely redundant exercise. CETT Debrecen was therefore, in common with most organisations in the country at the time, poorly prepared to cope with the planning ahead.

"...when the 'project age' arrived in the early 1990s most places of foreign language education were in for a shock, as they were completely unaccustomed to the notion of institutional planning." (Enyedi & Medgyes 1998:8)

Inevitably, responsibility for leadership and some management was thus taken by the BC contractees, most especially the first Assistant Director.

She received a certain amount of guidance regarding the 'vision' (although not about how to implement it) from BC in Budapest, both directly and through the initial models
established by CETT Budapest. However although the design of the curriculum could, practically, be the work of a single person, its implementation and the development of administrative and organisational systems to maintain it, could not.

2.1.1 The first year

The five full-time members of staff, four Hungarian and one British, present during the first year are remembered by two of their number as a close-knit team full of energy and enthusiasm for the task of developing a new teacher education curriculum.

'I'd say now we were quite successful as a team, especially the first term. Everyone trusting the other, being very dedicated, not minding staying longer in the building if there was something to sort out. That was the 'heroic age.' ... It was like a big family living and working happily together. Information was passed on immediately because everybody felt so enthusiastic, we wanted to show that we were going to be as good as or better than the five year people and we reacted as a body against external attack of criticism or anything.' (Coll 1)

"I was personally involved to a great extent. ... As it was very small, everybody could be, and had to be, part of it. There were so few that it would have been strange if some did the planning and others just react. ... It was a time of devoting all that you have, time, energy, attention to what we were doing here.' (Coll 2)

The same feeling that "the first year was a year of euphoria" (Medgyes and Malderez 1996:3), was reported from CETT Budapest.

From the beginning there was a sense of a 'a team' working together. That this was so was due partly to the small size of the institution and the large number of things that needed to be done, but it also reflected both the personalities of the leadership.

As Fullan notes (in Bennett, Crawford and Riches 1992:117), 'The psychological and social problems of change that confront the principal are at least as great as those that confront teachers.' In this context, as a result of the differences in age (up to 30 years) and consequent life experience between the Director and implementers, the problems were probably greater for him. In addition, as he states below, he was not by nature a leader who led from the 'top' and so, recognising his own lack of professional experience, from the very beginning he treated the BC contractee as his equal rather than his subordinate.

'By nature I am not a domineering kind of person. I like to do things quietly, informally. I hate giving orders and I think that is the most difficult part of being head, because occasionally you have to be firm, put your foot down. ... I don't
think I was top-down because I am not that kind of person. I think it was Wellington who said 'the country expects every man to do his duty'. So I expect my staff to do their duty as well as they possibly can. I tried to establish a fairly informal, even friendly relationship with the staff and avoid acting as Head for its own sake. ... I always told her (BC Assistant Director) that I viewed her as Co-Director. I gave her a full hand, complete independence, no subordination in any way. I expected her to give me assistance whenever I needed it, and I needed it fairly often. I relied on her...expertise, knowledge and judgement, mainly judgement. To do a certain amount of teaching and help in curriculum development and help setting up the school in all its possible aspects.' (Coll 5)

The implementation thus began without any clear management structure or division of responsibilities between the two Co-Directors. Given the language barrier, the Hungarian Director took more responsibility for administrative and financial matters requiring contact with staff in the main university building. In addition one of the implementers was detailed to deal with administrative matters pertaining to the 3YP such as time-tabling. However, when it came to clarifying the institutional vision, setting short and medium term policy objectives, establishing management structures, recruiting new staff and allocating professional development opportunities, the exact demarcation of responsibilities was unclear.

In the first year while the institution remained small and all members of staff were keen and enthusiastic, this was not a significant problem. Instead it enabled the establishment of certain positive features of the CETT management style that have survived in modified form to the present day.

The free flow of information between all members of staff, mentioned above was a result of the decision by the BC Assistant Director, to hold regular (weekly in the first year, fortnightly from the second year on) staff meetings at which all matters, from the most trivial, like asking the cleaners to leave classroom desks and chairs as they found them, to the most important, such as the content and weighting of the curriculum, were discussed. Minutes were taken, and matters, where they were the responsibility of the Assistant director, were acted upon. Under the previous political system such free exchange of information had been unusual in Hungarian organisational (educational) contexts, and the Director saw these regular meetings as an innovation.

'We decided to have staff meetings regularly and that was one organised way of discussing things. ... In the Main (English) department they have their meetings not regularly, so that was a kind of innovation. Always at the same time. .... I found it satisfactory, and that was useful.' (Coll 5)
From the start therefore, partly through conviction and partly through necessity, it was recognised that;

'Change involves learning to do something new and interaction is the primary basis for social learning. ... Collegiality, open communication, trust, support and help, learning on the job, getting results and job satisfaction and morale are closely interrelated.' (Fullan in Bennet, Crawford and Riches 1992:117)

Two colleagues recall how much they enjoyed the teamwork of the early days.

'It (teamwork) was established partly because the mix of personalities was right for this kind of work. Coll 1 and I had co-operated a lot beforehand and Coll 5 is not the bossy type and also (The Assistant Director) promoted this kind of attitude. It was easy, sort of natural and I think we all realised that it was a lot more comfortable way of working. Because there was trust in the group, nobody was afraid that others wouldn’t do something or that 'I have to do more than anybody else'. Everybody felt self-responsible and active and initiating things, it was kind of natural.' Coll 2

'Here it was teamwork, decisions were made on a team basis even if it was a small thing to decide we sat down between at least two people. I remember little, absolutely trivial, class related things. I think we all agreed on it (teamwork). We were all for it, we loved it, that's why we did it.' (Coll 1)

Although the staff worked as a team, professional expertise was concentrated very strongly in the person of the BC Assistant Director. The implementers consequently looked to her to provide the missing leadership and she, as colleagues then present remember, became accustomed to 'leading'.

"Decisions about everything went through (Assistant director), because that is how the pattern started. We were dependent on this person because of lack of expertise and experience and the pattern got firmly accepted and she also accepted this position." (Coll 1)

'I wasn’t prepared. I was very enthusiastic and willing but there were lots of things I didn’t know and in this respect I think we learned a lot from (Assistant Director)' (Coll 2)

A colleague who joined the staff in the second semester of the first year of the project, remembers the return of the BC Assistant Director from her Christmas vacation.

'(The Assistant Director) arrived back and the people working here worshipped her like a God. They were extremely happy to see her again. One can tell if it is just surface, and it wasn’t.' (Coll 8)

During the first year therefore the 'team' of enthusiastic, involved implementers worked extremely closely together, with responsibility for leadership, 'the process of translating
intentions into reality' (Block 1987 in Fullan 1991:348), largely left to the BC Assistant Director. Staff also socialised together. In doing so they got to know each other extremely well and, according to two implementers, the very intensity of the contact and lack of boundaries between personal and professional life began to create problems. Problems related to personal professional development opportunities for implementers. One major problem area, arising from lack of clear decision allocation, was the extent to which the Assistant Director should have the last word in the assigning overseas training opportunities. Closer to home the lack of clear demarcation of responsibilities led to disagreements over whether she was in charge of deciding which staff had the opportunity to teach which courses on the new curriculum. With some staff as 'friends' as well as colleagues, there was potential for bad feeling.

“*I think she (BC Assistant Director) made a big mistake when she mixed public life with personal life, job-related things with personal things and therefore we got closer, and I am talking about the founders, closer than necessary, closer than people normally get to each other. This is how personal problems begin to filter into the working life and this is when decisions in terms of the working context were made that had been influenced by personal affairs.*’ (Coll 1)

‘*It was a family-like atmosphere and much as it was helpful for getting things done, it was also in a sense negative, because personal matters mixed with professional matters. It’s very difficult to separate if you are angry with someone as a person, it’s difficult to say ‘nonetheless I think you are doing a good job and I accept the ideas you are putting forward.’*’ (Coll 2)

It was natural for implementers to expect the Director to mediate when there were interpersonal problems between them and BC staff. When approached, he did not wish to be involved.

‘*She had the active power. We turned to (the Director) for support and there was no support from him, and that’s when we started to become disillusioned.*’ (Coll 1)

By the end of the first year, at a point when curriculum development pressures were increasing and staff and student numbers were about to double, lack of clarity about exact spheres of responsibility led to a souring of relationships between some implementers and the Assistant Director.

2.1.2 The second year

This year saw the arrival of new staff and the virtual doubling of student numbers. In addition there was a need to develop the Methodology course, continue to broaden
professional expertise and deal with the curriculum implications of the degree downgrading. All of this, together with the problems noted above, contributed to a loosening of the very intense collegiality of the first year. The strong feeling of ownership of the 3YP felt by the first three implementers (who called themselves the 'Founding Mothers') now had to accommodate new staff, whose commitment to the original teacher education ideals would not necessarily be as great.

'...the people who started felt the institution was very much their own, those coming later felt this is another place where they can work and maybe the enthusiasm of the forefathers was not owned by them.' (Coll 2)

'The second year was different because the staff got bigger. The staff grew and I think became a lot more heterogeneous than before, and right from the start I don't think there was the same level of trust on the first day of September.' (Coll 1)

The BC OC, who moved to CETT from IEAS at this point, felt that professional insecurity also contributed to the friction between the original staff and the new arrivals.

'There was friction between some of the new staff and the Founding Mothers who had previously had things all their own way. ... The atmosphere soured and there were some very forceful personalities among the FMs who saw us newcomers as a threat who might outshine them. It was OK to appoint new people as long as they weren't better than them.' (Coll 3)

In addition, relationships between the Hungarian implementers and the Assistant Director deteriorated as she took on more and more of the growing range of responsibilities, a result, in ones colleague's opinion, of the Director's reluctance to do so.

'The second year, because of the perceived weaknesses in the leadership quality on the Hungarian Director's part, she, probably rightly, assumed more and more responsibility for things done at CETT. I think this probably led her to far too much power and her personality isn't compatible with the power she had.' (Coll 1)

Such a concentration of power in the hands of an 'outsider', in an unstable, fledgling organisation, demanded extremely sensitive and diplomatic leadership and interpersonal skills if it was not to cause antagonism. This was particularly important in a context where all the Hungarian implementers were under pressure to develop new professional skills within the institution, while simultaneously dealing with the stress of developing the new 'life' skills needed to cope with socio-economic changes in the wider environment.

The development of such sensitivity by outside change agents requires them to spend time 'learning about the local educational traditions and culture' and examining 'the preconceptions behind their own educational beliefs, so often taken for granted.' (Hyde
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1994:13). Such time is rarely available on projects where 'UK funding agencies ... insist that an English language project is a management task involving the conversion of inputs into outputs.' (Smith 1989 in Holliday 1994:2). The Assistant Director of the ELTSUP project at CETT was just one of the multitude of BC project staff over the last twenty years or more, like Markee in the quote below and the writer of this thesis, whose role

'... involved managing the introduction of culturally appropriate educational innovations for which we have no previous qualifications, training or special expertise. Whatever expertise we developed, we learned by trial and error on the job.' (Markee 1997:12-13)

Introducing the 'culturally appropriate innovations' in Debrecen at this point involved managing the training of growing numbers of staff and students, and the development of a Methodology course that was the core of the new curriculum. With increasing numbers, the intimate working relationships and involvement of all staff in decision-making that had existed in the first year, became more difficult to maintain. Both British and Hungarian colleagues noted the increasing concentration of decision making.

'She'd say there was consultation, but I felt this was her saying what should happen. Because the other staff were not confident in their understanding of Applied Linguistics and teacher training they tended to go along even though they might have doubts about whether it was right or not. ... She was not a good listener. She tended to feel very strongly and not really listen to other peoples' contributions. Therefore people were not very confident about confronting her and so, on a daily basis, there were more and more problems and the second year got worse and worse.' (Coll 3)

'Basic leadership was in the hands of the BC contractee. She would ask for our opinion usually and discuss things. The problem was that very often she was unhappy with things that didn't coincide with her plans. ... It didn't start as a dictatorship but it ended up as one. She worked very hard, a good organiser, good methodology work. Spoon feeding, I appreciated it at the time. Unfortunately personality problems meant she was a lousy leader.' (Coll 8)

Throughout this period day to day management of the project in terms of routine administration of CETT and dealings with the wider university hierarchy continued to be shared jointly by the Director and a Hungarian implementer. Thanks to them CETT ran smoothly. However, in matters relating to personal relationships among the staff, their professional development or policy-making for future direction, the Director appeared unable to act. When professional or interpersonal problems disagreements arose, colleagues felt that there was a lack of support from the leadership. This contributed to the diminishment of enthusiasm and commitment on the part of
Hungarian implementers, especially on the part of those who had initially been the most committed, the Founding Mothers.

'The Director is completely non interventionist. ...The biggest disadvantage, what we all suffer from is that nothing is ever arranged or seen to by him. ... With him we can do whatever we like. I think we would be better of with a stronger kind of person who knows what he wants.' (Coll 7)

'...we turned to (the Director) for support, and there was no support from him and that is when we began to get disillusioned.' (Coll 1)

'A major factor (contributing to lack of enthusiasm) was the incompetence of the Hungarian Director. There would have been a lot of difference with a more managerial type of person. ... We needed someone to organise things for us.' (Coll 8)

'I don't think we were given any assistance in this (professional development) by the leader. There was something missing here and that was the way in which the old image of a Professor who is head of an institution as well, this professional channelling of junior staff ... that's been missing, I think.' (Coll 4)

These comments suggest that implementers wished for a stronger leader with a clear idea of what he wanted to achieve and the forcefulness to achieve it. Since most were newcomers to the academic working environment, with little professional expertise and confidence, they would also have benefited from a leader able to advise them on their professional development. In addition they hoped for a leader to act as arbiter in interpersonal conflicts such as those, at the time, between some Hungarian staff and the BC Assistant Director. It is likely that some of their expectations were a result of their previous experiences of being 'led'. They were used to the top down structures of their previous world, and seemed not, at the time, to be conscious that the leader was, by virtue of age, even more of a product of the previous system than they were.

By the second semester of the second year, professional and personal disagreements between some Hungarian implementers and the BC Assistant Director had become very intense and relationships among CETT staff were uneasy. The Assistant Director decided to leave at the end of the academic year. It was at this point that I joined the project.

2.1.3 The remainder of the period

My arrival at CETT was uncomfortable. The implementers who had had disagreements with my predecessor, were not particularly welcoming to begin with. However relationships
within CETT were greatly helped by the fact that for the next five years (1993–1998), the two BC-appointed staff and most of the Hungarian staff at CETT Debrecen remained stable. This continuity meant that differences between 'old' and 'new' staff became ever less relevant. It also provided sufficient time for me, the newly arriving Assistant Director, to begin to develop the cultural awareness needed to be able to understand what implementers' uncertainties were, what effects they had and what might be done to lessen them. The staff as a whole were able, through this prolonged exposure to one another and their own developing confidence, to understand and acknowledge each other's professional and personal strengths and weaknesses, and to take these more or less openly into account when allocating privileges and responsibilities. The lack of clarity over criteria for decisions that had been one negative feature of the first two years, thus diminished.

The non-hierarchica structure and free flow of information that had initially been established by my predecessor, with information formally at regular staff meetings and informally at other times, remained a feature of the institution throughout the period. Similarly, wherever possible, and, as will be seen, this was increasingly rarely, a degree of teamwork and co-operation also survived the increasing demands on everybody's time. Several colleagues recall that there was scope for participation and involvement if one wanted it, and a more or less flat organisational hierarchy, throughout this period.

'Yes, if they (staff) wanted to they could be involved. We knew what was going on all the time we were kept informed. ...There were not too many Hungarians. ... I could get on with them pretty well. ... It was no problem that you weren't Hungarian. I had no feeling like that. ... I think it was a very good and healthy atmosphere.' (Coll 6)

'Staff have good ideas which they contribute to the future image of the department.' (Coll 9)

'It only started with a few people. ... Whether you wanted to or not you were involved in or heard about most things. ... One would think the smaller the place the better the atmosphere. It was true when I arrived (Second semester of first year). Then as it went on I don’t think it was that idyllic. In a small institution like this it could be better. ... I don’t know anyone disagreeing on basic things. Small disagreements on minor things, that’s what development is about, coping with such things. When they occurred we sat down and tried to find solutions.' (Coll 8)

'I had the chance to discuss everything and take part in things. ... The Hungarian and the BC staff also co-operated. There were no serious disagreements.' (Coll 10)
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'We were absolutely encouraged (to participate) and it was absolutely necessary for us all to participate in everything. Never when anybody had an idea were they discouraged or shut up by anybody higher up. It often happened that good ideas were passed on and nothing happened, but nobody's participation was ever discouraged. ... (relationships between Hungarian colleagues) have always been superficially friendly, with undercurrents. ... On the whole there has been a good working relationship and a friendly or neutral atmosphere, never explicitly hostile.' (Coll 7)

'I don't think it has ever been like that (hierarchical), more like a team, which is good I think.' (Coll 4)

The leadership role of the BC Assistant Director and OC in terms of policy making and forward planning remained important. Factors contributing to this continuing reliance on outsider leadership included implementers' continuing need to develop personal professional skills, slowed down by socio-economic changes in the wider environment which made full-time work on the 3YP impossible, their continuing cultural expectations of top down leadership, and, ultimately, since the Director remained reluctant to take on the leadership role, the lack of any alternative.

In addition, the effects on the project of the constantly changing external environment and the continuous need to work towards matching programme content to both the effects of the wider environment, and the evolving picture of the trainees' likely school contexts, meant that there was never a period of consolidation in which a Hungarian takeover of responsibility could naturally have occurred.

3 Professional development

The educational change literature is unequivocal in its appreciation of the need for training and support for those involved in the change process. (Fullan 1991, Fullan & Hargreaves 1992, Louis & Miles 1992), and the professional development of all Hungarian participants in ELTSUP, both implementers and COTs, was seen by BC from the beginning as crucial to the long-term aims of the project. The initial, short, language teacher training courses for CETT staff, already mentioned, were sufficient merely to meet the immediate needs during the first year of the project. In order to enable staff to become confident and competent at a level that would lead to their taking increasing responsibility for the project, further development was essential. This was provided in two main ways; attendance at in-country planning meetings and training seminars and both short and MA courses in the UK.
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3.1 In-country development activities

From the beginning of the project, BC attempted to involve the Hungarian staff in the on­
going planning of the project. Project meetings were usually joint meetings between the BC
Budapest staff, the BC appointees and at least one member of the Hungarian staff from
each of the ELTSUP institutions. However, given the spasmodic attendance of any
particular individual, and the enormously different professional and cultural backgrounds
between the two national groups, mere presence at such meetings did not , alone, ensure
real Hungarian participation in the planning of future project directions. Arriving in 1994,
the Hungarian PIM soon became aware of this.

'We tried. Hard. From the files I know that (Admin 5) always insisted that one
Brit and one Hungarian came. But it didn't work because these were new
departments, institutes set up with the least experienced young staff. So the staff
were already burdened with a lot of work and not at that point of professionalism
where they were ready to be part of the policy and planning meetings. They were
very much engaged in their own activities, locally.' (Admin 6)

In addition the British Council arranged for the provision of “concrete, teacher-specific
training activities”, (Fullan 1991:86) in the form of specifically focussed, in –country,
professional development workshops for ELTSUP staff. These, covering topics such as
Testing, Syllabus Design and Dissertation supervision, were found by CETT colleagues to
be of varying professional use, as noted in the quotes below, but of definite benefit as
providing “regular meetings with peers” (Fullan 1991:86), the ELTSUP implementers from
other institutions. Such contacts not only reduced the feelings of isolation that many 3YP
staff felt within their own parent institutions, but also helped develop confidence by
enabling participants to realise that they were not alone in their insecurities and to compare
their own developing ideas with those of others.

'I think they were definitely (helpful), especially for colleagues who came from
secondary school backgrounds (the great majority nationally) and didn’t have
any experience of higher education. I think for those it meant a lot in terms of
input, getting things explained, getting experience, getting an insight into things,
yes I think they were helpful. ... You may be doing things right intuitively, but
you never have the confidence that you’re doing things right. But, if you have
feedback from other colleagues that they are doing them in the same way, or ’yes
it’s OK like that’, then you get reassurance.' (Coll 4)

'I remember one (workshop) which was curriculum and syllabus design. I felt
quite out of place there because certain things were taken for granted and the BC
people were mostly aware of these things. In those days there were quite a lot of
things that I simply hadn’t heard of, not syllabus design but a lot more basic
concepts in methodology and language teaching and it was difficult to participate because sometimes I didn’t really know what we were talking about.' (Coll 2)

'The in-country workshops I was sent to, I didn’t feel I shouldn’t have been there. I profited from them. ... I don’t say it couldn’t have been better, this refers especially to those meetings and workshops in Hungary. ... The sense of national project was made explicit by pooling us to attend seminars. ... Initially it helped a lot, practically because the contexts were very different in different CETTs and we realised that problems couldn’t be sorted out by taking examples from another place. Problems were context specific. We were absolutely diverse in all sorts of ways. We were different.' (Coll 1)

'.....(the meetings) tried to draw us together and because we were doing something different from the traditional they were like our brothers and sisters, a lot more than the main department here. ... There was this kind of solidarity because these places were looked down on by their main departments, so there was a kind of national solidarity and the people we got to know, we treated each other like colleagues. There wasn’t the sort of envy 'I don’t show you my materials’ you don’t show me yours,’ we were willing to co-operate.' (Coll 2)

An important point, true of all potential professional development opportunities, was their lack of consistency over time. This meant that some implementers had more opportunities than others to attend. In Debrecen those who were offered most chances were those who had been part of the project from the beginning when BC attempts to encourage such activities within Hungary was at their most intense. Staff arriving later, when the initial BC impetus was already beginning to diminish, were offered fewer opportunities.

3.2 UK-based professional development

UK based opportunities for professional development took the form of attendance at British Council summer schools and participation in MA courses in areas (for Debrecen staff) such as Applied Linguistics, Testing, Teacher Training, ELT Technology and Stylistics. To begin with these latter generally took the form of full-time, one year, UK based, courses. As the project developed, and both BC and World Bank funding became less generous, UK Universities were invited to tender for a part-time, quasi distance course, purely for ELTSUP staff, in the hope that this would lead to a closer matching of course content and activities to Hungarian environment and needs. However, the need to need to sign contracts within budgetary time limits meant that little time was available for planning such a tailored course, and the eventual course could therefore be matched to actual needs to only a limited extent.
In Debrecen, access to opportunities for this more formal academic professional training was again first extended to those who had entered ELTSUP at the very beginning. They, therefore, had the opportunity to study full-time in the UK and also some choice of the type of course they entered, while those entering the project in the second or third years had no choice but to accept or reject the fixed, part-time, distance option.

Participants appreciated the chance to follow full time MA courses more than the time spent on 3-4 week summer schools.

'The BC summer school I went to was far from good. ... It would have been better to send us to do MA courses to start with. It's better to go to MA or RSA Diploma courses instead. Courses that really matter, where you felt better when you came back, qualified and ready.' (Coll 8)

Rather than sending us to England for short trips, one intensive, extensive full input would have been a lot better. The most formative part of my professional development was to be sent to this place (MA at Lancaster). ' (Coll 1)

By the time the implementation period ended, seven of the ten full time staff had completed or were completing MA degrees. Although colleagues were naturally disappointed that the qualification was not formally recognised in Hungary, informally the university was aware of the significant body of professional expertise that these qualifications represented, as became clear during the negotiations about acknowledging CETT as a full university department. (See section.5 below)

For the implementers the combination of 'experiential knowledge' (Schön in Wallace 1991), gained through their daily work in the 3 YP classroom and more widely within the institution, throughout the implementation of the ever-evolving teacher education programme, and the 'received knowledge (op cit) provided by their further studies, both played important roles in the gradual but constant development in professional competence and confidence, essential for long term sustainability.

3.3 . COT training

The largest number of individual teachers directly affected by ELTSUP training, in Debrecen as elsewhere, were the COTs, the school-based teaching practice supervisors. Since the project depended greatly on the successful implementation of the extended teaching practice, the importance of the COTs is difficult to overestimate.
The initial COT courses were taught during the second and third years of the period and emphasised methodology. This was at a point at which the CETT methodology was still rather dogmatic. In Debrecen neither the choice of the COTs themselves, nor the visible effects of the training were always ideal. However, it is only because of this training that trainees were able to enter their teaching practice classrooms with supervisors who were at least aware of the methodological principles in which trainees had been trained, and so usually willing to allow them to try and apply them.

Two COTs who eventually became full-time members of the CETT staff in the last recruitment of 1995, viewed these initial training course quite differently.

'It was useful to have the course. We didn’t get methodology training at university so we had to be made familiar with the new ideas and trends. As supervisors we also needed to be trained in how to appraise students, what criteria to look at, making lesson plans. ... (If there had been no training) we would have been in conflict with the trainees. We would have represented ‘traditional’ language teaching and they would have represented ‘modern’ language teaching. It would have caused a lot of problems I think.' (Coll 10)

'When I was a COT and CETT tried to put emphasis on pair teaching I thought it was ridiculous, because nobody does it in real life. Putting emphasis on teaching only through communication. ... Pair teaching was a problem for quite a lot of us and we knew too that there was not enough time to teach as we were taught on the COT course. Attending the course we had the feeling that we were expected to do everything in that way and we felt a little scared. ... The new method, the new way, it’s the only method that one should use. Then we found out that it was just one way of doing things for some lessons or parts of lessons, and then it was OK.' (Coll 6)

Of the nine COTs (out of 16) completing the COT questionnaire, seven felt that the training given had been appropriate for Hungarian classrooms. However, several of them did point out that the course did not sufficiently acknowledge the potential problems that might arise in implementing new methods in classrooms where all other subjects continued to be taught unchanged.

Later COT courses emphasised the development of supervisory skills and tried to establish the concept of the supervisor not solely as a person who gives grades for lessons, but instead as someone who is there to try and help develop trainee skills. Several respondents to the COT questionnaire pointed out that thanks to these courses, if they compared their own experience as trainees with that of CETT students, relationships between trainee and supervisor were now more equal, and the support expected and provided more substantial.
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The Hungarian COT system pioneered by ELTSUP has since been established, in variously adapted forms, in several other countries in the region, such as Poland and the Czech Republic. In this area ELTSUP was a pioneer.

3.4. Summary. Professional development

- In-Hungary professional development of ELTSUP institution staff and COTs was viewed as a priority by the BC from the very beginning of the project.
- Lack of environmental assessment meant that such training sometimes underestimated the effects both of the previous political system and the existing educational culture, on the ability of the Hungarian participants to participate as anticipated.
- Outside experts providing the in-country training courses sometimes had insufficient background information to enable them to pitch their offerings at the right level.
- Some in-country courses, rather than bringing Hungarian and BC staff together, merely highlighted the difference in professional expertise.
- Participation in such all-Hungary ELTSUP events afforded implementers the chance to meet colleagues from other institutions, attempting to achieve similar aims, and so helped boost individual confidence and laid the foundation for the development of a national network of like-minded teacher education professionals that exists to the present day.
- The short-term nature of donors' project planning meant an imbalance in project funding, heavily weighted to the beginning of the project and becoming ever less certain towards the end.
- Staff members who joined the project earliest were advantaged in the range of overseas training opportunities available to them, over those who joined the project later.
- The training opportunities provided, combined with the experience of working as implementers did help the Debrecen staff to develop sufficient professional skills and personal confidence to enable them, at the continuation stage, to take increasing responsibility for both the management and the leadership of their own institution.

4 Increasing ownership and diminishing enthusiasm

A surprising feature of the implementation years is the inverse relationship between enthusiasm and expertise. Principally due to external socio-economic factors, the years 1991 to 1996 saw a significant decline in the amount of time and energy that staff were
prepared to invest in their full-time jobs. The socio-economic status of teachers, relative to many others equally well educated working in other occupations, declined throughout the period. Implementers, when comparing themselves to those working in business and commerce, could easily doubt the value that society put on their work.

“The value that I put upon my work is in some part a function of what else I could be doing, what I see others doing, what I expected to be doing at or by this time; whether my position has changed and whether that change is for the better.” (Wallman 1979:8)

The intrinsic value that implementers placed on what they were doing began to be affected by a feeling that “those who are expected to implement changes get many more costs than rewards.” (Fullan 1991:127) The most important reason was financial. The failure of teachers' salaries to keep pace with the rate of inflation meant that what had been more or less adequate salaries in 1991, diminished year by year. Some idea of the extent of the shortfall is provided by the MEC website (1999) which reports that in February 1998, the government calculated that for teachers' salaries merely to match the average per capita income by 2002, they would need to be increased by 18.8% each year. By the end of the period the relationship between work and pay became so unbalanced, that more and more time was needed for second and third jobs, merely to maintain a constant standard of living.

As the value of their salaries diminished, the amount of work required to fully implement the project increased. Staff had to make a choice, and an unfortunate by-product of their need to seek more alternative sources of income, was that the strong sense of teamwork that had characterised the first years of the project began to diminish as they began to spend less and less time on the premises. Although regular staff meetings continued to take place fortnightly, throughout the implementation period it became more and more difficult to arrange other meetings to, for example, co-ordinate the teaching of courses like methodology and classroom studies which were taught in parallel, or to moderate questions for the complex language exam. As colleague after colleague noted;

'...we realised a day has only 24 hours and it's not only public life you want to make a career in and people cut down (on the hours they were willing to put in). The system doesn't support that sort of working style.' (Coll 1)

'I think people here at the start were very enthusiastic, saving the world. Now it's broken to smithereens, we've ended up a bunch of disillusioned people. Now professionalism appears but enthusiasm is gone.' (Coll 8)
'After a while you simply have to earn some more money somewhere else. ... So we felt we needed to look for students or groups to teach.' (Coll 2)

'Most people here and in the Institute (IEAS) are very tied up and busy. Most staff go to either place for a flying visit because of obligations. There are so many factors we are unable to cope with them all and so it can't be as relaxed as it should be in an ideal situation. ... In the past few years there has been more and more insecurity among people, enhanced two years ago when Hungary was almost announced to be bankrupt...' (Coll 9)

'Coll 8 is the only person I meet. I don't see much of Coll 1. I don't see any of Coll 4, I don't know if she still teaches for CETT, I never see her. I sometimes meet Coll 6, I never meet Coll 9....' (Coll 7)

The absolute lack of income was made more depressing by the feeling that low salaries also contributed to the lack of respect for the profession as a whole, mentioned in chapter 5B. Respondents to student questionnaire questions about why so few wished to enter teaching often linked these two factors.

The combination of contextual factors outlined above together with the downgrading of the degree contributed to a lowering of the quality of students applying to the programme. Of those who did, fewer and fewer actually intended to become teachers, except as a last resort especially since, through their teaching practice they were able to see just how much more demanding the work was becoming, as the education system grappled with the lack of uniformity resulting from the new relationship between central control and local autonomy.

The effect of this diminishing trainee enthusiasm for teaching on implementers' morale, was predictably negative.

'I think it is quite harmful the knowledge that you know the students you have are not going to be teachers ... so there is no real meaningful aim for them in terms of spending their time here. So the validity of the whole thing is gone.' (Coll 1)

While external socio-economic factors contributed to falling staff and student morale, Hungarian ownership of the 3YP in Debrecen, in the sense of no longer needing outsiders to provide essential leadership, continued to grow. By the end of the implementation period in 1995-96 most implementers, together with senior members of IEAS and the Director of CETT Budapest, recognised that, as a result of their years of professional
practice and development, BC personnel were no longer essential to the running of the 3 YP.

'We were not in a position to have more ownership over the programme at the beginning. I think we are at a stage where we can take over. It's going to take I don't know how many more years before we will take over and will have full ownership.' (Coll 1/2)

'I think sooner rather than later we will be able to take over all those new types of classes. Not everything, but the key topics, the major, character-setting types of courses.' (Coll 5)

'If you and Coll 3 disappear tomorrow we would not be more isolated than now. Ideas and materials have been very helpful and useful, but we have quite a lot of ideas of our own now.' (Coll 7)

'...at the beginning there was this immediate need, this pressure. There was actually a staff here who hadn't got the knowledge they needed to have and at the same time they had got to act on it. Now we have it.' (Coll 4)

'I think that at the beginning of the stage there will be certain problems, but we are definitely more competent than five years ago.' (Coll 8)

'I think if you left, given these people you are likely to leave behind, the continuity could be maintained. The people there at present could carry on with this.' (Admin 4)

'I think of the Hungarian staff, some can do it, but not all at the same level ... We will be able to continue now. ... There is no doubt in my mind that it can happen.' (Admin 1)

'We have reached autonomy and independence. There are quite a few very experienced and highly developed people in the profession.' (Admin 2)

By the last year of the implementation period (academic year 1995-96), therefore, there was a fairly broad consensus in Debrecen that, although they might be sorry to see the BC appointees leave, the 3YP as currently constituted, could be run satisfactorily by the Hungarian implementers. Given the levels of professional expertise, and the mental sets resulting from previous cultural conditioning, that existed when the project began, this was a substantial achievement. Had the Hungarian takeover occurred at this point, it would have provided an opportunity, through observing how the 3YP continued, to see to the degree of 'complex' change (Fullan, 1992), of beliefs and behaviours that had occurred.
However, serious consideration of such BC withdrawal was postponed, due to the need to plan and implement the further changes needed to meet the BC aims, as revised in the light of the Alderson-Gwyn evaluation.

5 Plans for a new department

The broadening of overt British Council aims to include the integration of the 3YP innovations into the language teacher education mainstream (see chapter 5A, section 2.2), required each ELTSUP institution which wished to retain BC support after September 1994, to devise a plan outlining proposals to enable such integration to occur (see appendix 20 and 21).

Although, as noted in chapter 4 section 4, senior members of IEAS appear always to have intended the assets of the 3YP to revert to IEAS when the programme ended, the manner in which this might happen had been impossible to anticipate. In 1994-5, therefore, although an outline plan for CETT to become associated with IEAS was duly presented to the British Council, the exact form of the association remained uncertain, since some members of IEAS remained sceptical about whether CETT and its staff could integrate into the more conventional academic demands of the university.

The most obvious of these demands was the fact that, only those with a PhD (or, if recently appointed, registered for a PhD) were ‘qualified’ to teach at university level. Young lecturers had a maximum of eight years from appointment in which to complete their PhD. CETT staff were neither PhD qualified, nor registered on PhD courses. Furthermore, members of Hungarian academic departments, in common with their colleagues in most parts of the world, are supposed to provide evidence of research activity and publications. Once again most CETT staff could not demonstrate this.

Unknown to CETT staff at the time, IEAS had considered at least one alternative future for CETT once the 3YP ended. This would have avoided the above requirements of an academic department. The Head of IEAS was quite straightforward when he suggested that an alternative future for CETT could have been as the language centre for the Economics department.

'CETT members would be teaching English to economics students and some of the colleagues would probably be better off with this because it means nobody would expect them to do any research. They would be expected to do excellent language teaching, they could give extra classes and if they were ambitious
enough it wouldn’t have taken much to work themselves into teaching Business English.' (Admin 8)

This suggestion did not represent the sort of integration that the British Council had in mind. Negotiations therefore continued throughout 1994-5 as to how CETT might be attached to IEAS.

The eventual decision to try to establish a new department was linked closely to the long term future of the implementers for whom a major concern among the Hungarian staff when considering future plans, related to their job title and hence their status and career prospects. A clear hierarchy of academic levels exists in Hungary, as elsewhere, and colleagues were keen to remain part of this, which any alternative such as that mentioned above would have made impossible.

If a department was to be established, further curricular changes would be required. Any academic department was required to provide an undergraduate programme for students to follow as their main speciality during their third and fourth years of study. Such a programme had to offer at least eleven separate modules, and ideally several more to provide choice. Language teacher education modules as offered at CETT were not regarded as sufficiently academic to provide a foundation for a specialised programme of undergraduate study. If CETT was to become a department it needed to develop a range of more academic, applied linguistics modules that could, together with the many existing modules in literature and theoretical linguistics, be offered to undergraduates. A new department would need to develop a new, academic curriculum.

Although colleagues now felt ready and able to take over teaching and leadership on the 3YP, the leadership required to deal with the forward planning needed in this new situation was still not available within CETT. The majority of the younger, 'unqualified' colleagues would not have been taken seriously as departmental representatives by many members of IEAS, and the Director found it difficult to adapt to the constantly changing context in which he found himself. It was thus again principally the British Council appointees who, conducted negotiations with IEAS, designed the new departmental curriculum and ultimately agreed the new department's responsibilities. The lack of implementer input to the process was not at all desirable, since outsiders' limited understanding of the wider university system made it difficult for them to negotiate on equal terms.
5.1. Reasons for IEAS's agreement to a fourth department

Given their initial misgivings it is interesting to consider what factors may have contributed to the eventual willingness of IEAS to accept CETT as its fourth department.

5.1.1 Changing academic attitudes to Applied Linguistics/Language Teacher Education

The Hungarian university system valued the traditional established academic disciplines above the more practical orientation of the 3YP. Applied Linguistics, as an academic discipline has a relatively short history, and often remains a little insecure of its credentials even in the west. It is therefore unsurprising, given few possibilities for international contact, that until the early 1990s language departments at Hungarian universities were unclear about what the term 'applied linguistics' referred to, as the present head of the linguistics department freely admits.

'Almost all branches (of Applied Linguistics) were unknown to the Hungarian community.' (Admin 4)

As an unknown discipline, it could have little prestige, and academic linguists remained largely unfamiliar with the research literature produced from the late 1960s onwards, in many of the fields that are now conventionally included within Applied Linguistics. The process whereby it developed an identity as a valid academic discipline went through similar stages to those reported for Science subjects in UK schools in the late 19th century by Layton (1972 in Holliday 1994). These, adapted to the local context may be summarised as follows.

- The ELTSUP project, by placing Methodology as central to the teacher education curriculum, introduced the 'core' of the discipline to all ELTSUP institutions.
- It then enhanced the development of the discipline in a number of ways:
  - The establishment of well-stocked libraries demonstrating to the Hungarian academic community that the discipline had a copious literature and so increasing its academic credibility.
  - The sponsorship of ELTSUP staff on MA programmes in the discipline and so the realisation in Hungary that many UK universities offered such advanced programmes.
  - The sponsorship of UK academic Applied Linguists' and Language Teacher Educators' visits to Hungary.
The disciplinary profile was continuously enhanced throughout the first half of the 1990s by the regular ELT conferences held or sponsored by BC, IATEFL, International House and Macmillan Publishers. These, attended by hundreds of English teachers, as well as teacher trainers, material writers, publishers, and international 'names', helped support the idea that language teacher education might have a more 'academic' component.

ELTSUP sponsored the first ever conference on Quality in English Language Teacher Education (QELTE) in Budapest in February 1996. This was a large, international gathering with several prestigious plenary speakers to which senior members of all the English departments in Hungarian higher education were invited. A key member of the organising committee who also gave the opening and closing addresses was a nationally known, senior member of IEAS. The conference thus had a high profile within IEAS and in the opinion of the Director of CETT Debrecen impressed many people since 'No other language faculties or language departments have ever had such a big national or even international conference devoted to the quality aspect of teacher training.' (Coll 4)

Finally, however, if Language Teacher Education was to be accepted as a valid area for academic study at university level, it would require 'qualified' staff. Such staff would require PhDs. It was therefore necessary to establish a PhD programme in Hungary. This proved impossible for many years, since only a full Professor in a given subject was able to offer a PhD programme and there was no full professor of Applied Linguistics in Hungary. The eventual appointment of Medgyes Peter as full professor made the establishment of such a programme possible. The BC supported him and his colleagues in the establishment of a taught PhD in Language Pedagogy, based in Budapest but with extra inputs from staff at Lancaster University, to begin in September 1996. Two members of the CETT Debrecen staff were enrolled among the first cohort of students.

Throughout the first half of the 1990s therefore, the profile of English language teacher education was enhanced in a variety of ways. For those who chose to see, it became clear that a further area of potential academic study did exist. However, for some of the more established academic theoretical linguists, Applied Linguistics remained a fuzzy area, unworthy of serious work. A CETT colleague on the PhD programme describes Debrecen thus;
Chapter 5c. The Implementation process

'I think the younger generation are more open-minded, more positive about applied linguistics as an academic discipline. ...with (Professor of Linguistics at Debrecen until 1996), he will never ever recognise applied linguistics. He doesn't recognise the field itself as an area of investigation.' (Coll 1/2)

The above statement is supported by the following, from one mid-40s representative of this 'younger generation', the Head of IEAS- a literature scholar.

'TEFL is an important discipline in its own right all over the world, and you can base a number of excellent courses on it.' (Admin 8)

This development of Applied Linguistics from utter obscurity to a PhD programme (albeit called Language Pedagogy) in five to six years, is remarkably swift. While it was assisted by the prestige attached to English as a foreign language and obvious need for better quality language teaching, it would not have happened so quickly without the coordinating influence of the BC. Within the BC it is the PIM, herself a Hungarian who, using her understanding of the local culture, realised that if the discipline was to be accepted by Hungarian academia, it needed to demonstrate that it had the accoutrements of a discipline. Her suggestion to hold the QELTE conference, and her control of its structure, ensuring that eminent speakers from UK and Hungary would offer plenaries and that 'those who mattered' were there, was crucial in introducing the discipline to a wider academic audience. Understanding both the local environment, and the aims of a particular change process, allows for far more accurate planning. The employment of local 'insiders' can have very positive effects.

5.1.2. Recognition of CETT's professional success.

By the latter stages of the implementation period it was becoming evident that CETT was capable of satisfactorily training English teachers, despite the short length of the course and its very different curriculum weighting. The preference that language schools showed for 3YP graduates has already been mentioned, but in Debrecen it was important that there should be local recognition also if CETT staff and modules were to be recognised as adequate.

Feedback to IEAS on CETT performance thus came from a number of different sources. One, informal but nonetheless potentially influential source, was the wife of the Head of IEAS. She was a COT and thus had first hand experience of 3 YP trainees. Her feedback
may have contributed to some degree to the following statement from her husband, which would have been inconceivable five years previously.

'My colleagues and I realise more and more that what you are doing is just as important as what we are doing here and that applied linguistics and methodology can be done at a high level too.' (Admin 8)

Other sources of, mostly positive, feedback were the other COTs and English teachers from the large number of schools in Debrecen that were used for teaching practice and, very occasionally, from headmasters who having observed our students during their teaching practice, were keen to employ them. An ex colleague, now working at the most prestigious secondary school in Debrecen stated.

'I've heard some good opinions about these students that come from CETT, from English teachers mainly, those not involved in the COT programme. And the fact that the students now teach in some of the schools in Debrecen also proves success.' (Coll 10)

The (third) Hungarian Deputy outreach coordinator who has regular personal contact with COTs says that they generally appreciate their contact with the 3YP.

'COTs are almost all grateful because they feel they gained a lot professionally and learned a lot from working with our students, that they can feed back into their training of future students.' (Coll 7)

This quote was confirmed by the COT questionnaires where all nine respondents mentioned that they had learned fresh ideas for new activities or had been introduced to new materials by the trainees. Eight of them mentioned trainees' methodological knowledge of motivating teaching techniques and activities as a significant strength and several mentioned their confidence and willingness to experiment. The same questionnaires also contained less positive comments albeit fewer; trainees were too confident and unwilling to accept criticism, too young to teach teenagers and not sufficiently aware of the educational traditions of the schools they worked in.

The BC INSET advisor for the north east of Hungary came across ex CETT students at his workshops and school visits in the region. He assessed them thus.

'CETT students have a much better grasp of ELT techniques and basic organisation, so it's easy to spot them, but they are often still quite young and inexperienced and so tend to be having a torrid time...' (Admin 10)
In addition there is feedback from the students interviewed themselves, who, on the whole, felt positive about the training they had received at CETT, although well aware that it could not be uncritically applied in every school classroom.

'We knew it was good. We felt it. We were doing TP and knew that we could do it, so it must have been good. Also we felt from our supervisor that we were generally quite good.' (Part 4)

'It is very good that it (the training) is based on life. It's very realistic, whereas the 5YP is not about real life, education or anything. ... I can feel that I am still a better teacher than business woman or something because it was more realistic here.' (Part 2)

'At first I didn't realise why I felt the classes were so good, especially language practice. Then when I started to learn methodology I began to see into the deep heart of things and somehow felt it's a bit of a strain on the teacher to teach like this. ... I think it needs a lot of energy to do this kind of method, so sometimes we felt we don't want to do this.' (Part 9)

'Sometimes it( the methodology) doesn't really work. But, that's not because of the method itself. I believe it's a really great way of learning to communicate and use the language. The problems is that the Hungarian education system and the language teaching system and the whole Intermediate State Exam is not how to use the language but how to learn it and how you know the rules, and this needs a different teaching, a different methodology.' (Part 6)

All the above is not to say that, having convinced ourselves and to some degree IEAS that we could train good quality teachers, schools in Debrecen were now clamouring to employ 3YP graduates in preference to those from the 5YP. The traditional belief that five years must be better than three, reinforced by the difference in level of degree, meant that those headmasters who knew little about the 3YP and had never seen our trainees teach would continue to choose a 5YP graduate over a 3YP graduate. An implementer who joined the 3YP after being a COT explains.

'I think Directors and Headmasters are happier to employ a university graduate than our students only because they know it's the university, because they (the headmasters) don't know how to teach. Let's say our trainees were trainees at their school, they are very happy to employ them afterwards, so it's just a conception of the university and the university versus college diploma.' (Coll 6)

However, given that Debrecen is a small city with an even smaller English language teaching community, and that CETT students also took courses with members of IEAS, it was certain that any feedback, be it positive or negative would reach the university.
5.1.3 CETT's tangible assets

Although academic ability and quality of performance were of course factors in the university's thinking, IEAS also had pragmatic reasons to wish to retain the assets that CETT represented within the Institute.

The most obvious of these assets was the building in which CETT was situated and the resources it contained. In addition to very pleasant classrooms and offices for an institution of 200 plus staff and students, it contained a well stocked teacher education library, a large computer room and, as of September 1995, a British Council Regional English Teachers Resource centre, containing a huge range of resources for practising classroom teachers and headed by a BC financed (part-time) Manager who was a member of the CETT staff.

The staff themselves represented a further valuable asset. Although their paper qualifications (MA) were not officially recognised within the Hungarian system, the skills that many of them had developed over the implementation period were recognised as being of value to the university as a whole. The Director stated this very clearly.

'It is now known in the English department for example that (Coll 1) is a well-qualified language tester. It is also known that (Coll 4) is a versatile person because she has done a lot of work on methodology and can teach methodology. ... (Coll 8) also, he is running a course in educational technology in our school ... The news has spread over there and people are aware that here the people are better qualified and in certain areas have qualifications not available elsewhere or missing from the institute.' (Coll 5)

The link with the BC was, on the whole, also seen as something to be retained. Despite the recognition that Hungarian staff could now quite competently deal with the 3YP without further BC presence, it was clear that if Ministry funding for the 3YP was to end, as expected, in 1999, a change in CETT's role would be required, for its assets to continue to be utilised.

BC help in developing its new role was seen as desirable. BC had made it clear that further support, in terms of personnel, was conditional on any transition taking the form of some sort of integration of the 3 and 5 year programmes. The potential imbalance in negotiations of this kind is well expressed by Medgyes.

'Both the donor and the recipient arrive at the negotiating table with a brief. Put most crudely, the donor wants to lend some kind of support and the recipient wants to receive it. Of the two it is generally the donor whose plans are more explicit: he knows the framework within which he is willing to move. The recipient is very often
in desperation: he needs as much support as possible as soon as possible under almost any terms. Therefore, the recipient is invariably in an inferior negotiating position. While the expectations of the parties are, by definition, different, the outcome of the discussion is ultimately determined by the extent to which the preliminary expectations of the two sides meet or can be reconciled. (Medgyes in Allwright and Waters 1994:77)

While in 1990-91 when ELTSUP was first mooted, negotiations between the British and Hungarian sides were undoubtedly unbalanced, much in the manner outlined above, by 1995 in Debrecen this was no longer so. Senior members of IEAS were by now experienced enough to recognise the need to be flexible, and so enable their agenda to 'meet and be reconciled' with that of the BC.

'Obviously, I understand the British Council's attitude in this. If they are in a position to provide something for us they have the right to say 'we want something like this.' If they say they want exactly this and do not listen to the other party, the consumer, then it is more questionable. There should be a reasonable balance between what is provided and what is required in return.' (Admin 4)

'...everything is legitimate. We may say 'No'. It's part of the game. Nobody is ever forced. The British Council has never really been in a position to twist arms. If the ideas are good, why not?' (Admin 1)

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, most members of IEAS remained fundamentally uninterested in being personally involved in either language teaching or language teacher education. This demonstrates once again just how little effect five years of the ELTSUP project had had on ideas about language teacher education within the higher education system and society at large. Fullan suggests that educational change is not just related to what teachers do and think.

'Equally important is what those around them at the (school) district, provincial, state and federal levels do... If there is any changing to be done, everyone is implicated (his emphasis) and must face it in relation to his or her own role.' (Fullan 1991:143).

The fundamental paradigms of language teacher education,

'the worldview that defines for its holder the 'nature of the 'world', the individuals place in it and the range of possible relationships to that world..." (Guba & Lincoln 1994 in Denzin & Lincoln 1994:107)

had, in Debrecen, changed little, beyond the walls of the 3 YP.
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With the expansion of IEAS student numbers from approximately 100 to over 500 in the early 1990s, and the growing influence of research and publication as the criteria of academic worth, the pre-1989 situation, in which all IEAS staff were expected to be both academic specialists and good language teachers, had broken down. Language teaching had become almost entirely the responsibility of the most junior members of staff.

The Linguistics department was primarily responsible for the language training and teacher education given to 5YP students. It was staffed almost entirely by theoretical linguists, whose field of interest was far removed from the practicalities of the language classroom. The sole Methodologist, while very capable, took precautions against being too identified with such a low prestige area by working to complete a PhD in Psycholinguistics. If CETT staff were willing and able to take over the main responsibility for language teaching and teacher training within IEAS, this would be remove a task that, although never explicitly stated, was viewed as more a burden than a pleasure. The following quote from the Head of IEAS supports this speculation.

1 Their (IEAS's) view was that we should ... make a virtue out of a necessity, because it had been in the air before that we needed a fourth department anyway, even if we hadn't had CETT. Because the linguistics department had three major fields and each field was big enough to have a department in its own right. They had to take care of language teaching and teaching theoretical linguistics, two completely different areas. And they also had to teach methodology, which is again an independent field. So, as we wanted to create a fourth department to take care of language teaching and methodology and perhaps some other fields of Applied linguistics, we thought we should connect the two problems and say we want to save CETT for the future, and as it could form the basis of the fourth department, well why not go ahead with it.' (Admin 8)

CETT was therefore a potential asset to IEAS from several points of view. Firstly it brought with it a substantial quantity of tangible resources. Next, CETT staff had skills in an academic area, Applied Linguistics, in which IEAS had few, and would therefore broaden the profile of the Institute in a previously neglected area. The integration of CETT would ensure the ongoing involvement of the British Council at KLTE and the areas of specialisation for which CETT staff would be responsible were those which IEAS staff were anyway keen to shed.

6. The integration process
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6.1 The new Teacher Training curriculum.

CETT's professional expertise was first overtly recognised by IEAS when, in academic year 1994-5, CETT staff, both BC and Hungarian, were asked by the head of the linguistics department to join a committee established to devise the curriculum for the new teacher training year. This resulted from a MEC decision that from 1995 onwards all entrants to the 5YP would have a four year academic training (degree bearing and complete in itself) followed by a one year teacher training, to be taken (in principle) only by those wishing to become teachers.

The time available for subject specific inputs in the teacher training year was equivalent to three courses over the whole year, and it was decided to request the Pedagogy department to relinquish two further hours per week for one semester, (the length of a further course) which they agreed to do. The four course curriculum that was eventually devised for the teacher training year, drew very heavily on the model of the third year at CETT. According to the Chairman of IEAS this end product was, when compared to other departments in the university, particularly comprehensive and well conceived.

'If you compare out teacher training in the fifth year with the teacher training in any other major in the faculty of humanities the difference is enormous. When we heard about the frame (number of hours) we were given and had to fill, our first reaction was to wish we had more classes. Most majors said 'oh god, how shall we fill all these classes?' Other departments and institutes usually think two contact hours per week for one semester is more than enough for teaching methodology. This is a notion we don't accept.' (Admin 8)

The Heads of IEAS, and the linguistic department, together with the former Rector, a very influential figure in the department, all recognised that the above state of affairs would not have been possible without the CETT inputs.

'I think the greatest achievement of the new programme has been to demonstrate how important teacher training is, how much you need in terms of the number of methodology classes and the amount of time devoted to TP. This couldn't have been demonstrated on our 5YP because we have to conform to general regulations.' (Admin 4)

'I don't think there is any other institute (within the university) where there are electives; that is required optional courses, in teaching methodology. This is definitely an influence of CETT.' ... Most changes have taken place here (in IEAS) because we used your teacher training model as a model for our teacher training module. This effect has been really significant and will be a long lasting
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effect. If CETT had not had any other achievements this would justify its existence for a few years.¹ (Admin 8)

'The methodology component is better (at CETT), towering above what we have here. Your model is ideal here too, nobody questions that.' (Admin 1)

In addition, the unstated reality was that without CETT staff, the new curriculum could never be implemented. Although CETT was unaware of it at the time, it seems possible, bearing in mind the original plans to reintegrate mentioned in chapter 4A, that the decision to form a fourth department, consisting mainly of CETT staff had already been more or less taken by IEAS.

6.2 The Negotiations

The first half of academic year 1995-6 saw a series of meetings to negotiate the exact format of the proposed merge. From CETT those most closely involved were the two BC appointees the Director, and, occasionally, one of the earliest implementers. The main question to be answered was, how would CETT function as an academic department with a totally 'unqualified' staff and what would its responsibilities be?

The staffing question proved to be one which IEAS had already answered. It was willing to accept most CETT staff as long as they were, in turn, willing to register for and obtain PhDs in an appropriate field within a given timespan and begin to develop the research and publications expected of any academic. However three CETT staff were not acceptable to IEAS, two for personal and one for professional reasons. Of these two were on maternity leave and could not be dismissed for up to three years, and the third returned to teach at the secondary school from which she had originally come. The Director was present at the meeting at which this was stated and raised no objection. Neither did the BC appointees. In addition, one CETT staff member was to be transferred to the American literature department. From a full-time staff of ten, six remained. In recompense, non-specific statements were made about the possibility that those members of the linguistics department with a more 'applied' orientation might wish to transfer to the new department. In the event, one did so.

This smaller staff was to be faced with an awesome range of responsibilities. First, they would continue to deal with the 3YP whose last intake would occur in 1996. Next, they would offer and staff a 'fourth' applied linguistics track for third and fourth year undergraduate students. Thirdly, they would be responsible for virtually all teaching on the
new teacher training curriculum in the 5th year. Finally, once the 3YP ended, they would also be in charge of administering the language teaching for the undergraduates in their first and second years. Thus the ‘burden’ that had been thought to be too great for the well-established linguistics department (see 5.2.4 above) was transferred, almost in its entirety, to a department which did not yet even exist.

That these terms, requiring the design and delivery of an entirely new undergraduate curriculum, and the adaptation of 3YP courses for 5YP fifth year students with a very different academic background, were accepted without quibble by the CETT negotiators, may appear, in hindsight, to show very poor negotiating skills. To some extent this was the case. The BC appointees, responsible for the bulk of the negotiations, were outmaneuvered by IEAS staff with a deeper understanding of the wider context. However, two sets of influences supporting the resultant conclusion are worth mentioning.

The first is that since most negotiation of substance was between BC appointees and IEAS staff, the point of view most strongly represented was that of the BC rather than the CETT staff. Our aim was to establish mechanisms to ensure the maximum absorption of 3YP teacher education innovation into mainstream teacher education university courses. The establishment of an ‘Applied Linguistics track’ within the undergraduate programme, having more timetable hours and with courses open to all IEAS 3rd and 4th year students, seemed at the time to offer a real chance of achieving this aim by bringing some of the 3YP ideas about language teaching and language learning to a wider audience. In addition responsibility for all fifth year teacher training within IEAS was also completely in tune with BC policy.

Secondly, although the Hungarian implementers could legitimately state that they had not been fully consulted at each stage of the negotiations, we knew that they were keen to be accepted and acknowledged as academics. This would not have been possible, in the wider context of the time, if the responsibilities of the new department had been restricted to language teaching and teacher training. In order to be fully accepted as equal members of IEAS it was necessary to offer the more ‘academic’ courses, which the undergraduate specialities were considered to represent.

A document was prepared by the BC Assistant Director, outlining the agreed role of the fourth department. (see appendix 25). This document, adapted and translated into Hungarian was presented in sequence to the Institute and University Councils. On July 1st
1996, the Department of English Language Studies became an entity, subject to review of performance at the end of academic year 1998-99.

7. Main themes emerging

This chapter has discussed some of the processes undergone as CETT Debrecen developed from a small, new, language teacher education institution, with inexperienced staff heavily dependent on outsiders for professional leadership, in 1991, to become DELS a university department in 1996. The route and rate of the change process was strongly influenced by decisions made by, and circumstances prevailing in, the wider environment, as well as by the human and professional relationships within CETT itself. Some of the main themes emerging are summarised below.

7.1. Implementation as cycles of decision making in context.

- At any given moment during the implementation stage, decisions were made based on the information available at the time.
- The implementation period was, both personally and professionally, a time of continuous development and change for all immediately involved in the 3YP.
- The combination of factors in the wider national and even international environment that would prove to be influential in determining the route that the process took could not have been anticipated.
- Rather than the implementation of a previous designed, clearly defined strategic plan in a stable local and national environment, the process involved coping with the changes at many levels. Changes in the national and international environment brought changes to the overall aims of the project, which in turn required adjustment to the planning of what was to be implemented.
- Simultaneously throughout the implementation process, feedback from the immediate environment required constant changes to the detail of course design to maximise 'fit' with local circumstances.
- It is likely that this attempt to construct a comprehensible, sequential description of the implementation process, has involved a degree of post-hoc readjustment of events and processes which, at the time of their occurrence were merely instant accommodations to a more or less suddenly changed context.
7.2. Professional development and ownership

- BC was aware that staff development was an essential part of the project.
- Hungarian implementers, especially those initiating the project, were offered opportunities in Hungary and the UK both to develop their professional skills and knowledge, and to gain a feeling of ELTSUP community, through meeting colleagues from other institutions.
- Equally important professional development was provided by the need to be involved, more or less closely, on a daily basis with the actual implementation process itself.
- Although some early attempts to involve implementers in ELTSUP planning were misguided, the principle of eventual Hungarian ownership of the 3YP was never in doubt.
- In Debrecen such ownership of the 3YP was entirely possible by the end of the implementation process.

7.3. Lack of fit between project aims, funding and timescales.

- By the third year of the implementation period, the seemingly limitless funding of the early 1990s for Eastern and Central Europe in general, and English language related projects in particular, began to diminish.
- Internal structural adjustments to the BC in the UK, meant project funding had to be renegotiated year by year.
- BC Hungary staff did their best to maintain funding levels, but were unable to plan more than one year ahead.
- By the mid 1990s ELTSUP, even though its aims had become more ambitious had diminished in importance and the funding allocated to it reflected this.
- There continued to be little apparent recognition by the donors in London and Washington (World Bank) that education projects are, because of their need to penetrate and influence the fundamentals of a culture, a long-term commitment.

7.4 CETT Debrecen: Outsider leadership of a flat hierarchy

- The lack of active Hungarian leadership within the CETT Debrecen context was significant.
Chapter 5c. The Implementation process

- BC outsiders like myself had received no training or preparation for the range of leadership skills that were required, either for their policy making or their human resource development roles.
- For want of any alternative, we took responsibility for the professional (and much of the strategic planning) leadership of the 3YP and of the negotiations that led to the establishment of DELS.
- The first BC Assistant Director, in the spirit of the 'reflective practitioner' model and the more Cooperative educational culture that it implied, had from the first established a flat hierarchy and a participatory atmosphere within the 3YP.
- The CETT Debrecen subculture was one within which all members felt able and entitled to contribute their point of view to the extent that they wished to.
- The spirit of equality within the institution increasingly became a reality, as the professional gap between Hungarian and BC implementers narrowed.

7.5. Diminishing enthusiasm among CETT Debrecen staff

- The decline in commitment and enthusiasm among CETT staff was a result of the
  - socio-economic realities already discussed.
  - realisation that the idealistic language teacher education model which CETT tried to
    establish was not easily achievable, since it was not fully reflected in any wider educational reality.
- Implementers, in Debrecen as well as in Budapest, had hoped that the notion of the teacher as reflective practitioner engaged in a continuing cycle of personal professional development, would lead to fundamental changes in the culture of language teacher education, and so, by unstated projection, eventually to changes in the wider educational culture.
- The initial imported message that a radical change of the educational culture was possible fitted in well with the idealistic atmosphere of the early 1990s. It was not however being implemented even in the educational cultures from which it derived. In the case of the UK, the 1988 Education Act was, on the contrary, a first step in a move back towards a more Craft based view of the teacher education process.
- By the end of this period expectations of change generally, and of changes in language teacher education more specifically, had become much diluted in the face of the reality of everyday life.
Chapter 5c. The Implementation process

- The accommodations to the existing system demanded by the merge gave the reduced expectations tangible form.

7.6 Factors affecting the acceptance of a new discipline

- Applied linguistics was a largely unknown discipline in Hungary at the beginning of the implementation period.
- By the mid 1990s Applied Linguistics began to become accepted as a credible complement to the more theoretical linguistics that already existed, as a result of the
  - generally positive attitudes to English speaking countries
  - greater exposure to the international language education world with its increasingly conventional scaffolding of literature, journals, conferences and internationally known figures.
- The establishment of the Budapest PhD in Language Pedagogy ensured that in future fully 'qualified' applied linguists will eventually be able to take their place as full members of university departments.

7.7. Effects of ELTSUP on attitudes within higher education, and their implications for 3YP staff.

- In Debrecen, despite increased recognition of Applied Linguistics as a valid discipline for academic study and acknowledgement that the 3YP language teacher education model was superior to that offered by the 5YP, attitudes among most members of IEAS to subject-specific teacher education changed very little.
- The decision to establish DELS was for many purely pragmatic rather than asign of deep cultural change.
- The existance of DELS gave IEAS an opportunity to transfer a part of the curriculum, which nobody really wanted to teach, to others, to retain active BC support, in terms of appointees, physically present in Debrecen, for a further period and to gain control of the physical and human resources that CETT represented.
- The lack of respect for and so low status of teacher education within IEAS would have been amply reinforced by similar attitudes encountered by IEAS staff members on visits overseas.
- CETT staff, had no choice but to recognise that educational attitudes in the wider culture remained largely unchanged.
Chapter 5c. The Implementation process

- The best chance of maintaining any of the changes in style and substance brought about by the 3YP, seemed to be for former 3YP implementers to be accepted as academics within the conventional university system.

7.8 Some effects of the lack of environmental assessment

- Project design underestimated the extent to which BC contractees would be required to provide leadership. Consequently this was not taken into account during recruitment, and contractees were sent to Hungary with an inadequate briefing and no training for the very complex leadership role that they would be expected to play.

- In Debrecen, the curriculum as initially designed and implemented was not appropriate for the realities of the educational system into which its trainees were supposed to be placed.

- Unrealistic expectations of what could be expected of local implementers in the early years meant in-country training courses were, for some, pitched at a level that was inappropriate and so increased anxiety as much as increasing professional confidence and competence.

- Lack of clarity about the post-communist reality meant little understanding on the part of the BC, in the UK if not in Hungary, of the time that it was likely to take for there to be evidence of success.

- The change of orientation in 1994, ought, had there been a clear picture of the environment, to have resulted in a reappraisal of the project time scale.

- Both Hungarian and BC implementers continued to try to implement the far more ambitious and complex new aims, uncertain from one year to the next, whether BC support would continue to be forthcoming.

7.9. Genuine achievement

- CETT implementers' conclusions on their experiences will be dealt with in the next chapter.

- Reactions from Debrecen schools to the several hundred trainees (300-400) that they hosted on teaching practice over the lifetime of the 3YP were overwhelmingly positive.

- Evidence from trainees suggests that for a substantial minority of graduates, the 3YP was a valuable educational and personal experience, regardless of whether or not they entered teaching.
Chapter 5c. The Implementation process

- COTs too are mostly positive about their personal and professional experiences of working with the 3YP.
- Some members of IEAS (see sections 5.1.2 to 6.1 above) clearly recognised the value of what had been achieved.

7.10. The role of project insiders

- The role of project 'insiders' such as the PIM are, provided they understand the aims of the project, an invaluable resource.
- Their intuitive understanding of the local environment can help to make up for the lack of environmental assessment, and so the lack of contextual understanding among outsider project managers.
- Their native speaker language ability allows them to understand how it is appropriate to approach local individuals and institutions at all levels.
- This enables them both to provide project managers with an idea of the extent to which all stakeholders are speaking the same language, and to provide access to new individuals or organisations who may be of help in achieving project aims.
- They ought, in my opinion to be a feature of all education projects.

In chapter six the case study concludes by considering the last two years of the case study, and how CETT implementers coped with their role as members of DELS.
CHAPTER 6. THE CONTINUATION STAGE

The final three chapters investigate the continuation stage of the ELTSUP project. As is discussed in section 1 below, the term 'continuation' is used here mostly for analytic convenience. This stage began in Debrecen in September 1996, when the first IEAS students began to take courses on the new Applied Linguistics track, and the first fifth year trainees came to the Department of English Language Studies (DELS) for their teacher training. It continues in the present, although the primary case study research period ended in June 1998, when I left Hungary. (See Postscript for situation at April 2000)

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INTRODUCTION

The continuation of the ELTSUP project after 1996 took very different forms at each of the three institutions still supported by BC under the project. The form taken was a direct result of institution-specific decisions about the future of the 3YP and its human and material assets. Such decisions were principally based on institutional perceptions of the actual local environment and of likely changes in the wider environment. Thus CETT Budapest, for example, with approximately 30 full time staff, and no clear vision of its future relationship with the university as a whole, decided to continue as an independent entity. It would continue to recruit 3YP students as long as funding for such students continued to be available from MEC. In Debrecen, however, negotiations between the 3YP and the University had agreed that CETT and the 3YP should be phased out, (final entry 1996 and final graduates 1999), and that CETT's material and professional assets should become part of IEAS in the form of DELS.

For the BC, this period saw a gradual but steady downgrading of the, previously discussed, political imperatives that had motivated the huge British ELT presence in the region. From the diminishing number of contract posts in the region and the location of newly advertised jobs, it appeared that political interest and hence funding was increasingly focused further east, in Russia and the countries of the former Soviet Union. The BC now
seemed to view their role in East and Central Europe as consolidating what had already been achieved. It was this concept of consolidation, which provided the rationale for continued BC support to Debrecen.

1996 saw the signing of a third three year agreement between BC and MEC (see appendix 25). This agreement covered all BC ELT projects in Hungary. As it related to pre-service teacher education (ELTSUP), the agreement did not tie either side to specific outcomes, but rather set out the inputs that each side would provide during the period 1996-1999. MEC committed itself to providing at least 2.5 million HUF per year (approximately £10,000) for work relating to ELTSUP activities. At the time this could still buy a substantial quantity of goods and services within Hungary. As noted throughout, once the agreement had been signed, MEC showed no desire to be involved in any detailed planning. MEC funds were therefore administered more or less as BC saw fit.

At the university in Debrecen, the establishment of DELS was principally pragmatic. It signalled the achievement of IEAS's original aim of ensuring that any professional and material assets developed at CETT should revert to the university when the 3 YP ended. In addition, the delegation to DELS of responsibility for all teacher training and, in the longer term, for organising language teaching, within IEAS potentially lessened the workload of staff in other departments.

1 The nature of continuation.

Fullan (1991) suggests that continuation requires another adoption decision. Such an adoption decision had clearly been taken in Debrecen. However what was being adopted was not the 3YP. While DELS derived from CETT and the 3YP, the range of responsibilities of the new department required significant additional planning. The last 3YP intake continued, separate from the university system, as before. Simultaneously however IEAS required DELS to design and begin to teach a new applied linguistics curriculum to undergraduates, and to adapt the 3YP Methodology course and teacher training electives to meet the needs of the 5th year students during their teacher training year. Consequently, continuation here was more a process of returning to a new set of planning-cum implementation cycles, similar in many ways to the developmental process during the implementation stage.

Huberman and Miles (1984), propose three sets of conditions that need to be present if continuation is to be successful. Firstly, the change needs to be embedded into the wider
structure or environment. Secondly, there needs to be a critical mass of teachers and administrators skilled in and committed to the change, and finally there must be systems in place to introduce new teachers to the skills required. As we shall see, none of these conditions existed fully within the Debrecen environment.

The continuation process here involved the planning, design and implementation of new, more academic courses and materials for university undergraduates. In addition the explicit teacher education aspect of the process, most significant both numerically and in terms of DELS's staff expertise, required the adaptation of aspects of the original 3YP curriculum, to fit fifth year, subject specific, teacher training courses into the largely unchanged, existing, 5YP university framework. In neither case was continuation a process of introducing existing changes into a wider, culturally altered, educational environment.

By 1996 however, both the immediate and the wider environments had changed as compared with 1991, in four significant ways. To begin with, DELS staff could approach the new set of changes with a pool of professional expertise and confidence that had not been available to them in 1991. Next, the desirability of at least one of the curriculum changes introduced by the 3YP, the need for teacher training to include a substantial subject-specific methodology component, was already widely agreed within IEAS, and would, during this stage of the project also be legitimised by MEC. Thirdly, the existence of Applied Linguistics, and the fact that it was accepted in the west as an academic discipline, was now far more widely known in Hungarian university circles. Finally, as part of the negotiation process, fairly detailed planning of the curriculum for both the undergraduate programme and the fifth year teacher training programme had already been carried out.

2 The goals of continuation

No specific quantitative or qualitatively assessable goals were formally agreed between the BC and the University (see appendix 26). From the BC's point of view support for DELS, now principally in the form of salaries for two contract staff, was initially given to support the transition from teacher training centre to university department. This development of what the 3YP had achieved, through the integration of 3YP teacher education curriculum principles into the 5YP teacher education structure, could, retrospectively, be viewed as, at least partly, achieving some of the qualitative aims of the project post 1994. (See chapter 5A section 2.2)
In addition, consolidation was now official BC policy in its ELT work in Hungary. A handout given to all BC contract staff in Hungary on 10th October 1997 describes BC aims in pre-service ELT:

"...to consolidate what has been achieved and spread the innovations to new institutions... (through supporting) ...regular meetings of special interest groups to work on areas such as mentoring, testing and resource development." ("The English Language programmes of the British Council" Handout. British Council. Budapest. 10/10/97)

BC support was granted on a year by year basis and, as will be seen, further support soon required moving beyond the mere consolidation of DELS. A further feature of 'continuation' thus depended DELS staff to becoming involved in a new teacher-education-related initiative. This distance learning initiative (see chapter 6B) would, for the third time in six years (3YP in 1991, DELS in 1996) require DELS's staff both to develop new skills, and to use their existing professional skills in new ways.

For most DELS staff, the main, largely unexpressed but nonetheless real, goal was personal survival. The establishment of DELS as a recognised unit within IEAS and hence the university, potentially provided long-term job security for them as members of the academic staff. Such security was contingent on them beginning to develop their academic profiles in terms of higher qualifications and research within the three year probation period agreed for DELS during the merge negotiations.

In addition, the majority of staff also genuinely wished to continue to participate in developing Hungarian language teacher education. There were two immediate ways in which this might be done. The first was through the 'export' of successful aspects of the 3YP curriculum, especially the Methodology training and the teaching practice, to the 5YP teacher training year. The second involved their participation in the establishment of a new academic discipline, which would formally recognise the importance of the 'applied' study of language and learning for language teacher education.

For the university, and IEAS in particular, clear goals included the retention of the BC staff for as long as possible, the acquisition of the material and professional gains of the 3YP, and the transfer of unwanted responsibilities to DELS. However, none of these goals explicitly represented an institutional commitment to immediate major changes within the five year English language teacher education system.
3. Main themes emerging

3.1 Institution-specific goals.

- The agreement between MEC and BC for a further stage of the project from 1996 to 1998 contained no specific commitments.
- Continuation within each of the few surviving 3YP institutions was institution-specific.

3.2 Continuation as the start of a new cycle in a changed environment.

- The Continuation of the 3YP in its new guise, constituted the start of new series of planning and implementation cycles. (Although the 3YP continued in Debrecen until 1999, it was now effectively secondary to the need for CETT staff to prove themselves capable of dealing with 'real' university students on the 5YP.)
- Effectively it was the beginning of a new project, albeit this time with the curriculum frameworks already agreed.
- Courses for the fifth year trainees required the re-adaptation of earlier 3YP innovations to fit into established structures, while for the fourth track Applied Linguistics students, design of actual courses had to begin from scratch.
- The detailed content of the new programmes, like their 3YP predecessors, evolved by trial and error in the light of feedback from students, IEAS staff and university practice school supervisors.
- There were important environmental differences to 1991.
- Professionally DELS staff were far more capable and confident than they had been when joining CETT.
- They were working in a university environment which was much more aware, and in some cases more appreciative, of what they were offering.
- The university existed in a wider educational environment in which again more English teachers had been exposed to the existence of professional alternatives.
3.3. CETT subculture meeting a largely unchanged dominant culture

- As an administratively autonomous subculture with its own curriculum, CETT had to a certain degree been able to choose the extent to which it acknowledged how little the wider educational environment had changed.

- As DELS, it was now part of that environment and was confronted with the reality that both within the university and more especially within schools the pre-existing individualistic educational culture remained substantially unaltered in practice.

3.4. Continuation as new changes rather than consolidation?

- Despite the establishment of DELS effectively constituting the beginning of a new project, in the sense of a new series of planning-cum-implementation cycles, consolidation of the department was not, in the eyes of the UK based BC planners, sufficient to justify BC support for more than one further year.

- Further support could only be justified if something 'new' was proposed.

- The second year of DELS was spent identifying and developing a proposal for a new project, the Distance Learning project.

In Chapter 6 B we look at the context in which DELS was operating between 1996-1998.
INTRODUCTION

The two years of the continuation stage saw DELS slowly begin to become established as part of the existing IEAS. The extent to which this was possible and the attitudes of the implementers to their work continued to be affected by factors in the immediate and wider environments in which the project was situated. This chapter considers some of these factors.

1. A third change of political orientation

Elections in 1998 resulted in the socialist-dominated government being replaced by a centre-right coalition. This change of government was seen as significant for, among other things, ELT work in Hungary, by the BC ELO in Budapest. He suggested that one reason for the difficulties experienced by the BC over the previous four years in building up a working partnership with MEC, had been the socialist government's uncertainty about its attitude to the outside world.

'I think part of the problem that we have had over the last four years (in terms of difficulty in contacting the MEC) is that the Hungarian system had switched back to the guys who used to operate the closed system. They have now learned that they have to operate differently and work with the rest of the world but I don't think they are as open to development through language as maybe the group that set up the projects in 1990-91. Language was a way into the outside world and I think a lot of the people dealing with the projects in the last three or four years didn't want that to happen, weren't excited by that. They were more used to how the old system worked and hopefully Orban (the new prime minister) will push things back and there will be more interest in developing contacts.' (Admin 3)

The above perception of a more 'closed' attitude under the socialist government contrasts strongly with the fact that during their government Hungary strengthened its formal
political ties with the West. The socialist government had strongly urged a "Yes" vote in
the national referendum on whether to join NATO, which was duly won in 1997 and
NATO troops (mostly American), were allowed to use Hungary as a base from which to
supply their forces in Bosnia. Negotiations with the EU continued and during this period
there was official acknowledgement from Brussels that Hungary would be among the first
wave of East and Central European nations to be admitted to EU membership.

This third change of political orientation within the national government (1990, a
significantly right of centre government, 1994, a swing back to well left of centre and 1998
a centre-right coalition), suggests a continuing lack of certainty among voters as to which
political orientation would best be able to deal with the socio-economic consequences of
political change. At the same time, among many educated Hungarians there was, by now,
recognition that change was an ongoing, incremental and unpredictable process, and that it
would therefore take time for the social and economic situation to stabilise. A CETT
colleague asked Hungarian students, as part of her M.Ed research, how long they expected
it to take for people to become accustomed to the socio-economic results of political
change. She remembers the following reply:

'...one of them, a very intelligent student, said it (acceptance of change) takes
about 30 years. I'm not so pessimistic, but at least 20 years. In 20 years the world
will be so different, by that time the changes we have tried will look very
outdated.' (Coll 7/2)

Below we look at some of these socio-economic results and their effect on teachers and
attitudes to teaching.


Inflation which had been 35% in 1991 (Nagy 1992:2) was still 23.6% in 1996, according to
the Central Office of Government Statistics (1999), and had fallen to 14.3% in 1998 (op
cit). However these figures mask the fact that inflation was not consistent across all goods
and services. The figures state that food price inflation fell from 17.3% to 14.4% between
1996 and 1998, with fuel and power inflation falling from 32.5% to 17.9% during the same
period (op cit). One of the unsuccessful parties contesting the 1998 elections used the rise
in prices of daily necessities in one of its election leaflets (see appendix 27). This leaflet
claimed that the cost of basic foodstuffs (milk, bread and meat) had more than doubled
and that of domestic utilities, gas and electricity, more than tripled, between 1994 and 1998.
Chapter 6b. The Continuation context

However much such figures may have been 'adjusted' to make a political point, the cost of daily necessities had far outstripped the rate of salary increases for CETT/DELS staff and other teachers, (risen by a maximum of 50% between 1991 and 1998 according to implementers' estimates) during the 1990s.

MEG did little to try and attract new teachers into the profession. In February 1998, the socialist government pledged that school teachers' income would match the national average per capita income by 2002. For teachers such statements could only reinforce existing feelings of being unappreciated and underpaid. As salary differentials within the population at large grew wider and more important as a measure of 'worth', so their lowly position on the income hierarchy further diminished their status. Teaching became ever less attractive as a profession, demoralising for those already teaching and uninviting for potential new entrants. One DELS colleague was certain that nowadays no teacher would be as enthusiastic as she had been when she first joined CETT, and the Director felt that the huge economic differential between his salary and that of his daughter, the Human Resources Manager for Porsche Hungary, was not justified.

"If I was the same age and the same offer (to join CETT) was made to me, I would say 'no thank you.' It's not a surprise. If you look at ELTE, (Budapest University) they just can't get hold of qualified staff. Nobody wants to work for the university, start at the bottom of the ladder and get twenty odd thousand forints gross (less than £100) just to be a tanarseged (lecturer). It has lost all its status. It's even much better if you are just an ordinary secondary school teacher in an ordinary grammar or technical school and you do private lessons at home." (Coll 1/2)

"My daughter earns five times as much as I'm earning after 30-40 years and I don't think she, or many other people, are good enough or work enough that deserves or merits that amount of money. Life has changed. This is the world of capitalism." (Coll 5/3)

After a huge increase in student enrollments during the first half of the decade, when the annual intake increased from around 20 to 100 each year, by the late 1990s both the demand for places at IEAS and the quality of applicants (in terms of exam results) was beginning to fall. The Director of CETT saw this too as a another sign of the perceived undesirability of teaching as profession.

"This time (1998) the number of applications was a little more than twice the number to be accepted and very few, very few are over the mark of 10 (in the written paper of the University entrance exam where the top mark is 15)."
... Less and less (students are applying to do English) because to be a career teacher is no longer attractive.' (Coll 5/3)

Most of the 5YP trainees who were now DELS' responsibility were not, therefore, in the least bit interested in being teachers. They had stayed on for the fifth, teacher training, year partly through habit because it was still unclear whether one could really leave university with a degree after four years, and partly because, in the words of three of them interviewed together below, being a student was perceived of as a safe option in what was seen as an uncertain world.

"It's a safe thing to be a student as long as you can. You are a student, you go to school, you don't have to worry about things. You don't have the responsibility that somebody who works has. ... There is a high rate of unemployed people' (slightly over 10% at this point according to The European of 6-10/11/1997) (Part 1)

3. Changes to the structure of the education system and of teacher training

Within the school level education system, there was uncertainty about whether the traditional structure of eight years primary followed by two to four years of either vocational or academic secondary would be maintained. Devolution of responsibility for education to local authorities had resulted, in some areas, in secondary schools accepting primary school pupils after only four or six years schooling. From a near universal format of eight years plus four years in 1989, by the late 1990s six plus six and even four plus eight year permutations were found.

These changes in the structure of primary and secondary education had potential implications for teacher training also, since non-university teacher training institutions focused entirely on the training of teachers for the eight year primary sector. This period during which there was growing uncertainty about the future structure of the school system itself, saw growing MEC interest in the establishment of a consistent framework for the length and content of both pre-service and in-service teacher training.

A draft proposal on the standardisation of pre-service teacher qualifications was circulated by MEC in late 1997( see appendix 28). This attempted to lay down "uniform requirements in teacher training" as the "essential first step in improving the quality and achieving the standardisation of training." (MEC. 1997: 2). As will be seen, this document provided helpful legitimisation of the DELS designed teacher education curriculum at IEAS.
Chapter 6b. The Continuation context

The standardisation of training referred to above, included frequent references to "uniform requirements" and standardisation of qualification" within the fragmented teacher education system and aimed to "increase the duration of training to five years in general." (MEC 1997: 2). If this idea that all teacher education ought to last five years became law, all teacher education would in future be concentrated within universities, since only they, with their five year degrees, could provide the length of training required. The Professor of Pedagogy at Debrecen believed that the rationale for this suggestion related ultimately to the government's recognition that entry to the EU would require eventual convergence with EU standards in many areas, one being the development of a graduate teaching profession.

"The system of secondary schools is being restructured (from a four to a six year system). One of the reasons for this unified, university level, teacher training is that teachers coming from this will be qualified from 12 year olds to 18, the whole range. That's the reason for this unification. ... It's a kind of approach, a convergence with the EU. Another great slogan, European Union.' (Admin 7)

Such changes to teacher education, should they occur, would make the four year upper primary teacher training colleges redundant. By the beginning of academic year 1998-99, no decision had yet been taken and the historic distinctions between the roles of Lower and Upper Primary Teachers Colleges and University Teacher Training for secondary school teachers remained.

MEC's interest in teacher education also began to be evident in INSET during this period, and a framework for a two stage system of career-long professional development was proposed. Firstly, all newly graduating teachers would be required to work as probationers for a number of years, while attending further INSET training courses, after which they would have to pass a final qualifying exam (Szakvizsga) to be granted qualified teacher status. All such fully qualified teachers would then, every seven years throughout their career, be required to attend a further 120 hours of INSET training, in order to be allowed to continue teaching.

These moves towards a unified system of pre and in-service training were to be of importance to the development of the new DELS distance learning project (see chapter 6C, section 5).

4. Language teacher education as an academic discipline
Chapter 6b. The Continuation context

At national level, the establishment of the taught PhD in Language Pedagogy in Budapest in September 1996 meant that it finally became possible for 3YP staff and others to qualify as university level, language teacher educators in an applied rather than purely theoretical field. The Director of CETT Budapest, himself crucial to the development and implementation of the PhD, recognised the significance of this.

'Within four or five years (there will be) a dozen or more PhD holders in language Pedagogy. This means they will be promoted to docens (approximately senior lecturer and qualified to head a department) and we will have taken root. It will be very difficult to get rid of us. We have set a precedent and once it has been built into the system, things can't go back to what they were.' (Admin 2)

This PhD was, therefore, an essential first step in establishing academic recognition for the applied study of language, language learning and language teaching. Led by the only Hungarian full Professor in the field, it was strongly supported by the BC.

Resistance to applied studies within the university sector remained significant however, and thus the existence of such a programme did not, in the short term, affect university attitudes to the academic credentials of DELS and its staff. Overt hostility by members of IEAS to the new, more academic roles to be played by DELS was rare. However, off the record discussions with a number of ex-3YP students in IEAS, over three academic years (1995-6, 1996-7, 1997-8), suggest that when, at the end of the second year, the time came for 5YP students to choose which 'track' they would follow in the third and fourth years, some IEAS staff actively discouraged students from joining the Applied Linguistics track, by commenting negatively on the quality of DELS staff and courses.

5. The Debrecen educational environment: University and 'Practice Schools'

The establishment of DELS with responsibility for all inputs to the 5YP teacher training year, appeared to represent a recognition by IEAS that the innovations of the 3YP deserved to be more widely applied. However sincerely a minority may have felt this, a number of fundamental differences between the 3YP and the 5YP teacher training system as it continued to exist meant that such wider application could take place to only a limited extent. The fact that DELS staff had not overtly anticipated the effects of these differences demonstrates how detached and out of touch with the mainstream the 3YP subculture had been throughout much of the implementation period. It also suggests that the BC
contractees most responsible for the negotiations, had in taking the achievement of BC goals as their primary aim, been blinded by the "opacity of local rhythms" (Holliday 1995: 65), and so had in turn failed to fully recognise how little, many aspects of the existing system had even begun to change.

The 3YP had been completely autonomous in its curriculum, choice of practice schools and choice and training of CoTs. As a result, thanks to the provision of a full-time BC OC (and, increasingly his Hungarian deputy), CETT had made contact with a wide variety of local schools. Trainees spent five months in schools, working with supervisors who had been trained, however imperfectly, both in ELT methodology and supervisory skills. Assessment of teaching practice was carried out continuously and based on the trainees' development and progress during the teaching practice period. Supervisors met regularly at CETT to exchange experiences, discuss assessment criteria, develop mentoring skills and share problems and possible solutions.

As DELS, all such autonomy as regards practice schools and school based supervisors disappeared. 5YP trainees, who DELS staff were now responsible for training, continued to do their teaching practice at the three or four traditional University "Practice Schools", supervised by University appointed vezetőtanars or supervisors. Actual practice teaching for such trainees was a maximum of twenty hours (minimum of 10) spread over anything from two to six weeks and assessed by a final 'exam lesson'.

'Practice schools' and their pupils were atypical, always among the most highly regarded academic primary and secondary schools in an area. The supervisors who worked within them were almost all IEAS graduates, often with close personal or family connections to the university. They had reduced timetables and received a salary supplement paid by the university. They were chosen from among those considered to be the 'best' language teachers and had, on the whole, received no training for their role, other than the teacher training that they had themselves received when at university. They formed a well-connected group, whose self-interest required no change to the status quo.

Throughout this period, the IEAS supervisor manager was a member of the Linguistics department. As mentioned in the previous chapter, members of academic departments concerned with the methodological training of trainee teachers were not, generally, held in very high esteem by their departmental colleagues. IEAS was little different to other departments, and the supervisor manager, who also taught methodology and had a strong
orientation towards applied language studies, was at one point a possible candidate to join DELS. However, a history of personal and professional misunderstandings between her and some DELS staff, no doubt contributed to her decision not to move. These earlier misunderstandings may also have contributed to, and were certainly exacerbated by, the disagreements that arose between DELS and the supervisors whom she managed.

6 DELS staffing and staff attitudes

DELS's greatly expanded responsibilities were not reflected in its staffing. Three of the 3YP staff were not officially accepted by IEAS as members of DELS. (see chapter 5C, section 6.2). The Peace Corps finally withdrew their staff from higher education in Hungary to be replaced by a United States Information Service (USIS) lecturer who left after the first year of the period. Two further members of staff were on reduced timetables because they were attending the PhD course in Budapest. To balance this outflow, one member of the linguistics department moved to DELS. From a full-time staff of fourteen (eleven Hungarians and three foreigners) in 1994, by 1998 the full-time staff had shrunk to nine, seven Hungarians and two foreigners. They approached their new responsibilities from a variety of points of view.

While the majority agreed that the transition from CETT to DELS had been the right thing to do, in order to, potentially, preserve at least some of the curricular developments of the previous five years, some staff felt worried by, or resentful of, the demands placed on them in terms of new courses and of the need to develop a more academic professional profile.

'I was scared. Because of the requirement, I thought it would be difficult to teach there ... because I know the staff there think they are more intelligent than we are, though I know it's not true, ... so I was a bit scared.' (Coll 6)

'I personally sense more of the threatening aspects of it (the merge) than the promising side. ... I think all of us are threatened a bit by the prospect of being a department. Because it was emphasised on many occasions that it had consequences, that now is the time for us to start churning out the good old...(papers) the chance of being sacked if it doesn't happen is made clear. ... Everybody is a bit afraid of the future I think.' (Coll 7/2)

'So far we have enough experience for what we teach. From now on (we will need to teach) completely new things which require different skills and knowledge. It's a bit worrying for me and I'm sure for others too.' (Coll 7)
'PhD, if you've got it you pass, if you don't have it, out. ... They give you recognition as an adequately qualified person here if you've got a PhD. ... Experience doesn't count I'm sorry to say. You might have been teaching for 30 years and still not have a long enough publications list or a PhD.' (Coll 1/2)

The Director and staff members anticipated that, as a small department operating in the larger environment of the university, it would be difficult to retain the separate identity and working atmosphere that CETT had enjoyed. They recognised also that this might lead to dilution of the curricular changes that the 3YP had introduced.

'We should stick to keeping our own staff. We should insist. ... If it is a powerful department, not just two or three people because our numbers are going down very drastically ... it would be something. Second, if we can keep up the numbers of the courses and the number of weekly hours that we have established here and refuse to compromise, and the TP of course. ... I'm just worried that we cannot keep up the number of seminar type classes that were so influential in producing our graduates, then we are in danger of more academic stuff coming in and the number of practical seminar classes going down.' (Coll 5)

'The main problem is there are not enough people, not enough committed CETTers. (In CETT Budapest in comparison there are) ... 30 or 40 full time staff members. If there are 30 or 40 in an institution it does make a difference. We are so few and we have got rid of a lot of people. It could happen to anyone is one message ... It is one reason why we can't function as a body, a cohesive kind of thing. ... it (the merge) perhaps has done more harm than good because it has killed an atmosphere and has put an end to the kind of TT that we tried to accomplish at CETT.' (Coll 7/2)

'I no longer feel so good to be in it, to be part of this school. I think it has lost something about its original image. There's no CETT in the first place, it's just a department, and the department has other functions, it's just one of them to train these students of the fast-track course. ... I don't think you can hide it, this whole programme is coming to an end. This is the downside of the end of the life of the programme.' (Coll 1/2)

The lack of enthusiasm for, and doubts about, the future were heightened by the growing realisation among the staff that outsiders, especially Hungarian outsiders, remained unaware, and so unappreciative, of the amount of effort and energy already expended to establish a successful 3YP, let alone the efforts now required to modify it to fit the mainstream system. While one colleague felt that the BC at least had made the connection between explicit appreciation and motivation, the others felt largely unrecognised.

'I don't think there has been any recognition from the Ministry, but (it has been) greatly recognised and appreciated by the BC. It's very motivating knowing that
they know what we are doing here is something good. ... If people see their efforts are recognised, even if just in the form of verbal praise, that's very motivating for making further efforts. If your efforts are appreciated, that's job satisfaction- or part of it.' (Coll 4/2)

'Well the BC they know, they've paid for it. Some IEAS members who have had meetings with us, perhaps they know about the effort and energy that went into it. The students certainly don't. ... They (students) haven't the vaguest idea what we've done here, what we've had to do here.' (Coll 1/2)

'They (the outside world) haven't got a clue about the extent of the changes that have taken place. The Ministry I know, know virtually nothing. IEAS tries to remain untouched, but it's much more difficult for them to remain unaffected. ... In the whole of IEAS ours is a very small operation. Even if they have been touched by it, they are trying to keep it away.' (Coll 7/2)

'I think it (recognition) can be divided into two parts. Existence, the creation of the Centre, whether it's recognised. Nobody cares about recognition, everybody is looking forward and is interested as to what is to be done at the next stage. ... If we take the personal side, I might sound bitter and disillusioned but I mean it, I'm firmly convinced that the person, the man, the individual is the last thing that matters in this country. ... Who the hell cares how much effort you put in?' (Coll 8/2)

Overall, therefore, DELS staff entered this new phase of their work with resignation rather than enthusiasm. Such feelings were an enormous contrast to those with which CETT had been established only five years previously. Two factors seem to have been extremely influential, both external to the immediate working environment. First, is the consistently low material, and declining social, status of teachers and its consequences for the amount of time and commitment that staff were comfortably able to devote to their primary jobs. Second is the lack of apparent appreciation of the personal demands made on CETT/DELS staff as they worked, despite poor material rewards, through periods of insecurity and vulnerability (Claxton 1989, O'Donaghue 1995, Markee 1997) towards a new professional competence. After five years of unceasing personal and professional development, staff were reaching overload (Fullan 1989), were innovation-weary (Claxton 1989) and suffering from fatigue and stress due to too much change (Sharp 1998).
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7. Changing leadership

Implementers took full responsibility for leadership of the 3YP for the last cohort of students. The BC Assistant Director and Outreach Coordinator of CETT were both replaced by Hungarians at the end of academic year 1995-96, both re-emerging in DELS the following academic year with the new title of Curriculum Advisor.

The decision to 'Hungarianise' had been taken by the BC staff members with the very reluctant agreement of the Director and of the Hungarian colleagues who replaced them. This reluctance was due not to any lack of professional confidence, but rather to the undesirability of any extra professional and administrative demands in the socio-economic conditions outlined above.

It was hoped, by the BC staff that the transfer of titles and responsibilities at this point would achieve three main aims. First by ensuring that Hungarian colleagues assumed the leadership role initially within the familiar framework of the 3YP, they would gain experience and confidence that would later be of value in the leadership of DELS. Secondly, it was thought that making the changes while BC staff were still in Debrecen, would enable them to provide any assistance that might initially be required. Finally, it emphasised the reality, that future BC inputs would be devoted solely to the development of DELS.

The Director of CETT had no PhD in 1996, and so was qualified only to be acting head of DELS. After a year, however, his Hungarian Kis Doktoratus (literally small doctorate) was upgraded to a full PhD and he formally became head of department. However, with his retirement imminent in summer 1999 and his frequent absence due to bad health, he was unable to play a leading role. Responsibility for the planning of courses and policies relating to the new activities of DELS continued to be taken by the two BC Curriculum Advisors, with increasing inputs from the new Hungarian Assistant Director of the 3YP/Deputy Head of DELS. All DELS staff took responsibility for their own course design on the undergraduate Applied Linguistics programme.

8. The British Council

The period under discussion saw the acceleration within the BC of a process that had been continuing throughout the 1990s. BC moved away from being an organisation which
valued its ELT expertise and appreciated the long-term planning required to manage education projects. It turned instead, towards the funding of shorter-term ventures which could be rapidly evaluated according to their 'Impact'. The ELO explains.

'The BC is not about development, it is about impact. Impact is the number of people that you can get to come to one event or can train. I think it (the BC) sees things very much on a year to year basis. ... (impact is) certainly numerical and measurable to some degree, but you can measure the ELT stuff as well I think. The BIG (original emphasis) difference is that it doesn't have a long perspective ... The BC seems to have lost the need to see itself as being professional in ELT and I think that's a great loss. We are now managers and you can be effective managers of a professional activity based on your previous professional knowledge for a certain amount of time, but when you collectively get sufficiently far away, then your professional knowledge gets suspect. I'm sure the BC's professional knowledge in ELT is now highly dubious.' (Admin 3)

This 'dubiousness' was increasingly evident in the lack of understanding by the BC in the UK that ELT project, like other education projects:

'...demand year on year input and year on year planning and a development plan several years ahead, and I don't think the BC has taken that on board.' (Admin 3)

The lack of a long perspective and the need for measurable impact, in the context of a declining interest in ELT and changing geographical priorities, meant that increasingly the ELO did not know what his budget would be more than a few months in advance, and was then expected to spend it in a manner that at least appeared to have the potential for quantitatively measurable impact. The consolidation of 'old' project achievements was, alone, insufficient to justify ongoing BC involvement and hence plans for new, hopefully linked, changes to the project were required for ongoing support.

9. Main themes emerging

In this chapter we have seen that while Hungarian governments of all political complexions continued to work towards greater contact with and participation in trans European organisations, the outside world was (as compared with the start of the decade) beginning to lose interest in funding the development of cultural changes in areas of national life including Hungarian ELT. Implementers, emerging from the CETT subculture and continuing to feel professionally and personally undervalued for the changes that they had introduced successfully within the 3 YP context, also questioned whether the merge with IEAS had been a good idea. Some of the main themes emerging are discussed below.
9.1. Relationships with the international environment.

- Hungary became simultaneously further integrated into the European mainstream and of less interest to international donors.
- Hungary joined NATO, and the education system at national level began to make some of the structural adjustments needed for harmonisation with the EU.
- BC interest in the East and Central European region diminished in line with the changing political priorities of the UK government.
- BC too had a further internal reorganisation and reorientation of its 'mission'.
- Emerging from this was a greater emphasis on immediate 'impact' as the measurable indicator of the effectiveness of its work.
- BC Hungary spending had to be readjusted to consider what could be done to maintain what had been achieved in a more austere and uncertain budgetary environment.

9.2. Political change

- Hungary's third post-socialist elections during this period saw a shift from a left wing government to a more centrist coalition of parties in power.
- The political barometer had, since 1990 shifted considerably at each election and there did not yet appear to be a great deal of loyalty to any individual political party.
- This suggested considerable uncertainty among voters over which political alignment might best be able to manage the socio-economic transition to a market economy with the minimum of pain. The parties' unclear and frequently changing aims did not suggest that stability was close at hand. (Andorka and Lehman 1997)
- The socio-economic future remained uncertain and so stressful for most Hungarians.

9.3. No critical mass for change within the wider educational environment

- The emergence from the '3YP world' into the mainstream, as represented by the university and by Debrecen 'practice schools' demonstrated the superficiality of many of the changes within (language) education, outside the 3YP.
- Hostile attitudes to language teaching change, in their most extreme form, tended to be most present among older staff at the 'best' (university practice) secondary schools.
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- Such schools, with their unchallenged reputations for excellence in their environments had probably had the least contact with change within the country.
- English teachers within them who were supervisors of 5YP university language teacher trainees, had the most to lose from any changes.
- There was no critical mass of teachers outside the 3YP willing to invest the personal energy, and with access to the day by day support, needed for real change in beliefs and behaviours to occur.

9.4. The slow speed of academic acceptance and its effect on DELS.

- According to the strict letter of the university regulations, DELS was established with
  - no staff competent to teach at university level, since none had PhDs.
  - nobody qualified to be Head of Department, since the Director of CETT was not of an appropriate academic rank.
- The two staff members on the PhD programme in Budapest would not qualify until the Year 2000 at the earliest. Other staff members had to register for PhDs if they wished to keep their jobs.
- Until DELS had qualified staff, it would continue to be viewed as substandard by many within IEAS.
- For the first five years, at least, of its existence DELS would be, professionally, very vulnerable.

9.5. Lack of Hungarian Leadership

- BC staff at DELS continued to be responsible for most policy making decisions.
- Lack of qualifications among the Hungarian staff and also their reluctance to take on added responsibility without remuneration made this inevitable.
- Hungarian staff were completely responsible for the management and leadership of the ever-shrinking 3YP.
- They did not gain experience in the development of the more sophisticated planning skills needed to supply vision and policy direction for DELS.
- They did not become more familiar with dealing with the members of IEAS who from now on would have a greater role in decisions about the future of DELS.
- The merge did not therefore, promote Hungarian ownership of the integration of the 3YP subculture into the mainstream.
9.6 Eventual change fatigue

- There was a growing sense of tiredness with change and desire for a period of stability.
- DELS staff had first to ensure continued job security by starting or continuing their PhD studies.
- They had to reorientate their teaching to the preparation and delivery of courses to a more academic audience on the fourth track, or a more disaffected one on the fifth year teacher training programme.
- After one year at DELS they had to learn to design materials and take professional responsibility for the new Distance learning upgrading programme.

In the last chapter of the case study, we look at the processes gone through to try and achieve the above.
INTRODUCTION

As seen in chapter 6B, the culture of the immediate university environment of which DELS was part, and that of the practice schools to which it was linked, had been little affected by the changes that had taken place at CETT. This stage of the project although labelled 'continuation' was, therefore, as previously noted, the beginning of a number of new planning-implementation cycles. The 3YP, while still over 150 students strong in 1996-97, became an ever less important aspect of DELS's staff work. Staff energies had, instead, to be focussed on the development of courses for the smaller number of five year university students who had become DELS' responsibility - the 80 or so fifth year teacher trainees, and the five to ten specialist Applied Linguistics undergraduate students.

As a result, the 3YP, the rationale for the whole existence of CETT and subsequently DELS, became a nuisance, an irritation, for full time staff working to live up to new responsibilities.

'CETT is forgotten. As a programme soon to be terminated it seems to have become a nuisance, an extra chore.' (Coll 7)

In this chapter, the 3YP will consequently be referred to only when it actively impinges on the 'continuation' process.

1. The new department: responsibilities and expectations.

While CETT had been, in both curricular and financial terms, an autonomous unit within the university, DELS was from the beginning embedded within IEAS, and hence subject to all the coercive, normative and mimetic institutional pressures (Powell and Di Maggio 1991) of a university department. The most immediate normative pressure was to establish itself as part of a individualist educational culture, one of a hierarchy of disciplinary
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research-oriented departments. What IEAS expected this to involve, had been clearly stated by the Head of IEAS during the negotiations of the previous year.

'It (CETT) has to be formed to be a department. It's basically a very practically oriented language teaching and teacher training unit, at a high level in its own category. ... From next academic year (1996-1997) there will be more emphasis on teaching our (IEAS) students ... individual courses in the fourth track specialisation in Applied Linguistics and those electives offered to third and fourth year students can only be based on individual research. ... We encourage colleagues to offer courses based on their individual research. So there is no division line between teaching activity and research activity, so this is one reason why colleagues will be encouraged to do research in the future. ... So research activity connected with teaching high-level courses will probably be a priority in the medium term, plus maintenance of the teacher training modules, particularly in the fifth year.' (Admin 8)

Members of the CETT/DELS staff were, as has been shown, aware of what was expected of them in terms of academic performance. Several of them additionally recognised that the success or failure of DELS might have wider implications. As the first department with a clear Applied Linguistics orientation, to be established as a separate entity within a major Hungarian university, its success or failure would also affect the future status of the applied side of teacher education and language studies within the university and within the region. The head of DELS and some of his colleagues saw it thus.

'Most important is the academic profile of the department. That the necessary amount of research and academic work should be going on. ... This is where we have to work a lot harder, because the (establishment of the) Applied character is the most important. ... In the eyes of the Dean and the Rector to be a department worth its name, it is purely the academic work which counts. ... So this is where we have to work very hard, as much as we can, in fact more than we can.' (Coll 5/2)

'...this whole recognition issue ... is not the field (Applied Linguistics). We represent the field but it is down to individuals, whether they are able to manage themselves or not, and then whether they succeed or not. The whole field, that is the success of Applied Linguistics, depends on them.' (Coll 1/2)

'We don't just represent ourselves, (when doing the PhD) but the institute and the region as well, that's why there is so much pressure on us.' (Coll 4/2)

Establishing the academic profile for the department was thus seen as crucial to the eventual success of the merge, in terms of the acceptance of applied linguistics within Hungarian higher education. To do this required firstly the establishment of DELS as a centre for scientific work. Evidence of this would be provided by the successful
development of relevant research areas, completion of PhDs and the presentation and publication of papers by department staff. Secondly, the department would be judged on its ability to design and teach new 'high-level' courses that were perceived as worthwhile by IEAS students. DELS staff understood what was expected of them.

'Once we've got people with PhDs we will be properly established. That is a fact of the merger. ... I think you can only gain recognition from students if we do good courses. If we don't do good courses it's our fault if we don't get recognition.' (Coll 1/2)

'...papers and publications, this is what I think we will have to work on. This should be one of our major focuses.' (Coll 4)

'We have to take everything very seriously. It will probably need three to four years. It'll be quite tough and extra work to prepare for classes and then, through the students, we will be accepted and respected.' (Coll 6)

'All in all to consolidate our position as a new department will take a lot more work.' (Coll 5/2)

DELS staff, therefore, began this stage of the project, as they had five years earlier at the 3YP implementation stage, needing to achieve a great deal very quickly. Many of the professional skills that they had developed over the previous five years were clearly relevant to their new responsibilities. However, the new emphasis on 'being academic', in the strict disciplinary, research-based sense, understood by the Hungarian academic community, differed greatly from CETT's more interdisciplinary attempts to move the language teacher education curriculum towards a greater balance between theoretical and practical courses.

One of the reasons why most DELS staff had originally joined CETT was just because of (my emphasis) its apparent commitment to a more even balance between theory and practice and its recognition of the wide range of disciplines relevant to language teacher education. Now, in order to maintain at least some of the changes they had worked towards, they were being expected to adopt much of the culture of the system that they had rejected five years previously. The early years of the integration process thus involved negotiating certain mismatches between the two educational cultures. DELS deriving from CETT, a broadly cooperative, non hierarchical, interdisciplinary, process based culture, had to learn to become more like the other IEAS departments with their individualistic, hierarchical, specialist subject -oriented, product focussed cultures.
2. Establishing a departmental identity

Problems soon became evident in the two main areas of DELS's responsibility: the establishment of the new applied linguistics undergraduate specialisation for third and fourth year students and the teacher training programme for fifth year students. In both cases staff at DELS were outsiders, trying simultaneously both to meet the normative pressures of the well-established existing system and to limit the extent of the professional compromises that had to be made.

2.1 Applied Linguistics: establishing the boundaries

One of the first questions to arise was where the professional boundaries between DELS and the Linguistics department ought to be drawn. The Linguistics department contained certain members with specialisations which, depending on which aspect was emphasised, could be legitimately classified as part of either applied or theoretical linguistics. DELS's staff had hoped that some members of the linguistics department whose interests lay in potentially applied areas such as Psycholinguistics, Second Language Acquisition, Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics would transfer. This did not happen, even though some senior members of the IEAS staff, including the former Rector, had expected it to:

'If we create the fourth unit we ought to withdraw that expertise from our five year programme to end up here (DELS). That's how it makes sense. ... What is it about linguists that they can't speak the same language?' (Admin 1)

The head of the linguistics department saw matters rather differently. For him the ideal situation was a flexible one, in which the two departments would jointly span the complete range from purely theoretical linguistic study to what he saw as purely practical language teaching methodology, and remain content to leave the exact demarcation of professional territory undefined.

'The ideal view of the existence of the two departments (is) a kind of twin departments. At one extreme Methodology, clearly practical and related to the teacher training component ... at the other end Linguistics. The real question is which branches of applied linguistics 'belong' in which departments. Should we draw a sharp line of demarcation? My idea is ... this wouldn't be the best solution.' (Admin 4)

DELS staff, however, having to deal with the complexities of new departmental development, and disappointed and humiliated that none of the members of the linguistics
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department had joined DELS, saw the above suggestion purely negatively. They viewed it as possible evidence of a plan to make it difficult for DELS staff to gain experience across the whole range of applied linguistics courses, with a view to absorption of DELS by the Linguistics department at the end of the probationary period. It was the thus the previously more interdisciplinary DELS, which was, at first, keen that clear lines should be drawn between the subject areas of the two departments.

Fourth track courses for third and fourth year students were unequivocally the responsibility of DELS staff. IEAS students following any of the four undergraduate specialisations had to complete 21 courses. Of these 11 had to be from within their own field and the remaining ten could be chosen from among courses offered by any IEAS department. DELS staff therefore needed to design and teach the minimum of 11 courses agreed in the curriculum, any of which could be attended both by IEAS students specialising in Applied Linguistics (for whom they were compulsory) and by students from the other three IEAS departments.

The requirement to design and teach 11, new, applied linguistic, academic, courses within the first two years, put a considerable strain on staff resources. The realisation of what was actually involved, in course design terms, by claiming a particular specialisation as belonging to DELS helped, to some extent, to diminish demands that all areas of applied linguistics should formally be DELS' responsibility. At the time of writing no agreement about demarcation lines between the two departments has been reached.

One unfortunate consequence of the lack of clear delineation was that limited resources were wasted when, on occasion, very similar courses were offered in parallel by DELS and the Linguistics department, albeit initially under different names. Thus in 1996-97 and 1997-98, DELS offered 'Second Language Acquisition', while the Linguistics department offered 'Applied Linguistics' which, on closer inspection, turned out be interpreted as the study of second language acquisition. In academic year 1998-99 even the appearance of difference was dropped with both DELS and the Linguistics department offering a course called 'Sociolinguistics'.

2.2 Applied Linguistics: Student numbers

Student enrollments on the fourth, applied linguistics, specialisation, remained low. In 1996-97, when there had been no specific publicity for the programme, they numbered
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four. In 1997-98 when DELS staff designed programme publicity materials and attended the annual question and answer session for second year students the number rose to ten, falling back to eight in 1998-99. Of these, between one third and a half each year were 3YP students who, having graduated from CETT, joined the 5YP to obtain a university degree.

There may have been several reasons for this lack of enthusiasm.

DELS staff had no contact with first and second year 5YP students, and were therefore an utterly unknown quantity to the majority of second year students at the time that they were required to choose.

Students may have been actively discouraged from joining the specialisation by some IEAS staff.

DELS remained physically situated away from the main campus which may also have deterred potential students.

The Applied Linguistics track may have looked unattractive due to the paucity of course choice compared to other departments, resulting from lack of staff and the speed with which the programme had to be established.

The negative attitude among many 5YP students towards CETT and the 3YP may have been transferred to DELS.

The overt publicising of the specialisation as one that was particularly suitable for anyone wishing to become a language teacher may, in the prevailing socio-economic climate, rather than attracting students have made the track appear particularly unattractive to anyone not wishing to teach.

Individual courses within the specialisation were, however, from the beginning well attended by students from other departments, especially linguistics, who chose applied linguistics courses as some of their ten, non-specialist, courses. This meant that individual applied linguistics course numbers often reached 15-20. Course evaluations were on the whole positive and this, if departmental recognition is significantly dependent on student evaluation as suggested above, may mean that as DELS courses continue to attract reasonable numbers of students, those teaching them will become better recognised.

Assuming DELS continues to exist, the first five impediments to a more substantial student intake cited above are likely to diminish over time. The despairing extract below,
from one of the DELS staff, however, suggests that for as long as the publicity continues to link the programme to a teaching career, recruitment is likely to be low.

'What I think is really pathetic right now, the main problem is basically the social climate and that affects every other issue, which means people don't want to become teachers. Students won't choose this track (applied linguistics) because why should they. So we don't get enough interested candidates. So we are no longer inspired to invest in our own professional development. What for? Are we going to be paid for it? Is anyone going to appreciate it? I doubt it.' (Coll 1/2)

2.3. Fifth year teacher training

As noted in chapter 4C, as far back as the 1980s when DELS staff recalled their own university days, the fifth (teacher training) year of the 5YP had not been filled with students wishing to be teachers. Nor had students entering the fifth year traditionally been expected to follow many courses. Until 1996, the fifth year of a university degree course had been spent doing teaching practice, following the single, two-hour methodology course, if not taken previously during the fourth year, and completing a graduation dissertation.

The 1997 MEC draft proposal on teacher training referred to in chapter 6B section 3 (see appendix 29 for extracts), made recommendations regarding the minimum subject-specific methodological inputs to be provided to those students training for teaching qualifications 'at the same time as the first degree course of a discipline or subsequently as a form of supplementary first-degree course.' (MEC 1997:7).

The document recommended a minimum of 150 hours of such inputs of which 90 hours should deal with:

'areas of education and training related to a given specialist subject and the most important theoretical, methodological, education-technological subject areas related to the teaching of the courses to be developed.' (MEC 1997:13).

The IEAS teacher training curriculum, which obliged all students to follow three taught courses in the fifth year (four if they had not yet done methodology) in addition to their teaching practice amounted to more than 110 hours of the subject specific training outlined above. While this official support of the increase in methodological inputs was welcomed by DELS staff, its impact was in a sense immediately lessened by the fact that most students had little or no intention of entering teaching.
2.3.1 Fifth year courses

During negotiations for the establishment of DELS, little thought had been given to the extent to which the content of 3YP methodology, elective and classroom studies courses would need to be adapted to meet the needs of fifth year students. It immediately became clear that substantial alterations would be required.

The 3YP Methodology course in the second year lasted 140 hours. The fifth year course lasted 28 hours. 3YP electives in the third year could presuppose a solid Methodological training and, since they took place during teaching practice, a certain amount of practical experience. Fifth year electives could presuppose very little methodological background and, usually, no practical experience. The 3YP classroom studies course could be linked, however imperfectly, to teaching practice. This was not possible with groups of fifth year students whose teaching practice varied in duration and timing throughout one of the two semesters.

Fifth year courses thus required considerable re-designing to meet the needs of students at a far earlier point in their experience of language teaching procedures and, certainly in the case of literature students, of the theories of language and learning that underpinned the suggested methodology. In addition, the educational cultures of the 5YP and 3YP differed in the formality of student-teacher relationships, the variety of teaching methods used, the extent to which 'knowledge' continued to be represented by the learning of facts, the expectation of student participation in class discussion and in the form of assessment procedures. Consequently DELS staff teaching on fifth year courses needed to be flexible on many fronts.

However adaptable DELS staff might prove themselves to be in meeting the different expectations of 5YP students, the fact remained that the majority of students had no intention whatsoever of becoming teachers. In addition, as fifth year students they did not expect to have to study particularly seriously. Since teaching practice was short and assessed by a single exam lesson, they had little incentive to view the courses offered as having potential relevance for their teaching practice work in the classroom. This lack of student interest inevitably affected staff attitudes also. In such circumstances, as one DELS colleague laments, a vicious circle develops.

'It becomes a vicious circle. You don't get good students, they don't really inspire you, you don't want to put a lot of energy into your work because you don't get
paid enough for it. Who cares? Do students care if they have to sit through a boring class. They sit through it, so what? They need a signature (to show they have attended) and they get it. They go, and goodbye. Many of our fifth year students are like that. I see them in class." (Coll 1/2)

2.3.2 Fifth year Teaching Practice

A further cause for concern was the nature of the 5YP teaching practice component which remained outside DELS's control. TP took place in one of the practice schools under the supervision of supervisors employed by the University. DELS staff had no control over any aspect of students' teaching practice and had no prospect of gaining any, until academic year 1999-2000 when the supervisor manager's term of office would come to an end.

DELS's staff attempted to provide a methodological training for the fifth year trainees which could both feed into and generate feedback from the teaching practice experience. The lack of coordination and cooperation between university based trainers and school supervisors was completely alien to DELS tutors used to working with CETT-trained COTs. Tutors were frustrated by their inability to have any control over either the length or the timing of trainees' teaching practice, and shocked by the unexpectedly hostile and defensive reactions from some supervisors to attempts by DELS staff teaching on the Classroom Studies course, to link the course to individual or pair investigation of specific aspects of the language classroom through small-scale classroom observation tasks. Consequently during the first year of the period under discussion, 1996-97, numerous misunderstandings arose between practice schools and DELS staff.

The observation tasks were perceived by some of the supervisors, particularly the older and more influential ones, as an attempt by DELS to spy on them, and they, through the IEAS supervisor manager, made their dissatisfaction clear. She, whose professional understanding of both sides' points of view could have been very helpful, took the supervisors' part on all occasions and rather than help minimise misunderstandings, her contribution served only to complicate matters further.

Here too, therefore, DELS staff found themselves dealing with a situation with which they were not familiar. They were used to a cooperative and friendly relationship between themselves, practice schools, supervisors, and trainees during a five month full-time teaching practice that aimed to help trainees develop confidence and proficiency in their teaching skills and assessed them according to their development over time. They were
now preparing trainees for a short teaching practice assessed by an exam lesson, in schools with which they had no contact, supervised by supervisors some of whom were openly hostile to DELS and its teacher education ideas.

It remains to be seen whether in the summer of 1999 the responsibility for the management of school supervisors is passed to a member of the DELS staff and whether, if that occurs, better relationships between DELS and the supervisors can be established.

SUMMARY

In many fundamental aspects of teacher education, the 3YP, with its informal human relationships, its emphasis on the practical implications of theory, its belief in learning through experience, its assessment of understanding rather than memory and its encouragement of learner participation, was extremely different to the 5YP. The real extent of these differences only began to become fully apparent when DELS staff began to teach 5YP students and so to encounter their preconceptions and expectations. Once again 'continuation' appears an inappropriate term to describe the process taking place. Instead the first years of the process involved attempts to simultaneously identify the extent to which the 3YP, broadly co-operative, culture would have to compromise with the institutional pressures of an individualist educational culture which had remained substantially untouched by the changes in the wider environment around it, and plan and implement accordingly.

3 Leadership

3.1. Local leadership

The process of planned compromise required informed and confident leadership. Such leadership remained unavailable on the Hungarian side. The Head of DELS, whose health was not good, was no more able to provide academic or political leadership in this integrated setting than he had been previously as Director of an independent CETT.

All aspects of responsibility for the remaining three years of the 3YP were now in the hands of the Hungarian Assistant Director, but both for economic reasons and due to lack of professional confidence he too felt reluctant to take on further responsibilities. The primary responsibility for leadership, in terms of planning how to deal with the new responsibilities, was again taken by the British Council contractees. These two divided up
the responsibilities so that while the writer focused on the development of the fourth track curriculum, the other concentrated on the fifth year courses and teaching practice.

The lack of Hungarian leadership was inevitable. There was literally nobody in Hungary with the academic background, a PhD in applied linguistics and experience at the right level to fill the role, other than Peter Medgyes who was already otherwise employed. DELS staff continued to hope for an effective leader, but recognised that in the circumstances little could immediately be done, and that therefore, there was some advantage to being part of a larger organisation.

'I think if we had a good departmental head it would help a lot.' (Coll 1/2)

'I also still do claim that we need a leader. Without a leader we are better off being part of the Institute. As soon as we have a skilful leader with the proper scientific and networking capabilities, a managerial type, we could be a lot better as an independent unit.' (Coll 8/2)

'I hope there will be somebody, a good Director or whatever.' (Coll 6)

The lack of any credible candidate to lead DELS suggests that the statements quoted earlier, by colleagues on the PhD were no exaggeration. DELS staff represented not only themselves but also the academic field and the region in working towards a status that would allow them to be accepted as legitimate academics and eventual leaders. Seven years after the introduction of applied linguistics to Hungary, there remained virtually nobody sufficiently qualified in applied linguistics, TESOL or language pedagogy to be officially allowed to teach at university level. This again highlights how long it takes for a new academic discipline to become institutionally accepted within an existing culture, let alone to begin to affect that culture to the extent that it begins to question some of its own assumptions. This unavoidable need for a long-term commitment if cultural change is to begin to permeate existing systems, is a factor that ought by now to be fully recognised and acted upon by overseas sponsors attempting to introduce sustainable complex change into university level educational culture.

3.2 British Council Leadership

Compared to its very central role in helping the articulation and planning of project goals during the first years of the project, BC leadership was now more peripheral. Resources were now spent in three main areas. Firstly, they continued to fund four contractees at the three remaining ELTSUP institutions. Next they gave support in terms of professional
advice and funding to the new PhD in Language Pedagogy and encouraged ELTSUP staff to register for it. Finally, resources were spent on providing opportunities for English language teaching professionals from within and outside ex-ELTSUP institutions, who were interested in maintaining or further developing their skills in pre-service language teacher education, to meet monthly in Budapest. Three professional special interest groups were formed; the Resources pool, the Testing mini-project and Mentoring. By covering all travel and accommodation costs, BC, using MEC funds as well as their own, made it possible for all those who wished to participate to do so. The rationale for supporting these groups and for ensuring that they were able to meet regularly was explained by the BC ELO, and confirmed by the Hungarian project implementation manager.

'I...across institutions maybe there aren't enough (people who want to keep developing professionally) within any single institution, but across the institutions there is a body of people who are continuing to think and develop. ... Because one person or two people on their own in Debrecen could soon get stultified, but when they can meet once a month with people from other places with similar ideas that does give the encouragement to keep things moving on.' (Admin 3)

'I think the BC achieved something in this project by helping people to become aware of other institutions in the country. ... people talking to each other and getting interested. ... (helping to make) people aware of other people in the country doing the same thing and that it is worth contacting them.' (Admin 6)

This opportunity for contact with other professionals provided by the PhD, and the three special interest groups was appreciated by some of those at whom it was aimed.

'These mini-projects (the Resource Pool and Testing project) seem to be attractive and now I weekly (at PhD sessions) meet other people from CETT and BC places. I think we have learned about each other and know about the possibilities this programme can offer in the future as well. The BC provided for the meetings and once it started as professional, in some cases it developed to personal contacts which is good.' (Admin 9)

'I see the BC role in being a facilitator. In bringing the Hungarian academic community together, the professional groups. So that I know, for example, in my field what is going on in Szeged or Pecs and Budapest. I think once we are brought together it is fruitful and beneficial for us, but somehow ... probably because of the social burdens about keeping alive, we haven't got the energy and the time to do this, to initiate this.' (Coll 4)

The BC role therefore remained important, no longer as the determiner of the direction of change, but as a financial and organisational enabler for those Hungarians within pre-
service teacher education who wished to continue their personal development and to make and maintain contacts with like-minded fellow professionals from other institutions. The monthly Resources Pool meetings usually gathered together between 25 and 40 language educators from all over the country, to present and discuss a language teacher education related theme. The smaller, more specialist testing group of 10-15 people contained representatives from almost all major universities, first lobbied for and began to implement changes to the university English entrance exam. Later some members became involved in the more radical restructuring of the English school leaving examinations. Hungary's regional role at the forefront of school based mentoring continued, culminating in a large international Mentors' conference in Budapest in 1998.

BC therefore continued to play an important enabling role in the ongoing professional development of a fairly small but potentially influential group of professional language teacher educators. By fully funding all costs involved in attending meetings, they made it possible for those who were interested to meet one another, learn from one another and support one another, at a time when this would have been financially impossible for most of the participants to contemplate on their own salaries. Beare (1992), Fullan (1991) and Woods (1988) all note that one of the key factors during any continuation stage is the continued provision of at least a proportion of the funding that was supplied for the implementation. Through its funding of the special interest groups and the PhD, BC, while scaling down the extent of its inputs, enabled those personally committed to change to continue to develop whatever they had begun.

4. DELS: atmosphere and enthusiasm

The depleted DELS staff had to work very hard to cover the range of responsibilities delegated to them and, as noted, this meant less and less involvement with the 3YP. The final intake of 3YP students noticed this.

'They (first year 3YP students) complained about the staff, why is it there are only one or two full time staff teaching them and the rest are outside lecturers. I think you can't hide this, the whole programme is coming to an end.' (Coll 1/2)

Another feature of the transition to departmental status was the increasing need for DELS staff to teach more academic courses and so to specialise. Compared to the early days of the 3YP, less and less was done jointly, although some implementers felt that a fundamentally cooperative atmosphere still remained:
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'(in the past) there were tasks to complete. We prepared tasks for the complex language exam and there were staff meetings. Not too many, but sometimes nowadays I think there are not enough.'

'(sense of teamwork) not right now but it could be restored after this PhD thing to some extent, because now people have reached some level of proficiency in their profession they have also specialised into certain fields and so could deepen their knowledge in that field. But if some things needed to be done in the department's interest, I'm sure they would take part in these things. Perhaps the quality of their taking part wouldn't be the same as it was in the first days of CETT, but I'm sure they'll be co-operative to some extent.' (Coll 8/2)

'I think it's a good team. It's small and people are doing very different things, but it is a team.' (Coll 5/2)

'Perhaps less teamwork is needed now because a lot has been worked out. We still do a lot in teams. If it comes to the complex language exam, Classroom Studies or Methodology we co-operate and chew things over together, but of course we don't have to work it out now.' (Coll 4/2)

Teamwork on a day to day basis, so characteristic of the early stages of the 3YP implementation process was both no longer needed to the same extent and no longer possible. Towards the end of academic year 1996-7, however, the need for BC to justify its continued staff support for Debrecen resulted in the establishment of a new project at DELS which once again did require staff to think as a team.

5 The distance learning project

The rapid expansion of foreign language teaching in Hungarian schools during the first half of the 1990s and the consequent need to find the staff to meet demand, meant that the rules governing who was qualified to teach at a secondary school had often needed to be flexibly interpreted. Consequently, by the second half of the decade there were a large number of language teachers at Hungarian secondary schools who, like the graduates of the 3YP, had a college rather than a university degree, and were therefore not strictly qualified for the positions that they held.

Although the shortage of foreign language teachers had, by this point, been largely met, substantial numbers of 'secondary qualified' language graduates continued to emerge from university departments. The position of 'unqualified' teachers now began to be questioned by headmasters and the universities. In order to secure their jobs such teachers needed to upgrade their qualifications to university degree level.
In addition, MEC's developing strategy for a more systematic framework for in-service training (discussed in chapter 6B section 3) raised the possibility that universities might, in future, become more involved in the provision of in-service teacher education also.

It now seemed likely that a substantial number of language teachers in Hungary would need to upgrade their college level qualifications to university degree level, however opportunities to do so were extremely limited. IEAS had, since 1994, offered a part-time applied linguistics 'MA' to college graduates with at least two years, school-based, teaching experience. This programme could be successfully completed through visiting Debrecen for classes one day a week during term time, over two years, and then writing a dissertation in the third year, and so offered one route to graduate status. Access to the programme was though inevitably limited to teachers living within reasonable travelling distance of Debrecen.

In an increasingly 'impact-driven' BC, if support was to be maintained, some further development, linked to what had gone before, but able to be presented as a new project, was required. One option discussed at DELS was the establishment of an upgrading degree programme for English teachers to be delivered via distance learning. The market for any upgrading course would be finite. It was, therefore, suggested during discussions that the individual modules of any distance programme should be designed so as to be useable also on courses for probationary teachers, and as modules on the compulsory INSET training that MEC proposed to offer all teachers every seven years. A nationwide questionnaire-based survey yielded expressions of interest from 122 of the 600 schools sampled and it was agreed to proceed, provided funding could be obtained.

BC funds having been agreed, academic year 1997-98 was spent planning for this distance programme, scheduled to begin in September 1999. The questionnaire data indicated most interest for a course that included applied linguistics and cultural studies. If DELS was not to be overwhelmed, it was necessary for the various IEAS departments to agree on a curriculum design that would ensure that, insofar as was possible, materials preparation and the subsequent tutoring of the courses would be shared. Such agreement was hard to come by and the overall coordination of the programme remained with its initiators, DELS.

Having established the draft programme outline, a number of British universities were asked to submit bids to provide a materials writing and programme planning workshop in Hungary for those who would ultimately be responsible for the programme. (see appendix 29) A one week workshop was held at DELS in June 1998.
In contrast to the lack of involvement by the majority of CETT staff in the negotiations leading to the establishment of DELS, there was considerable discussion within DELS as to whether or not to embark on this further development. The obvious further addition to DELS' staff workloads that the distance programme would entail was of course a negative factor. This, even with BC guaranteeing tax-free payment for materials writing, outweighed any advantages that might accrue from participating in what would, for Hungary, be an entirely new venture. The eventual agreement to take part was, therefore, again, more a recognition of the need to promote the departmental profile, than of any real personal or professional desire to become involved in yet another new venture. As one of the colleagues notes below, people felt 'no', but said 'yes'.

'OK, distance learning. It's the only way forward for the department, nobody said 'no' basically, everybody said 'yes', but the bottom line was 'no'. They realised this was a must in the long run. It's in the interests of the department.' (Coll 8/2)

As with negotiations for the establishment of DELS, it was the BC contractees, reacting to perceived pressure from BC Budapest, in their turn reacting to demands from BC UK, who set the agenda for the direction in which the implementers would move. This apparent imposition of further change by outsiders, suggests that the locus of control for implementers was entirely external, and that Hungarian ownership of what was happening, and hence its sustainability, was minimal. This extent to which they perceived this to be so is discussed below.

6 Hungarian ownership and the sustainability of the change

In chapter 5C section 4, it was suggested that during the implementation stage of the 3YP, the Hungarian staff developed considerable ownership of the changes that they were implementing. Although in 1991 most responsibility for the leadership and management of the change process had, in Debrecen, necessarily been in the hands of the BC and its local appointee, by 1996-97 there was Hungarian ownership of the 3YP in Debrecen, the 3YP, had it been continued would have been sustainable.

During the period 1995-98, leadership of most negotiations with IEAS and detailed strategic planning for further changes, the establishment of DELS and the agreement to go ahead with the distance learning programme, continued to be taken by the BC contractees. To what extent was this continued outsider leadership perceived as imposing
change, and so as diminishing Hungarian ownership, and the sustainability, of what was being attempted?

6.1 Implementers' personal and professional development.

The quotes below from interviews in 1996 to 1998, suggest many staff at DELS did recognise that they have personally and / or professionally benefited from their participation in the project. None mentioned that they had felt 'held back' by the leadership role of BC contractees.

'Attitude changes are difficult to bring about, but once they gain a foothold it's longer lasting. ... I'm pretty convinced that some attitude change has been initiated among teachers here which they will transfer. ... Very simple practical things, for example groups and pairs, encouraging active participation in class, encouraging students to voice their own opinions and not just regurgitate, encourage some kind of reflection. All things that an average Hungarian student or learner is not used to.' (Coll 7)

I wouldn't say I've gained a new concept (of teaching), but that my concept which was already along new lines was reinforced and I could see it being put into practice. It was something that was missing before, that I really felt the need for putting into practice and I am very happy that it has been put into practice. It did motivate me. ... I was given the opportunity to be a different teacher.' (Coll 4/2)

'I look at teaching in a different way, my role as a teacher. ... I'm trying to convince my students that their task in the classroom is not to know everything and to answer the questions and to teach and through teaching make the students know the language, but to create the atmosphere for learning to take place. It's of secondary importance what teaching takes place. The learning is important and students are important and the teacher and their teaching comes second.' (Coll 7/2)

'I think there quite a few things that have taken root and won't be erased. Like our methodology training is going to shape the common (5YP) training more and more. I think they (IEAS) understand that two hours of lectures is not the way to teach methodology.' (Coll 2)

'Yes I personally am very grateful to have worked here and personally have profited a lot. I'm a different person if you can say that, to a certain extent. Professionally anyway, but you can't separate professional and your personality, your professional and private self.' (Coll 8/2)

'In the beginning I was sure about the value of what we were doing and I definitely regarded it as something valuable and positive. But I also admitted that I wasn't the right or best person to explain or demonstrate this to others. I wasn't a good representative of this new ideology because I was a beginner. So I worked, I
intuitively felt things to be right. Now I can rationally explain why they are right. So I can defend myself now.' (Coll 1)

'I think my concept of language teacher education has changed quite considerably because I am now more aware of what we add to a traditional teacher training, this greater emphasis on the professional side.' (Coll 5/2)

6.2 Dissenting Voice

There was at least one colleague, however who felt that the decision to end the 3YP in Debrecen, and the transition to DELS, had limited the extent to which the personal and professional development claimed above might affect the wider educational environment.

'...in the first case I don't agree with this statement (that the effect of the 3YP changes were significant and longlasting). I don't know how you can say this. I don't feel our programme is going to be a longlasting thing, we are just about to finish it all, how can we say it is long lasting? Some effects, some side effects may be longlasting, changes in the English teachers job maybe. But I really don't know on what basis you can say this, longlasting. I think it is just a big word with not much behind it.'(Coll 1/2)

The validity of this comment of course depends on how directly and literally the term 'longlasting' is taken. In its originally conceived, and later adapted sense, the 3YP teacher education model has been short-lived in the sense that it has not, especially as regards it's crucially different approach to the role of methodology and teaching practice, been fully applicable anywhere outside the ELTSUP, and particularly CETT, subculture. The fact that this very different approach was not replicated elsewhere is not surprising, since no other Hungarian educational context has, or has had, the unique combination of funds, skills, professional commitment and administrative independence, which enabled Debrecen, among others, to establish a new institution offering a new language teacher curriculum.

In Debrecen, one could argue that the indirect effects of the 3YP will be longlasting. DELS actually exists, the need for, subject specific, methodology input to trainee teachers is unquestioned, applied linguistics is beginning to be recognised as a valid discipline, a strongly 3YP influenced, distance upgrading course is being prepared. These would all have been viewed as inconceivable by the majority of IEAS and CETT staff five years previously.

6.3 The role of BC
DELS staff did not find the BC leadership role either an imposition or something that diminished their own ownership. They recognised that the significant planning and leadership role played by the BC had, on the whole, been necessary and had not detracted from the development of their own professional skills and confidence. As a result of DELS's staff present level of expertise, the BC role in the future was uncertain. In the immediate present, BC inputs remained useful for the credibility which they gave to the department and its ventures while it was still establishing itself. Purely pragmatically, it was also helpful to have at least two staff who were well enough paid to be able to work full-time.

'(BC) helped us establish a new model of training. It could never have been possible without your expertise and other kinds of help.' (Coll 7)

'I think the BC knew as well as anyone else that the presence of the Brits, especially at the beginning was essential, and later on (there would be) a kind of withdrawal. They even said it, the BC intended to slowly withdraw once the institutions became strong enough to stand on their own. ... I don't quite know what the role of the BC people might be in the future. If they stay here they will have a totally different role. In that sense their mission is finished.' (Coll 2)

'... (there is) pressure because we are so few. There is real pressure on us because of qualifications, we wouldn't be able to cope on our own. In any new discipline the more there are who are accepted by academic opinion to be knowledgeable, the better. ... Probably if we had to, were pressured to manage on our own, we may have, but probably with less efficiency. ... The advantage, one of the major advantages that you've (BC appointees) been here is that you haven't got this social pressure that we have. You can spend all your time and energy on the project, something that we Hungarians mostly can't afford' (Coll 4/2)

'I think we are at a stage where we can take over. It's going to take I don't know how many more years before we will take over and we'll have full ownership. I think, because of the level of qualifications, this programme still gets much of the recognition because of the BC involvement.' (Coll 1/2)

6.4 Ownership and sustainability

The majority of the above quotes from those most directly and intensely involved in ELTSUP in Debrecen, suggest feelings of ownership of what has been attempted and a sense of sustainability, albeit in different and unpredictable forms, of some of the
fundamental changes in attitude and so in behaviour. However, as the Hungarian PIM points out below, and as quickly became obvious when trying to transfer change from 3YPs into the wider educational system such ownership was felt more lightly, if at all, by those beyond the 3YP fraternity.

'If I think back to our meeting with (Admin 8) this morning, the way he spoke this morning. 'We WANT (speaker's emphasis) to incorporate ELTSUP achievements into our programmes.' It impressed me. ... I think there is Hungarian ownership now. Of course it is different. Some people who have done a full-time M.Ed and come back and feel committed, their feeling of ownership is bigger than that of heads of institutes, who on the whole look on from afar.'
(Admin 6)

That the IEAS policy makers 'look on from afar' may be explained by their lack of real involvement at any point in the actual planning and implementation process, and so their lack of understanding of what has taken place. As has been pointed out, at the time when ELTSUP was established, there was little common understanding between the institutional leadership and the BC, regarding what participation in a project actually implied, beyond the simple original quantitative aims. In the intervening years, while project aims changed, and CETT staff, in developing their professional skills, began to recognise and understand the attitudinal and behavioural changes that were necessary if principles were to be put into practice, members of IEAS continued to work in an environment whose basic professional belief systems had barely been challenged.

CETT was administratively autonomous and physically separate from IEAS and the implementation took place in an incremental and unpredictable way in response to feedback from and changes in the wider environment. IEAS leaders meanwhile, had to deal with the many, mostly administrative, changes that autonomy brought to the university environment. Most members of IEAS had little opportunity, and/or inclination to take a close interest in what was happening at CETT. In addition, while CETT/DELS staff either in person or through the BC contractees were kept informed of, and had personally to react to the results of BC plans and thinking, the leaders of IEAS had far less contact. In consequence, it is unsurprising that, as the BC ELO noticed, the IEAS notion of 'project' failed to develop.

1 I think from our point of view there is a greater drive for us to achieve things than I notice (among Hungarians). Things that ought to be of vital importance to the Hungarians to achieve their own goals, we wind up pushing them to. .... One of the basic differences is that we are looking towards sustainability. ... We
are looking towards starting things, developing things, working with people, getting out. The Hungarians are very much not.' (Admin 3)

At this point I would like to return to time scales. The entire process described in chapters four to six covers only seven years. During that period the national and personal environment in which almost every Hungarian lived, changed beyond measure. In addition the professional changes demanded of CETT/DELS staff and, to a lesser extent, university staff were unceasing. The apparent project assumption outlined above, appears to be that outsiders can arrive, provide appropriate inputs, and depart within a fairly short time-span, leaving behind a sustainable project, in the form of people and institutions that have successfully completed a transformation from some pre-change state to some new, fully-changed state. Such an idealised and decontextualised conception of the stages of the change process from initial planning to acceptance through implementation and so sustainability is, in my opinion, inappropriate when introducing complex change to the majority of 'real life' project environments.

It is particularly simplistic in ELTSUP circumstances, where participants in the project changes have simultaneously been affected by a set of much larger and more fundamental changes in every aspect of their local and wider environment. In such a complex environment, individual and institutional ownership of complex change is likely to vary enormously among participants and will, since the change can only be implemented incrementally, usually only be partial. Sustainability in such circumstances therefore, can only be judged in the sense of the local continuation of achieved project goals as adapted to the local environment during the implementation process. It will therefore, if judged in terms of a particular set of pre-determined project goals, only ever exist to a partial degree at any given institution.

We should perhaps, therefore, consider it to be substantial evidence of ownership and sustainability that the principal implementers of ELTSUP at CETT /DELS Debrecen:

do not feel that change has been imposed on them,
understand and agree with the route followed at most stages of the change process,
understand many of the external environmental influences that have meant change has occurred in the unpredictable, incremental and partial way that it has,
and still feel able to take an adapted version of the change forward.
Chapter 6C. The Continuation process

More peripheral participants such as the IEAS leadership, due to various combinations of disinterest and alternative personal and institutional priorities, will take considerably longer to understand what, beyond the purely pragmatic, has been achieved. Nonetheless their legitimisation of CETT/DELS staff professional achievements, by accepting them as part of the academic community is in itself a demonstration of shared ownership and so a contribution to sustainability.

7. Main themes emerging.

7.1 Ownership and sustainability

- These notions appear to be understood by overseas sponsoring agencies as product rather than process. This fits the fundamentally quantitative approach to the measurement of success or failure still taken by many such agencies. The assumption seems to be that these are states that demonstrably either do or do not exist. If they do, the project has succeeded, if not it has failed.
- This appears to take a rational linear view of the educational change process.
- ELTSUP, like other educational changes, did not develop in a rational, linear fashion. The case study suggests that ownership and sustainability need to be viewed far more flexibly as processes, that at a given point exist to a greater or lesser and to a growing or diminishing extent.
- The Debrecen example is of 3YP implementers moving from virtually no professional ownership to complete ownership of the project as originally conceived, that is in terms of their ability to plan, and implement a 3YP curriculum following a much adapted reflective practitioner model. Had the 3YP been continued, it would now be sustainable.
- When judging whether ownership and sustainability exist, we should surely be using criteria more similar to those COTs were asked to use when judging 3YP trainees' teaching performance, (according to context and relative to earlier states), rather than those used in the exam lesson by 5YP supervisors (on the basis of a narrow, normative, numerical judgement of a moment in time).
- For DELS to be sustainable, implementers need to own the sophisticated, professional skills needed to adapt the 3YP model to a variety of other circumstances.
- DELS's staff do not yet own the leadership of DELS. However, bearing the university context in mind, and relative to what could have been anticipated when CETT began in 1991, what exists in DELS today is, barring further demoralising changes in the wider environment, both owned and sustainable to a substantial degree.
DELS emerging from its relative isolation was immediately forced to compromise some of its own accepted changes in order to be able to operate successfully in the wider environment.

More engagement with IEAS sooner, might have resulted in greater understanding on both sides and so in compromises being agreed more amicably.

7.4. Contradictory messages from policy makers.

- The distance learning project was set up as a response to MEC's apparent acceptance of the concept of teachers' professional development as a continuing process. The establishment of a nationwide, certificated, in-service training system, suggests an understanding of the importance of, and a commitment to, the provision of well trained teachers within an education system.
- The same MEC undermined its own efforts by lack of attention to the question of making teaching a desirable career for intelligent and able people.
- As a result, both those providing the in-service training and those attending it were likely to be under-motivated, and it was, therefore, less likely to achieve its purpose.
- If the money spent on educational change policies is to have the desired effect (or indeed any positive effect) it must fund a complete package which aims to support both implementers and trainees.

7.5 Consistent support from implementation to continuation

- Change continuation in ELTSUP took individual routes at each institution, as BC Budapest's budget shrank and scope for their overt project leadership decreased.
- BC maintained their support for teachers who remained committed to change, by funding regular small group meetings to discuss problems and solutions, and plan, test and report on the effectiveness of new ideas, what Fullan (1991:142) calls 'Interactive professionalism'.
- This consistent support for the development of cross-institutional links between like minded teachers was in itself, an important change to the pre-existing situation.
- The meetings, bringing together individuals from a wide range of institutions, amplified the voice of this widely representative group's continued demand for change, of various kinds and to varying degrees of explicitness, to a far greater volume than any one or several of them could have attained alone.
In chapter seven I try to draw together some of the themes that have emerged from the case study, and consider to what extent, if any, they have wider applicability.
CHAPTER 7.

MANAGING COMPLEX CHANGE IN A TURBULENT ENVIRONMENT

This final chapter tries to identify some of the main themes emerging from the preceding case study and to discuss them in terms of some of the research questions listed below. In so doing the enormous complexity of the reciprocal connections and influences that exist between the components of any change environment again becomes evident. These interactions are especially tangled in the case study, since so many aspects of the environment were changing simultaneously throughout the period studied. In such circumstances, it is difficult to establish direct cause and effect relationships with certainty. In addition, it is bound to be the case, that there are connections to be made from the case study data, which I have not recognised. I therefore acknowledge, borrowing from Geertz (1973 in Hatch 1997:223), that the discussion below will be 'intrinsically incomplete'.

INTRODUCTION

The research questions, as they developed over the research period, were as follows:

1. How and why did the aims of ELTSUP change from being purely quantitative to being principally qualitative over the lifetime of the project?
2. How did the change process affect individual and institutional participants' educational values?
3. What factors within the Debrecen context have contributed to the success of the project and which changes will require continuing support if that success is to be maintained?
4. What information about institutional and national education contexts would it be helpful and feasible to gather prior to the start of projects of this kind?
5. What areas of educational management might usefully be included in the training of expatriate implementers of such projects?
6. To what extent has change been integrated into the university's regular degree programme?
7. What were some of the effects that 40 years of socialist, centralised decision-making had on organisational structures, attitudes and capacities at schools and universities, and to what extent did these contribute to or delay the development of sustainability and ownership of whatever educational changes actually occurred?
8. To what extent can implementers of educational change be supported by the immediate and wider environments in which they work?

9. To what extent is educational change of the type proposed by the case study inevitably qualitative, and so, complex (Fullan 1992)?

10. To what extent is it inevitable that qualitative change introduced into part of an existing system will need to accommodate to institutional pressures if it is to be disseminated more widely?

Questions 1, 2, 6 and 7 above have, I believe, already been sufficiently discussed in chapters four to six. The remaining questions, (3-5 and 8-10) are considered in this chapter.

The chapter begins by asserting that the success of any change project will be crucially affected by the extent to which local implementers feel themselves supported during the change process. It is suggested that such support is particularly important in a change project of the kind represented by the case study (and most other inter-governmental ELT projects), since the type of change proposed was a complex change (Fullan 1992:115) and so amounted to a cultural change.

'It is what people develop in their minds and actions (my emphasis) that counts. People do not learn by or accomplish complex change by being told or shown what to do. A deeper meaning and solid change must be born over time.'

For change leaders at all levels to be able to support implementers, they need to understand, at least broadly, the cultural orientations and experiences of the environment into which the proposed changes are to be introduced. Such an understanding will enable them to anticipate two important factors in the planning of any change project. Firstly, what existing minds and actions they are likely to find in local institutions and among potential implementers, and so what degree of change their proposals represent. Secondly, what the culture of the existing environment may mean for the attitudes and contributions, that local institutions and implementers bring to the change process.

For such understanding to be possible, change leaders need to be aware of what the introduction of any cultural change implies, and in particular of the need for an environmental assessment, albeit probably an outline one, at the beginning of any educational change project. It is only on the basis of such an assessment that aims, time scales and funding can be realistically agreed, and the more detailed project planning can begin. Such planning can, however, deal with only the early phases of change implementation, since over the years of the change process, wider and local environments
and the change leaders and implementers themselves will all be changing in more or less unpredictable ways, (see figure 2.1). Hence when planning for educational change, it is necessary to leave sufficient flexibility to allow the route followed by the change process to evolve in the light of changing environmental realities.

It is not however accurate to represent such an evolving change process as an unruffled linear progression from planning through implementation to continuation, since, (regardless of the stability or otherwise of the wider environment), its evolution takes place in a changing immediate project environment. Any continuing change process is, instead, likely to be incremental, in the sense that the planning for and implementation of each new phase, is able to draw on its implementers' accumulated professional experience and expertise to date.

If complex change is cultural change, wider dissemination of any change, especially one that has been introduced in only part of an education system, is likely initially to entail accommodation with the existing educational culture. If this is so, the question arises of what degree of change may any such complex educational change project bring about? I suggest that successful complex educational change can in the case study circumstances (an ELT project of limited duration), at best only hope to reach a state of cultural incrementalism (Gagliardi 1986), in which the new values that it introduces co-exist, more or less easily, with the existing culture.

The chapter next discusses the Debrecen context, and whether any features of educational management and/or leadership can usefully be incorporated into the training of outsider implementers, such as British Council contractees. The chapter concludes with final summary of the themes emerging from the discussion. A brief postscript then brings the case study up to April 2000.

Before beginning the first section let me introduce the terms I use for the two groups of people most immediately involved in decisions about the planning implementation and continuation, (whatever form this may take) of any educational change process of the kind described in the case study. Examples of each category from the case study are given in brackets.

1. **The Change Leaders (CLs):** the representatives of the governmental or non-governmental agencies or other institutions who negotiate the aims of change, agree the time scale for change, draft initial plans for change and through their control of funding, strongly influence both the possible extent and the course of any change.
• Representatives of the outsider government department or agency sponsoring the change project. (BC in the UK)

• Representatives of the host country government or agency with whom the formal change project agreement is made. (Hungarian MEC)

• The donor government or agency representatives in the host country. (BC in Hungary)

• Representatives of the institutions in which the change is to be introduced. (The institutions in which 3YPs were situated, which, although formally only a conduit for Hungarian project funding, as powerful representatives of the existing teacher education system, inevitably influenced the extent to which change could occur).

1. **The Implementers (IPs):** those individuals, including local project leaders at change institution level, responsible for day to day detailed planning, implementation, and ultimately dissemination, of the changes proposed and agreed by the CLs.

• Host country IPs. (Hungarian 3YP staff)

• Contract staff, employed by the outside CLs, (usually their nationals), to assist in the implementation. (BC contract staff- Assistant Directors and Outreach Coordinators)

• Any representatives of the wider education system in the host country, who are necessary for implementation of the proposed change to take place. (School based 3YP supervisors)

• 'Products' of the change programme who are potential disseminators of change. (3YP graduates working in secondary and primary schools).

For any complex change to stand much chance of success, CLs need to recognise the interdependence of the contributions to the change process made by all represented in the above two groups. In this chapter, however, I particularly emphasise the relationship between the CLs and the host country IPs, for reasons given in the following section.

1. **Local IPs determine the extent of the success of any educational change.**

In any educational change process the only people **certain** to be affected, for better or worse are those responsible for implementing the change in classrooms within the chosen institutions. Where the aim is to introduce a complex change, the time scales involved make grassroots local IPs' attitude to, and motivation for change, throughout the many years of the process, particularly crucial. This is demonstrated by this case study where the
extent of the success or failure of the 3YP in Debrecen, was substantially dependent on a stable group of Hungarian IPs' willingness and ability to cope with the personal and professional demands of the on-going changes required of them between 1991 and 1998.

The crucial role of local IPs in this case study, reinforces my experience of four other complex change projects in China. In two of these it was, for a number of political and/or socio-economic reasons, impossible to find a group of local colleagues able and/or willing to commit the consistent effort needed over time to implement the project. These two projects made little or no impact on either their institutional or their wider environments, and disappeared on the departure of the outsider change agents. The other two shared, with this case study, a stable group of committed local IPs, willing to invest time and energy over several years in trying to understand and implement the changes that the projects had been established to bring about. In both these cases, today, ten or more years after the projects formally ended, recognisable versions of the initial 'vision', necessarily adapted to local circumstances and intervening environmental changes, have become an unquestioned part of the existing culture in the departments concerned. Since the departments are situated in influential national institutions, their culture continues, albeit slowly and partially, to influence that of the wider Chinese ELT community. More or less directly, the 'spirit' of the changes introduced by the original projects is still being disseminated.

This experience, together with the case study evidence, suggests that it is the calibre and attitudes of the local IPs that are the single most important factor in determining the success of any educational change project. If this is so, one of the most important responsibilities of leaders and managers of such projects is to ensure that, as far as possible, the IPs throughout the change project lifetime perceive that what they have gained from their association with change outweighs what they have lost (Kennedy 1988).

CLs will not be able to maintain IPs' positive orientation to the change process over time, unless they are sensitive to the likely interaction between the proposed changes and the environment into which they are to be introduced. Such an awareness requires CLs involved at the negotiating and pre-planning stages that accompany any such project, to try to understand, in outline at least, the change environment as a whole, and so its likely attitude to, and ability to contribute to, the implementation of the proposed changes. This global understanding of the change environment is particularly important if the proposed changes aim to achieve complex change.
Chapter 7. Managing complex change in a turbulent environment

The following section suggests that educational changes of the kind outlined in this case study (and of the kind introduced by most ELT projects) do require IPs to accomplish complex personal changes if they are ever to succeed in disseminating changes more widely, and so do amount to cultural change.

2. Complex educational change as cultural change.

The type of support that IPs need, and how long they need it for, will depend very largely on the scale of the change being attempted. The original apparent aims of the 3YP were qualitative; to speed up the training of English Language teachers to meet an existing shortage. Although the proposed single major teacher education programme was different from existing double major 5YP programmes in its focus on English only, in most other ways the initial aims, insofar as they were stated, could have been interpreted as implying only first order change, defined by Fullan (1991) as improving the efficiency and effectiveness of what is already being done.

Had the 3YP curriculum, and the approach underlying it, been planned purely to be a more efficient, single major version of the existing 5YP curriculum, it is likely that the time needed for IPs to develop the skills needed to implement the curriculum would have been relatively short. They were after all graduates of the existing 5YP teacher education culture and thus had themselves been given most of the knowledge deemed necessary for the training of English teachers. They would therefore only have had to make the transition from teaching language at secondary school level to teaching language and perhaps some literature and history at tertiary level. Neither most of the content of what was taught nor the expected teaching style would have been unfamiliar. To meet purely quantitative aims, the initial three year agreement between the BC and MEC does not seem unrealistic.

At CETT Debrecen, strongly influenced by CETT Budapest, the manner in which the 3YP was actually implemented, was from the very beginning, not consistent with such quantitative first order aims. Once CETT Budapest had taken, and acted upon, its decision to introduce a different approach to teacher education, involving the development of a new curriculum and new styles of teaching and learning consistent with its underlying principles, it was inevitable that whether admitted or not, the aims would be more ambitious. What was being attempted, in at least some 3YP institutions including Debrecen, was from the start therefore, a version of Fullan's (1992) complex change, a process that aimed to result in changes in the minds and actions of IPs (in the sense of their professional beliefs and behaviours) and so in the culture of the institutions in which
they worked (3YP institutions and their host universities and colleges). Later, this aim was made more overt with the encouragement of integration with the host institutions. Since such institutions represented existing norms, the aim logically (although never expressed as such) extended to introducing change to the culture of the language teacher education system as a whole. Achieving such complex change, among teachers, teacher educators or educational planners, is, at least implicitly, the aim of most overseas ELT change projects.

CLs who seriously expect local IPs to try to implement complex changes, must recognise that cultural change will take a long time. The shared assumptions, beliefs, norms and behaviours that characterise educational (and organisational) cultures, are themselves a product of the wider culture in which they are situated, which has in turn evolved over generations, if not centuries. Attempts to establish new communities with different explanations and practices (Barfield 1996), in which different cultural beliefs and behaviours are widely accepted, is a long-term process, even where, as in the case study, most IPs are initially enthusiastic about the proposed changes.

Any effects of such cultural change will usually first become visible among IPs. However, even where they themselves are open to change, it is not possible for most adults to alter the culturally conditioned professional beliefs and behaviours of a lifetime, from one year to the next. If we consider the case study change process, what did it actually demand of the IPs?

They had to manage the uncertainties, and stresses inherent in learning from scratch a set of different professional skills and underlying beliefs and behaviours, based on the norms of an unfamiliar educational culture. This learning began with immersion in the 3YP, teacher education curriculum, planning-cum-implementation process. More formal professional training followed over the next few years. Most IPs reported that it took them between three and five years to begin to reach mastery (Fullan 1993) of the new professional behaviours and the principles on which they were based, and so to feel sufficiently confident in their new 3YP identities to be able to rationalise the changes to themselves and explain them clearly to students and external colleagues.

Insofar as ELTSUP aims were clear, they eventually appeared to be to twofold. First to establish a broadly co-operative language teacher education curriculum (as represented by the 3YP). Then to integrate its main features into the broadly individualist existing language teacher education culture, in order (by implication) ultimately (through the example of graduates in the language classroom), to disseminate its principles in the wider school-
based language teaching culture, and so affect the educational culture as a whole. (See chapter 5B, section 3.3)

It is only when most IPs begin to feel confident in their new professional culture that they are in a position to begin to lead the dissemination process. It is only some time after dissemination of change has begun in the existing dominant language teacher education environment (IEAS), that there is any prospect of reaching a 'critical mass' (Fullan 1991, Markee 1997) of classroom language teachers committed to implementing change in their own classrooms. It is only at some point thereafter that the changes may finally become an unquestioned part of the existing language education culture. Such a process in any environment where there is a strong existing culture is likely to take several decades.

Figure 7.1, based on the case study experience, speculates on the time scales that may be involved. The dotted lines between dissemination stages signify the fuzziness of their boundaries, and of those between the change process and the wider environment (shaded). Since change over these time scales never takes place in an entirely stable environment, interplay between the dissemination process and other environmental changes (indicated by \( \downarrow \) and \( \uparrow \)) may intervene to hasten, slow down or alter the eventual result. By the time what was the 'change' has fully become the norm, new changes will probably be working through the dissemination process. The arrows (\( \Leftarrow \)) suggest the cyclical nature of the process.

**Figure 7.1**

*The dissemination of complex change in (language teacher) education.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 5</th>
<th>Year 10</th>
<th>Year 20</th>
<th>Year N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPs Master change</td>
<td>⃞</td>
<td>Year 10</td>
<td>⃞</td>
<td>Year 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPs mastering changes within the immediate environment.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wider dissemination of change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPs, as part of the existing language teacher education environment, begin to disseminate changes (adapted as necessary to be acceptable to existing norms and realities) more widely. Growing numbers of graduates begin to implement changes in their own classroom environments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of the norm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'changes' now the norm in language classrooms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New changes probably already being disseminated.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 environmental changes hastening, slowing or altering the result of original change process

**WIDER ENVIRONMENT**
In the case study it took most of the first five years for the IPs to reach the first stage of 'mastery' above. These five years represented most of the first two, most actively supported, three year rounds of the ELTSUP project agreement. Thus, by the time IPs were genuinely able to begin to participate fully in disseminating the changes, CLs' support and interest was already waning. This is not at all uncommon in such ELT projects where there is frequently little fit between the scale of what is being attempted and the time provided for the attempt to take place. Often therefore, attempts at curriculum change fail, not because their underlying ideas are inappropriate or the proposed changes are unpopular, but because:

'... the complexity, emotional demands and support required to 'take them on board' and 'see them through' have been consistently and grievously underestimated.' (Claxton 1989:127)

While, as already mentioned, there is abundant evidence in the change literature of the need for fit between proposed changes and recipient environments, there remains little sign that, in terms of time commitment, (in ELT projects of the type studied at least), western CLs are becoming more willing to act on this evidence. As Sharp (1998:143) notes referring to ELT projects overseas

'Greater flexibility is needed in deciding the time scale of a project, since innovations cannot be sustained in short periods. Unreasonable time constraints may prevent the development of strategies for dealing with the real-world situation found at institutions, which may not have been apparent from the brief visits made by aid personnel at the initial planning stages.'

Sharp suggests that, rather than developing greater flexibility, British aid agencies continue to take a position, (apparently deriving from mechanistic organisational culture assumptions about the stability and rationality of the change environment), that emphasises the need for clear objectives, accountability, measurable evidence that value for money is being obtained, and plans that will 'lead to hand over to local personnel within a fixed time period.' (op cit:140).

It is inconceivable to imagine that any donor agency would be willing to commit itself to the decades required for a complex educational change to become an unremarkable part of a different educational culture. It is also culturally undesirable that they should do so. However, if CLs are not to be suspected of mere political posturing, they need to make some effort, when planning project time scales, to bear in mind the extent to which the change that they are proposing fits the culture of the environment into which they wish to
introduce it. Without at least a loose fit between aims and time scales, CLs cannot consistently support IPs. Without IPs' willingness to work, often for many years, towards their own mastery of cultural change, the 'handover to local personnel' will not be achieved as anticipated, wider dissemination of the change will not occur, and the change project will join the many others which have gone unnoticed beyond their immediate corner of the host institution.

If CLs are to try to match time scales more accurately to the scale of the changes they propose, they need, before they enter any binding agreements, to understand something of the complexity of what they are attempting. The feasibility of doing so is discussed in the following section.

3. A basic environmental assessment.

3.1. Before the assessment.

In an ideal world any environmental assessment would be reciprocal, with CLs on each side knowing what questions to ask and openly answering each other's questions about cultural assumptions, organisational strengths and weaknesses and how these, together with features of the wider environment, might affect the change process. In practice, on ELT projects, and aid projects more generally, my experience suggests that it is more usual for such an assessment, if it formally occurs at all, to be mostly one way: the donor CLs assessing the host environment. Whatever the direction of the investigation, donor and host CLs will need to interact, and so, as Allwright and Waters (1994) suggest, need to share proficiency in certain common 'languages':

- the mother tongue of one of the countries involved, or a lingua franca common to both.
- the professional language of whichever area of education is being discussed (in the case, the language of ELT and teacher education)
- the language of 'project'.

As seen in the case study, (see chapter 4A section 5), the lack of shared languages at this stage makes it unlikely that CLs will reach a common understanding of what change is being proposed, for what reason, and to achieve what aims? All these questions need to be answered in outline to help focus any environmental assessment. Figure 7.2 below suggests the role that a basic environmental assessment might play in informing the change project.
planning process and contributing to whatever formal project agreement is signed. (\(\downarrow\uparrow\) and \(\leftrightarrow\) signify reciprocal flows of information between cells.

**Figure 7.2**
The educational change project planning process

**1** Initial informal negotiations
Agree initial
- rationale for,
- aims of,
- possible implementation methods to achieve, proposed change.

**2** Environmental Assessment
CLs try and find out as much as possible about how existing culture may:
- Perceive
- React to
- be able to contribute to
- implementation of proposed changes in outlined manner?

Information gained is used to modify aims and implementation methods as necessary, and to determine realistic time scales and levels of funding for......

**3** Formal negotiations
FORMAL AGREEMENT
Clearly stating:
- Rationale for and aims of change
- Agreed time scale needed to meet aims
- Agreed funding commitments over time
- Agreed decision allocation
- Outline of proposed plans for initial implementation

This agreement then serves as the basis for......

**4** Initial Planning
Of how the agreed aims can begin to be implemented
- in this environment,
- using agreed funding,
- and trying to meet the agreed time scale.

(for extent to which such planning is possible see section 4 below)
3.2 Carrying out a basic environmental assessment.

It remains difficult to understand why so few ELT projects (and aid projects more generally) seem not to feel the need to carry out even a basic environmental assessment before signing formal agreements. One reason is likely to be that 'aid' is usually closely linked to politics, and consequently commitments to funding tend to be short term. CLs are therefore, often under political pressure (Fullan 1992) to begin implementation as quickly as possible in order to maximise the use of existing financial support, and hence feel there is no time. A second reason might be the perceived complexity of the task, as frequently noted in the literature. Thus Geertz (1983:171) reminds us that, 'truth and reality are multifaceted, and the reality of other people's worlds is different from yours,' and Fullan notes (1991 in Harris et al 1997:208) that the number of change variables is so huge and 'their interactive change nature is so large that it is logistically unfeasible to get all the necessary information.' (my italics.) Similarly within the ELT literature, Holliday speaks of the need to penetrate the 'opacity of local rhythms' (1995:65) in order to be able to understand the 'deep action of the host institution', (1994:40) and its 'informal order' (Coleman 1988:157).

However, one might question whether, for an environmental assessment to be of value to CLs in informing their initial planning, they actually need to get 'all the necessary information.' Is it not useful even to get just 'some' of the most easily obtainable environmental information? The case study suggests that it would have been possible quickly and cheaply to obtain an understanding of some of the main environmental characteristics, to inform the formal agreement that was signed and so the early implementation planning. This claim is illustrated below.

If it is accepted that complex change is cultural change, then the first step in any basic environmental assessment would logically be to try and identify the environment's approximate educational and organisational cultural orientations (see tables 2.1-2.4, chapter 2). The unique moment in time in which the ELTSUP project was established has been frequently acknowledged. However, even in the existing unstable environment, such orientations would, I believe, have been possible to establish, using the BC ELO's experience of working in Hungarian higher education institutions, the comprehensive insider knowledge of the Director of CETT Budapest and his access to other local informants.
Chapter 7. Managing complex change in a turbulent environment

It would therefore have been possible to recognise that the most salient parts of the Hungarian environment, MEC and the ELTSUP institutions, represented a broadly individualist rather than co-operative educational culture and a broadly mechanistic rather than organic organisational culture.

Given the slow speed of fundamental cultural change referred to in section 2 above, even during periods of rapid socio-economic change, this initial assessment could have been built upon with further questions determined at the initial negotiations (1) in Figure 7.2 above, whose answers would probably have held true over at least the first few years of the change process, and so could validly have informed agreements about the initial planning and early implementation process. Some examples of further questions relevant to ELTSUP, deriving from the cultural orientations identified above, are listed in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1

Questions, their answers and implications for the ELTSUP environment in 1990-91

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental information the question aims to provide.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Potential implications for project planning and/or implementation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Previous experience of and/or attitudes to change, and current extent of environmental change.</td>
<td>What experience of personal, organisational or cultural change do Hungarian CLs, and likely IPs, have?</td>
<td>Experience of 'change' (for 40 years before 1989), as rhetoric rather than reality, and so few positive expectations of change initiatives. Individuals and educational organisations at all levels just beginning to realise the implications of political change in terms of 'autonomy' and other socio-economic changes.</td>
<td>Existing extent of change already great for most CLs and IPs. Agreements on project aims and time scales need to consider the speed with which and extent to which IPs and host institutions can realistically be expected to accommodate additional cultural change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Previous experience of, and participation in, the strategic planning process.</td>
<td>What experience do Hungarian CLs and potential IPs have of strategic planning and policy making?</td>
<td>Very little, for obvious political reasons.</td>
<td>Planning and policy making are likely to be the responsibility of outsider CLs and IPs for the first few years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Professional and organisational leadership skills likely to be available in host environment.</td>
<td>What roles will Hungarian leaders and IPs be willing and able to play when the project begins?</td>
<td>Little professional expertise in teacher education. Little experience of institutional participation. Will expect guidance.</td>
<td>Outsider CLs and IPs will have to provide professional as well as managerial leadership. Effective human resource development will be crucial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Existing relationships between main components of the host country project environment.</td>
<td>How do the main Hungarian CLs (MEC and project institutions) relate to one another?</td>
<td>MEC still developing new 'democratic' relationships with educational institutions. Growing competition rather than cooperation between institutions, due to autonomy and competition for students. Strong regional loyalties.</td>
<td>Development of cooperative 'project' identity will not be easy. Probably the responsibility of outsider CLs/IPs</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Extent to which and manner in which project institutions currently communicate with one another.</td>
<td>What channels of communication exist within and between Hungarian CLs? What do they regularly communicate about?</td>
<td>Lines of communication with MEC unclear. Top down channels within institutions. Few formal channels in regular use across institutions. Reluctance to commit decisions to paper.</td>
<td>Need to establish clear lines of communication with a named position at MEC. Development of within-project, inter-institutional communication systems will be the responsibility of outsider CLs/IPs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Extent of consistency between wider environmental realities and expected project outcomes</td>
<td>What is the current status of state school English teachers?</td>
<td>Traditionally quite high through their rarity value. Increasingly wide range of employment possibilities for those with good language skills.</td>
<td>How can teaching be made attractive enough to encourage 3YP graduates to enter the state system?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. IPs', host institutions' and schools' likely perceptions of tangible gains and losses that changes might bring.</td>
<td>What is the current socio-economic situation perceived to be and what is the outlook for the immediate future? How may this affect teachers and institutions and attitudes to change? What can be done to demonstrate clear gains for potential IPs?</td>
<td>• Unfamiliar market economy. • Inflation rising, • Social services under-funded. • Personal responsibilities increasing. • Socio-economic polarisation beginning. • Teachers need to 'top up' their salaries with other jobs.</td>
<td>Aims, funding and timescales agreed need to consider: • Whether IPs will actually be able to be involved in ELTSUP fulltime? • 'Rewards' for IPs involvement. • Likely effects of socio-economic instability on schools' and teachers' attitudes to the demands of complex change, and what this may imply for the speed with which change can be more widely disseminated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Broadly framed questions such as the above, provide answers that can help inform decisions about aims, timescales and implementation processes. In fact the data suggests that some form of question three above, must have been asked by the BC CLs on the ELTSUP project. If it had not, the need for high-profile outsider contract IPs to lead and manage implementation, and the need for a major human resource development plan for Hungarian IPs would not have been identified so early. Similarly with question seven, the decision to raise IPs' salaries above the norm at the start of the project, suggests initial recognition of the need to enable them to work full-time.

Obtaining answers to such questions assumes the co-operation of educated insider informants, either the local CLs themselves or contacts provided by them. It seems reasonable to assume that, in most aid-based educational change projects at least, such informants will be available. The gathering of such general environmental information, therefore, requires the skills of understanding what questions to ask and of interpreting the implications of the answers for the achievement of outline aims. Professionals responsible for negotiating intergovernmental projects might reasonably be expected to have such skills.

A basic environmental assessment, based on the answers to a limited range of questions like those above, (ideally combined with impromptu visits to typical examples of relevant educational institutions), would require little outlay of time or money. It could therefore, in my opinion, be feasibly carried out by the CLs of any educational change project, prior to starting, at points (3 & 4) in figure 7.2 above, to finalise aims, the timeframe for their achievement and plans for their implementation.

Basing agreements about aims, responsibility for implementation processes, funding and time scales on an understanding of the environment, however partial, can only be of benefit to all concerned.

- CLs who feel reasonably confident that they understand each other and so have set achievable aims, are more likely to be willing to co-operate and communicate freely with one another in order to achieve them.
- If outsider CLs, usually responsible for much if not all of the funding, have agreed a time scale realistically grounded in the environment, this ought to enable them to provide a stable flow of funds appropriate to the stages of the project. Lack of
clarity about what funds will be available when, is a common source of environmental instability, which can have a negative effect on IPs.

- Clear decision allocation of project responsibilities, based on known strengths at planning and early implementation stages, enables outsider CLs to establish realistic criteria for the recruitment of outsider IPs and to brief them more fully and accurately as to their intended roles.

- Outsider IPs will arrive more aware of what awaits them, and of the roles that they may have to play, and so, perhaps, will spend less time in a state of intercompetence (Holliday 1992, 1994).

- Local IPs will benefit from all of the above, sustained as they work to implement change by better informed CLs and outsider IPs, more likely to make implementation decisions that will support IPs' efforts and so maintain their morale.

Carrying out an outline environmental assessment does not, however, mean that it then becomes possible to plan the route to be followed to achieve the aims of complex change in detail. The nature of planning and implementation is discussed in the section below.

4. The educational change implementation process: planning change in a changing environment.

The extent to which the information that an environmental assessment provides offers a basis for detailed planning of how the agreed aims are to be achieved throughout the project lifetime, will vary according to what change is being attempted. The long time needed to achieve complex changes, such as those hoped for in the case study, has been discussed in section 2 above. It is certain that over this time many aspects of the environment, including the CLs and IPs themselves, will also change. Some of these changes may be more or less predictable from the initial environmental assessment or the initial planning. However, given the huge number of change variables noted above by Fullan (1991) and the even greater number of ways in which they may interact with one another, it is certain that during the lifetime of any complex educational change process there will be unanticipated changes in its environment, predictable changes that have unexpected effects, or aspects of initial planning that have unforeseen results. Whether predicted or not, some of these are likely to affect project aims and/or the manner of their implementation.

If IPs are to be supported throughout the change process, part of the CLs' role is to try to:
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- Think about how their own actions and decisions are likely to affect IPs.
- remain aware of changes occurring in the wider environment and how these may affect achievement of project aims, and so the IPs' task.
- wherever possible, minimise the extent to which environmental changes undermine IP morale.

4.1. Examples of effects on the case study change process of changes in the immediate and wider environments.

Broadly speaking case study data suggests, and common sense would expect, that changes within the immediate project environment will be more immediately noticeable, though not necessarily more predictable, than those in the wider environment.

- An example of a predictable (and desired) change in the Debrecen project environment from the case studied, was the developing professional-cultural competence and confidence of the Hungarian IPs and 3YP graduates. This change:
  - enabled changes in decision allocation for the day to day management and leadership of the 3YP at CETT Debrecen.
  - These helped demonstrate to the wider university environment, the ever growing professional contribution provided by local IPs
  - Direct and indirect recognition of local IPs' professionalism, made IEAS more comfortable about the prospect of the merge with CETT.
  - The merge potentially enabled IPs, as members of DELS, to begin the wider dissemination of complex change.

Two clear examples of decisions by CLs that led to unpredicted, and presumably unintended, changes in the project environment and their effects on the IPs areas follows:

- The formal ratification of the MEC decision that 3YP graduates should only receive a 'college' level degree, had the following consequences for IPs at CETT Debrecen.
- The decision showed that the changes IPs were working to establish, were not as highly regarded as the existing model. Their morale was lowered.
The 3YP curriculum was adapted towards the 5YP to enable 3YP graduates to transfer to obtain a university degree more easily. IPs' belief in the extent of possible curriculum change diminished.

Those members of IEAS who had always been sceptical about the 3YP and CETT, were supported in their prejudices.

The negative, defensive aspects of the 3YP subculture were reinforced.

The norm of minimal contact between 3YP and 5YP staff and, to a lesser extent, students was reinforced.

The quality of students applying to enter 3YPs fell, since the 3YP qualification was not of university status.

Students increasingly saw the 3YP as a means to a number of different ends, usually not primarily connected to teaching.

3YP graduates choosing to teach, even though in practice usually better trained, were treated as less qualified to teach (especially at secondary level) than graduates with degrees from the 5YP.

IPs' attitude to the change process and to their students, was affected negatively by teaching less able students few of whom had any intention of becoming teachers.

There was an ever less positive overall atmosphere within CETT Debrecen.

Although, in the longer term, the change of orientation that it brought about was necessary, the failure of BC Hungary to involve any of the IPs in any way, in the 1993 evaluation of the 3YPs, had the following consequences for IPs in Debrecen:

Hungarian IPs had no initial understanding of, or feeling of involvement in, the evaluation process or in its outcomes.

The reorientation of project aims required IPs to invest yet more time and mental effort to adapt their still-developing professional skills to the demands of new aims.

Such extra time and effort was difficult to accommodate when their salary as an IP was increasingly inadequate in the economic realities of the wider external environment.

IPs felt under even greater pressure.

Belief in the possible scope of change diminished as IPs saw further accommodation with the existing system ahead.

The atmosphere at CETT Debrecen suffered accordingly.
Examples of unpredicted changes in the wider environment, which also negatively affected the morale of IPs in Debrecen in more or less direct ways, are as follows:

- The immediate direct effects of continuing high inflation in Hungary, coupled with the Civil Service Law, which immediately removed certain increments previously paid to IPs, and which now made it impossible to reward them financially for taking on greater responsibility were that:
  - from the second or third year on, most Hungarian IPs worked only part time on the 3YP;
  - IPs had less contact with students and with each other;
  - relationships with students became more formal and conventional;
  - collaborative working became more and more difficult to maintain and the teamwork that characterised the style of working in the early years became rarer;
  - the positive aspects of the 3YP sub-culture diminished;
  - the transfer of responsibilities occurred later than it could have, because nobody wished to accept the extra unremunerated responsibility;
  - the role of outsider IPs remained important for longer than was strictly justifiable purely on the grounds of their professional expertise;

In the wider political environment, the UK government’s abruptly changing (to those of us in East and Central Europe) diplomatic priorities from the mid-1990s on, meant that:

- there was a sudden shift from seemingly limitless funding to far more restricted funding for existing projects in East and Central Europe;
- human resource development budgets became tighter;
- active BC Budapest leadership of the project became less evident;
- the tendency for each institution to go its own way increased;
- communication between ‘project’ institutions diminished;
- the sense of ‘project’ ceased to exist;
- continued financial support became contingent on ‘new’ projects;
- ‘new’ project initiation depended on outsider IP inputs, reinforcing their continued importance;
- ‘New’ projects made new professional demands on Hungarian IPs, maintaining or increasing levels of professional stress and anxiety;
Changing attitudes to education in the changing political and socio-economic environment meant that:

- due to the devolution of responsibility for school administration and curriculum implementation to local authorities, the resources available to schools (above the government per capita contribution) began to vary, according to the administrative competence and economic resources of local education authorities;
- many schools began to solicit and rely on parental contributions;
- parents were themselves products of the existing educational culture;
- some parents who contributed to schools expected to influence curriculum content and teaching methods;
- some parents increasingly viewed education as a quantifiable commodity; measured by examination passes, a purely instrumental means to a more lucrative future career for their children;
- the important role of examinations as the main indicators of educational success was enhanced by such a view;
- the most influential language examination remained unchanged, and was weighted towards knowledge about language rather than ability to use language;
- the 'traditional' ways of language teaching were validated since they produced good exam results;
- lack of fit between the culture of the 3YP curriculum and what was expected of classroom language teachers became more obvious;
- many 3YP graduates were discouraged from trying to teach differently;
- the rationale for the 3YP curriculum became less clear;

The above examples of the very complicated manner in which the environment may interact with the project, strongly support the idea that where projects try to introduce complex change, initial planning can only be initial. For the case study an evolutionary, incremental model of the educational change implementation process seems entirely appropriate. Such a model uses the information gained from the environmental assessment to agree an overall aim, an outline plan of the stages need to achieve it, their time scale and their funding. The plan however, remains sufficiently flexible to allow the route followed while implementing the aims, and even the aims themselves, to be adjusted as necessary and possible by the CLs, after consultation with IPs, in the light of changes in the wider environment.
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An important example of such adjustment of aims and of the route to be followed to achieve them in the light of environmental changes, is the BC's explicit shift from quantitative to qualitative goals during the third year of the project. In Debrecen this marked the end of the 3YP era during which IPs believed in the possibility of rapid dissemination of complex change (see 4.3 below). The evaluation report (Alderson and Gwyn 1993) on which the reorientation of aims was based, itself refers to several features of both the project and the wider environments when explaining the background to its recommendation. Some of these dated back to the planning stage, but most referred to developments in the environment during the first three years of implementation, which may or may not have been recognised, but had certainly not been acted on by CLs. Some examples are (report page numbers in brackets):

- Lack of clarity of project goals (p.10)
- Low level of teachers' salaries, and consequent part-time involvement of Hungarian IPs (p.12)
- The college degree status of the 3 YP qualification (p.12)
- Uncertainty about the extent to which ELTSUP was actually accelerating the supply of full-time teachers or would do so in the future (p.13)
- Lack of commitment to 3YP on the part of universities and MEC (p.13)
- Lack of a sense of 'project' (p.15)

Insofar as the above affected the evaluators' recommendations, most of which were acted upon by the BC, the explicit acknowledgement of qualitative aims that followed was a clear example of the aims evolving in the light of changed circumstances.

The above examples of complex and unpredictable interconnections between features of the wider and more immediate change environments over time, suggest a relationship between the type of change proposed and the extent to which its implementation can be planned. This is illustrated in figure 7.3.
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Figure 7.3
The relationship between the aim of a proposed change and the possibility of detailed implementation planning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ultimate aim of proposed change.</th>
<th>Extent of cultural change in the wider environment required for 'successful change'</th>
<th>Likely implementation time scale.</th>
<th>Likelihood that route/rate of implementation will be affected by changes in the wider environment.</th>
<th>Value of detailed planning of the implementation process.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'First order change' (Fullan 1991).</td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Slight</td>
<td>Depends on detailed context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Complex change' (Fullan 1992)</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td>Little</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.3 shows:

- The more 'complex' an educational change is, in the sense of its success being measured by changes in beliefs about, and behaviours within, an educational culture,

- the more its successful implementation implies changes in the culture of the wider educational environment,

- and the longer implementation, in the sense of the change being absorbed into the existing culture, will take.

- The longer change takes to be implemented,

- the more likely it is that features of the environment in which the project was initially planned, and/or the relationship between them, will change during the implementation process.

- The greater the extent of environmental change, the more likely it is that the implementation process, (and perhaps aims) will need to be adjusted.

- The more likely the implementation process is to need adjusting, the less point there is in trying to plan implementation in detail. Instead, it will evolve in the light of experiencing environmental realities over time.

CLs cannot control environmental changes. They can, however, try to ensure that they are aware of such changes, and that the manner in which they respond to them involves
consultation with, and aims to minimise their negative effects on, IPs. This is important, since if the process of implementing complex educational change is incremental, it relies strongly on the continuous development of IPs' professional experience and expertise. This is discussed in the next section.

4.2 The evolutionary change process as an incremental series of planning-implementation cycles.

The manner in which the change process in the case study evolved, can, at surface level, be made to appear a straightforward linear progression from planning via implementation to continuation. However such a view fails to recognise the almost continuous series of planning and implementation cycles that were taking place. Many were small, sometimes personal responses to individual classroom insights or crises, others an institutional response to a growing understanding of or feedback from the local environment. The experience gained from these constant small scale change cycles was part of the fund of accumulated experience and professional expertise that could be assumed when it came to planning the two major readjustments of professional orientation required by decisions taken in the wider environment, the merge with IEAS in 1995-1996, and the decision to begin the distance programme in 1997.

The planning of each of these major new cycles thus began both in a more or less changed wider environment, and in an immediate institutional environment that had itself changed, in that IPs were better equipped to contribute to the planning and implementation of new change than they had been at the start of the previous cycle. In this sense the change process is incremental, occurring step by step over time, with all that has been learned so far, available to inform whatever needs to be done next. This accretion of skills and experience is illustrated in figure 7.4. The figure should be read from left to right.
Figure 7.4 The change process as a series of incremental planning and implementation cycles.
As Figure 7.4 shows, each of the three main cycles of planning and implementation began at a different point in the development of the IPs' professional-cultural change and later cycles were dependent upon being able to assume that change had taken place. Thus:

the merge with IEAS assumed the IPs at CETT Debrecen would be able to:

- Adapt the 3 YP courses that they taught to the shorter time available and minimal previous knowledge of the students on the 5YP.
- Use their understanding of links between theory and practice in at least one specialism deriving from their knowledge and experience to date, to design and teach academic Applied Linguistics courses for third and fourth year students.
- Adapt their teaching style to students culturally still situated in, and familiar with, a largely unchanged individualist educational culture.

If it had not been able to assume the above, no implementable plan for the merge could have been developed. The fact that it was possible to present quite a detailed plan to IEAS, (together with the recognition, by at least some members of IEAS, of some of the IPs' abilities) helped the negotiations succeed, and meant that once the merge had been agreed the plan could actually be implemented.

The agreement with the BC to support the distance upgrading project assumed the IPs at DELS would be able to:

- Adapt the knowledge and experience gained teaching on the 3YP and at DELS to the needs of experienced adult teachers.
- Convert materials designed for face to face delivery to interactive written form or write appropriate distance materials from scratch.

Again at the initial planning stage, if IPs' ability to do the above (in this case with a little specialist support and training) could not have been assumed, it would have been impossible to present the funders with a proposal that could actually be implemented.

Throughout the case study period therefore, it was principally the incremental development of new professional-cultural skills among the IPs that enabled the apparently
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seamless change process to continue. Such continuous change was not, however, achieved totally painlessly, as is discussed below.

4.3 Balancing change and consolidation

As Figure 7.4 suggests, there were few, if any, points in the case study period when IPs were not faced with the need to plan for and/or implement some further variation on what was, through their own experience of planning and implementing, and through formal instruction, gradually becoming familiar. In 1991, IPs, mostly secondary school English teachers grounded in an individualist educational culture, took up their new posts as teacher educators in an institution whose cultural principles were broadly cooperative. From 1995 on, they had to adjust their developing professional skills as teacher educators in an overt change culture, to the demands of designing and teaching academic courses within a still largely unchanged individualist educational culture. In 1998 they had to reorient their skills again, to become writers of distance materials for experienced adult teachers. In the meantime, most of them had also completed a Masters level qualification at a UK university. As a colleague, it was clear to me that, due to the rate of change within the project and the economic circumstances prevailing in the wider environment, they rarely had any time to actually be, the more 'reflective' teachers that they were trying to train.

The literature is united in urging CLs to recognise that complex change is stressful for IPs and so requires time. Hackett (1998) and Carless (1998) point out that IPs need time to think about and introduce changes gradually. Fullan (1989), Claxton (1989), Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) and Bolitho (in Medgyes and Malderez 1996) all note that too much change may lead to overload, stress, bewilderment and fatigue and that innovation-weary teachers may implement change in a resentful way. Fatigue and stress caused by the constant demands of working in the case study environment did have a negative effect on many of the IPs. Innovation-weariness thus contributed to a situation where, for many IPs, there was an inverse relationship between enthusiasm for implementing change and the extent of personal change that had taken place.

Some responsibility for this unexpected relationship can be laid at the door of the outsider CLs who expected too much educational change too quickly. The most deeply stressful changes, however, occurred outside the project environment, an inevitable consequence of the inexperience at all levels of leadership mentioned in chapters one, four and five. They were a product of their particular time and place, which caused many Hungarians to feel
disillusioned with 'change' per se, and could only have been addressed by Hungarian CLs. Disillusion among some IPs, was intensified by disappointment that the route followed by the educational change process at the continuation stage, necessarily involved, through its need to accommodate to IEAS norms, a further dilution of the immediate post-democracy vision of rapid, radical change which had motivated them to work to develop the 3YP in the first place. The extent to which such accommodation to the norms of the prevailing culture is inevitable, is discussed in section 5.

5. The wider dissemination of complex change: The route to Cultural Incrementalism.

As discussed in section 2, the ultimate success of any complex change introduced by an ELT project, in the sense implied by Fullan (1992), may be considered to be the extent to which existing attitudes and behaviours across the relevant part of the mainstream education system begin to converge with those introduced by the change project. In the case studied, each of the two main changes in CL policy, (The Higher Education Act of 1993 and the BC change of aims in 1994), meant that the new 'culture' had to converge most, as the route followed made it ever more susceptible to institutional pressure (Meyer et al 1987, Powell and Di Maggio 1991 in Hatch 1997) from the existing teacher education environment. This one sided convergence is illustrated in figure 7.5.
Figure 7.5. Institutional pressure and the dissemination of complex educational change.

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Figure 7.5, supports the IPs' sense of the distance between the 3YP and the existing culture narrowing, to enable a modified version of the original change to be more widely disseminated within the teacher education system. The case study data suggests that such accommodation to existing norms is inevitable where complex educational change (3YP) is introduced entirely separately from an existing educational culture (5YP), as in the case of CETT Debrecen. In such circumstances it can only successfully develop 'differently', and be judged fairly by its performance (the quality of 3YP graduates), for as long as it remains administratively and financially independent and approximately equal in status.

If decisions made by CLs in the wider environment diminish its status (college degree), its value will no longer be judged purely on its own performance, but by its relative (inferior) position in the educational hierarchy of the existing culture. Once it is no longer equal but different, but instead different and inferior in the eyes of the outside world, a change-promoting institution (CETT) has two possible alternatives. It can remain separate as a subculture within the existing culture for as long as funding continues to be available for students to take its programme. In this case although it is able to continue to develop and to maintain its professional-cultural integrity, it is likely, because of its 'inferior' position, to find it difficult to significantly influence the largely unchanged existing culture in the short to medium term. It may, however, as, when, and if, changes in the wider cultural and socio-economic environment allow, be chosen as a functioning alternative model for others to follow.

Alternatively, it may take the route followed in the case study. In such circumstances, no longer independent, it is necessary to accommodate to the visible norms of the wider educational culture of which it is becoming part. In doing so, for DELS IPs, certain positive features characteristic of the CETT institutional culture, (the excitement of being different, the flat hierarchy, the potential for personal involvement in the discussion of institutional goals and how to achieve them, the emphasis on quality of teaching as the main benchmark of personal and professional success), all became modified towards the largely unchanged IEAS norm. However, within DELS, decisions about the extent to which to maintain features of the 3YP classroom culture, (the more informal teaching style, the atmosphere which encouraged students to question and think about what and how they taught - and what and how they were taught -, the different assessment procedures) were up to each individual IP to maintain if they chose.
The very fact that DELS was now in a department within IEAS, did, however, signify that the English language teacher education norm, represented by IEAS within the university, had also made a cultural shift towards accepting a subject area and recognising the value of certain professional skills, that it would have dismissed ten years previously. Thus, by accommodating to institutional pressures, while continuing to implement as many positive features of the 3 YP classroom culture as possible, the IPs are enabling change, albeit less dramatic change, to spread beyond the boundaries of the subculture into the existing culture. By allowing the different DELS culture to become a part of IEAS, where students from all department might take DELS's courses, the existing departments took a first step towards tacitly accepting that DELS' values and skills although different, (and conveniently focused on an area- teacher education- in which they were little interested), could exist in parallel with their own.

The willingness to allow new language teacher education values to be disseminated within the existing teacher education culture represents an example, within a particular type of organisation, an educational institution, of a stage in the change process which Gagliardi (1986) calls Cultural Incrementalism. The values underlying the professional-cultural changes developed by the 3YP have been recognised to be different to, but not utterly incompatible with, the current values of the existing IEAS teacher education culture. The existing culture has expanded its boundaries to include some 3YP values alongside its own long-standing values. From this position, as more or less part of the dominant language teacher education culture, DELS staff have the potential to influence others within the existing university teacher education system and, equally importantly, the practice schools in Debrecen. Insofar as the university remains an important centre of English language teacher education, and the IPs remain responsible for the subject-specific teacher education components, there is at least the possibility that over time the imported cultural characteristics will become an integral part of the prevailing language teacher education culture. Changes since the study ended suggest that DELS is now in a better position to begin this process. (See postscript below)

6. The Debrecen context
It is of course arguable whether the change process as it evolved in Debrecen constitutes success. However some factors that have assisted the process are:

- The stability of the CETT/DELS IPs over time, which allowed the incremental progress referred to in figure 7.4 to take place.
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- British Council recognition of the lack of local leadership and willingness to provide long-term (nine years) outsider IP support to the project. This support, in the specific local circumstances, ensured stable full time professional leadership, so allowing IPs to concentrate (insofar as economic circumstances allowed) on the development and utilisation of their own growing confidence and competence, as shown in figure 7.4.
- The positive effects, in the early years at least, of all IPs agreeing about the need for changes to the existing language teacher education reality.
- The fact that, from the very beginning, circumstances meant that everyone was needed to participate as best they could in the planning-cum-implementation process, and the feelings of ownership that this helped to engender.
- Recognition by the British Council of the need to support the establishment of Applied Linguistics/Language Pedagogy as an academic discipline in its own right. This was of particular importance to a university such as Debrecen, whose existing English department was well established, well regarded, and so most likely to be impressed by the obviously academic.
- The low status accorded to teacher education within the existing institutional hierarchy, which therefore allowed DELS to develop a professional area which did not threaten the interests of existing IEAS staff.
- The presence in IEAS of certain well respected, influential, senior figures, far-sighted enough to acknowledge that the subject-specific teacher education traditionally provided, did leave room for improvement.
- The pre-existing personal relationship between the BC Outreach Coordinator and the Head of IEAS during most of the case study period, which enabled informal as well as formal access during the negotiations for the merge.

7. Management training for outsider IPs (BC contractees)

The content of this thesis suggests that educational change contexts, and so the roles to be played by outsider IPs within them, will always be institution specific. Even within the ELTSUP project the extent to which outsider IPs could influence the route and rate of change within their institutions varied enormously. BC contractees working in institutions where the 3YP was physically located on 5 YP premises, usually had less opportunity to influence curriculum matters than those working in what were effectively autonomous CETTs. Similarly those working in institutions with strong, professionally confident, Hungarian leaders had less personal opportunity and/or need to 'lead' themselves. The case
study environment was therefore unusual in the extent to which its separate physical location, administrative autonomy, and the lack of confident local leadership, consistently placed significant responsibility for management and leadership decisions on outsider IPs. This variability of context, and the fact that employers seem unlikely to change their practice of providing only a cursory briefing to contractees before departure, make it difficult to suggest common features of management and /or leadership training that can be quickly dealt with and will be relevant to all.

However, this chapter has stressed the need for CLs to support IPs in their on-going personal change processes. Often outsider IPs are the point of contact between local IPs and the outsider CLs, and so, practically, are those responsible for day to day support. Exactly how outsider IPs may contribute to this support will vary from one context to another, but I feel that it would be helpful if they were introduced to / reminded of the following, in any training that they received.

1. What complex educational change as cultural change actually implies.

   • The time scales involved and so what they can realistically hope to see achieved during their one, two or three year contracts. (Such realism may of course be difficult to acknowledge for employers working to politically driven and short-term time scales).

   • That any cultural change process will be incremental, and that it is therefore important to keep a stable body of IPs and to develop systems that enable them to develop the range and depth of their new skills.

   • That cultural change demands many years of sustained effort for IPs, who as individuals will respond to these demands in different ways and so develop professionally at different speeds and in different directions. Consequently there can be no 'one best way' to enable change.

   • That during the first years of the change process most IPs are likely to feel professionally and probably therefore, personally, insecure, about whether they are 'getting it right.' Support systems, for example providing opportunities to meet others experiencing a similar process, need to be provided, and the atmosphere in the change institution needs to be as encouraging and appreciative of genuine effort as possible, even the outcomes are sometimes 'wrong'.
Chapter 7. Managing complex change in a turbulent environment

2. Any change environment is at the centre of a much larger environment.

- The immediate change environment that they will enter is always part of, and more or less influenced by a, usually far better established and self confident, wider institutional and/or external environment.
- Assuming that CLs have carried out an environmental assessment of the wider environment, outsider IPs need to be informed about what the results suggest about the likely attitudes of their host institutions and their own likely roles. The information gained by CL's may serve as a useful starting point for outsider IPs to carry out their own assessments of the institution in which they are situated. It is at this level that investigation of Holliday's 'deep action' and Coleman's 'informal orders' become relevant.

3. If local IPs are ever to 'own' the changes, they need to be encouraged, as part of their personal professional change process, to be participants in decisions about the change process to the extent that they are able to be so.

- Participation and involvement can be encouraged by
  - making all available information about the change process easily available to all IPs.
  - regular timetabled meetings for information exchange, institutional planning, discussion of feedback and of any problems arising.
  - delegation of professional and administrative responsibilities, as appropriate to the stage of the project and the existence of willing and able IPs.
  - At the same time it is likely that some IPs will need more consistent personal support and encouragement in order to participate, than others.
  - Outsider IPs therefore, also need to be willing and able to 'lead', at points where this is professionally and /or culturally appropriate.

Such reminders may be presented in many ways, from a straight lecture to a more sophisticated simulation. However presented, they will, at least, alert outsider IPs to the complexity of the context which they are about to enter, and to the fact that their existing professional expertise will probably only prepare them for some of the roles that they may have to play within it.
8. Concluding themes

The necessarily inexplicit ultimate aims of educational change projects of the type described in this case study (and typical of all ELT projects I have worked on), are to bring about a cultural change in an area of the host education system. To do so requires a long-term commitment on the part both of implementers and those supporting them. The only people who will certainly be touched by change, and those on whom its dissemination beyond the immediate change-implementation environment depends, are the local IPs.

Since the implementation and dissemination of complex educational change takes a long time, it is of necessity both evolutionary (in the sense of adjusting its route and even ultimate aims to reactions from and changes in the wider environment), and incremental (in the sense of its continuing progress being dependent on IPs' developing mastery of new beliefs and behaviours). The chances of successful implementation and so eventual dissemination are much increased by having a stable group of local IPs who remain with the change process over time, so becoming familiar with its unpredictable evolutionary nature and enabling it to benefit from the incremental growth in their professional-cultural development.

If IPs are to feel it is worth the continuous effort required for such development, they need to feel rewarded in some way. Rewards may be more or less tangible, but for them to continue to outweigh losses, CLs must be committed to supporting IPs' efforts. Part of such support can be provided through establishing suitable formal systems of training in new professional skills. However, for support to be consistent, it is also necessary for CLs to try to minimise the extent to which IPs feel themselves undermined, either by changes CLs make to existing aims or by the unpredictable changes in the immediate and wider environments, inherent in any view of complex change as an evolutionary process.

To be in a position to provide such support, the initial agreements that are signed between host and donor CLs need to be grounded in the realities of the both the host environment and the change process. For the former to be possible some effort needs to be made to carry out an environmental assessment before a binding agreement is signed. The latter implies that the ultimate aims should both recognise IPs' need for balance between periods of change and consolidation, and acknowledge the likelihood that any wider cultural changes that the project may eventually bring about, may not occur until after the formal project ends.
The ultimate effects of complex educational change projects are almost certain to be incomplete at the point at which they formally end. Such projects will therefore almost always find it difficult to prove their worth to sponsors in measurable numerical terms. New criteria for judging the success of such projects therefore need to be developed. The case study data suggests that among these might be the extent to which the project has succeeded in:

- establishing mastery of the changes, adapted as needed for local circumstances, among a cadre of IPs. Such mastery implies understanding of and confidence in the value of the changes, and competence in the behaviours needed to disseminate them more widely within the existing culture.

- helping IPs to develop skills (and gain qualifications) valued by senior members of the existing culture. This may, as in the case study, require CLs’ consistent support for the recognition of a new academic discipline that the changes introduced by the IPs represent. Skills are more likely to be valued if they relate to areas which, while clearly important, have been unexplored by, and so are not subject to competition from, other representatives of the existing culture.

- helping IPs to use their perceived value to gain access to positions within the existing culture, that provide opportunities to disseminate their changes more widely.

None of the above can occur without active cooperation between CLs and IPs throughout the project lifetime. Such cooperation implies a commitment by CLs to actively support IPs throughout the project, the nature of such support of course itself changing to reflect IPs growing professional mastery and ownership of change.

**POSTSCRIPT: SEPTEMBER 2000**

This postscript is based on a single interview with a BC colleague still working at DELS in January 2000, followed by emails from him and another colleague in the intervening months, a brief meeting with a further colleague in September 2000, and discussions with colleagues from CETT Budapest while at a conference in Dublin in March 2000. The interview in January gave a generally positive picture of continuing movement towards DELS’s acceptance as an equal partner in IEAS and as the department responsible for IEAS teacher education. Subsequent Emails then became more negative with the re-
emergence of conspiracy theories of various kinds as to IEAS's ultimate plans for DELS. The extent to which, and the speed with which, the picture changes, again highlights how long it takes for recently arrived IP representatives of a minority culture to feel a confident part of the well-established majority.

1. **The Wider environment**

The new government has shelved the plans for lifelong teacher training that had been proposed by their predecessors (see chapter 6B). Teachers salaries remain poor. It is becoming clear that non-university degree (3YP and Teacher Training College trained) teachers will not be allowed to teach at secondary schools for much longer. This suggests a steady market over the next few years for the DELS distance upgrading programme (See 4 below).

Consistent with the desire for a graduate secondary school teaching profession is the decision by MEC to stop funding for trainees on the 3YP after the final intake in September 2000. At a recent conference a member of CETT Budapest told me that they now plan to begin negotiations for some kind of merge with their host institution. With a very different institutional history, (based in the capital, a professionally well-known and very dynamic Hungarian leader for the first few years, a much larger CETT staff than that in Debrecen, and a national profile as language teacher education curriculum innovators), it will be interesting to see to what role it negotiates for itself within the existing system.

Within most educational institutions there continues to be no evident move towards changes to the existing educational culture. However, there is increasing pressure on the secondary school and tertiary system from students, and especially from employers, to produce graduates who are not only qualified on paper, but are also, more importantly, trained to think and to solve problems for themselves. It seems likely that demands for educational change will continue to come from outside rather than within the education system for the time being.

2. **DELS: A new leader and a new name**

A factor that characterised both of the successful Chinese change projects mentioned in section one of this chapter, (and also CETT Budapest), was that each had a clearly identified, academically qualified, personally and professionally respected, local leader, who was genuinely committed to the aims of the change project. In each case the respect felt
Chapter 7. Managing complex change in a turbulent environment

for the leader personally, as an academic, within the wider institutional environment, meant
that those working with her on the projects were, if anything, envied rather than looked
down upon by others. If building up the confidence and supporting the motivation and
commitment of the local IPs throughout the change process, is as crucial as has been
suggested throughout this chapter, then perhaps one of the single most important tasks of
any environmental assessment is the identification of appropriate local leaders.

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American who worked in the linguistics department at IEAS as a United States
Information Service Fellow in the mid-1990s. He has a PhD in neurolinguistics and is
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followed by other departments in IEAS.

He has ensured that the tradition of regular staff meetings has been maintained. He listens
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Practice school supervisors have reacted well to the change and appear to welcome the closer links that she is trying to forge between them and the department. DELS is probably the only department in the university all of whose members have experience of classroom supervision. As of September 1999, all DELS staff are again involved in teaching practice supervision. Such active participation in the supervision process by university staff, is an innovation for both the university and the practice schools, since traditionally only the single IEAS supervisor manager has been personally involved. In this sense, therefore, DELS has already begun to affect one aspect of the existing teacher education process.

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In December 1999, the former Director of CETT retired. At the same time the maternity leave period for one of the original CETT staff, who IEAS had refused to admit to DELS, came to an end. DELS therefore had vacancies for two staff in posts, one of which at least was graded at quite a senior level. IEAS immediately attempted to place its own candidates (one of whom was definitely unwanted) in these posts, without any consultation with the DELS staff. After extended negotiation one post has now been filled by an ex-3YP graduate, who has obtained a 5YP degree in linguistics, the other is, as yet unfilled. In addition, a longstanding member of the American literature department, who has failed to complete his PhD, has been moved to DELS as a nyelvtanar (language teacher-teaching fellow).
Chapter 7. Managing complex change in a turbulent environment

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THE LAST WORD

THE LAST WORD: EVALUATING THE STUDY

1. The research method and process.

1.1 The evolving research process

Qualitative research literature, for example Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggests that the methodology for any qualitative research necessarily evolves through the interaction between researcher and subjects. I found this to be true in this case, and hence throughout, both choice of appropriate research methods and the orientation of much of my reading of the literature, were guided by themes emerging from previous stages of the research process.

I began the research process as a practitioner wishing to better understand the process of which I was part. While my location made access to project documentation easy, it was difficult to gain access to educational and organisational change, and qualitative research literature. Consequently, although I had spent a month in the UK reading, prior to beginning my first round of data collection, my initial decisions about who to interview, and the focus of these interviews, were largely based upon 'etic' issues (Stake 1995), resulting from my previous experience on ELTSUP and other ELT projects, and on features of the project emerging from my reading of the main ELTSUP documents.

The first round of data analysis was particularly significant and illuminated the route followed during the second stage of the research process in at least five interrelated ways.

- In terms of data mapping, it became obvious that to try and do so against a purely linear timeline based upon the three phases of the change process suggested by Fullan (1991), would be quite inadequate to enable me to explore the range of variables already evident and relationships between them.
The last word: evaluating the study

- This realisation sent me back to the educational/organisational change and the qualitative research literature, to try to identify a data mapping framework more able to help illuminate the complexities of the data.

- The eventual establishment of the nine cell matrix, once it became clear that data could satisfactorily be mapped onto it (see XX below), in turn helped to highlight aspects of the macro and micro contextual and processual dimensions of the project which required further investigation.

- Such pointers then helped identify further areas of the literature that I needed to consult and who, within the immediate and/or wider case study context, I needed to try and contact in order to obtain data that would provide a more complete picture of the change context and process.

- This in turn had methodological implications, since it became clear that in order to validate emerging contextual and processual themes, I needed to develop questionnaires to reach a wider audience of students ex-students and British Council colleagues.

Similarly, after mapping the data gathered by the second round of interviews, I became aware of the need to look more closely at my colleagues' perceptions of their pre-1989 and immediate post 1989 context in my third round of interviews, if I wished to understand the mental set/cultural context of the world into which the project was planned and implemented more clearly. This therefore, helped to focus my last round of interviews, and also the latter stages of my reading.

Throughout the research process therefore, reading, my choice of research instruments and the data that they were designed to elicit, evolved in the light of the themes that emerged from previous stages of the research.

1.2 The data mapping, analysis and interpretation process

Most of my data was in the form of interview transcripts. An important aspect of the research was thus to develop a more or less consistent process for mapping interview data onto the nine cell matrix. Appendices ?? show an example of the process. The data
relates to the Planning Context cell of the matrix (Chapter 4B) and deals with the area of 'educational culture'. The stages were as follows:

- Interview transcripts were read. Apparently relevant extracts, (in the sense of providing a clear statement, validating what others had said, illuminating a new aspect of the interview question), were coded according to the cell within the matrix in which they appeared to belong, for example, Planning Process or Implementation Context.
- I read through all extracts by cell and identified broad initial themes.
- I made a separate list of the themes, for example pressure for change, socio-economic conditions, educational culture, organisational culture. At this stage chapter 4B had 16 themes.
- I then went back to the interview transcripts and summarised the main points of each extract under its theme, together with the interviewees initials. (See appendix ?? for the 'educational culture' list).
- Each list of extract summaries was then read and extracts were merged or subdivided into subthemes. Educational culture turned out to have 22 subthemes, for example The Prussian system, views of knowledge, English language teachers before the political changes.
- Subthemes were then re-listed, together with the initials of all who had referred to them. This gave me some indication of the relative centrality of the theme to the interviewees' perceptions of, in the case of chapter 4B, the context in which the project began. (See appendix??).
- These new lists were then re-analysed to identify connections within subthemes which were then merged. The section in chapter 4B on 'Teacher Training' is thus the data from three, and 'Higher Education' four, merged sub-themes from the list in Appendix??.

As noted in 1.1 above, as data was mapped onto the matrix in this manner, further questions usually arose. For example, in chapter 4B, having identified perceptions of the existing educational and organisational culture at the point the project began, I realised I needed to understand more about where these derived from, and so decided to focus on interviewees perceptions of the pre- and expectations of the immediately-
The last word: evaluating the study

post 1989 period in my last round of interviews. This data contributed substantially to section 1 of chapter 4B.

Clearly the nine cell matrix was a key research tool. However, as mentioned at the beginning of chapter 4A, the cells were never supposed to be discrete. The boundaries of the Planning-Implementation-Continuation axis, separated according to where the emphasis of the project lay at a given point, reflect one intuitively 'real' way of dividing up the stages of ELTSUP in Debrecen. At other ELTSUP institutions the content and/or process of change would probably have required a different chronological division. The Content-Context and Process axis was equally a convenience rather than a strict representation of reality. In both cases the cells enabled the above data mapping and analysis process to take place. Interpretation of data however inevitably involved looking across cells.

Interpretation of data involved considering the inter-relationships that might exist among the emerging themes identified at each point along each axis, and the extent to which they contributed to or detracted from the coherence of the actual process as it occurred. As might be anticipated, context at all levels was crucial throughout, affecting both content and process. However, looked at more closely it is possible to see examples of reciprocal influences between content, context and process throughout the case study period. Some examples are given in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1 Some examples of reciprocal influences between the Content, Context and Process of the Case study during the change Planning, Implementation and Continuation phases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process may affect micro Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eg: Change Implementers' growing professional development altered the Micro context of the implementation/continuation process.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process may be affected by the macro Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eg: The receptiveness of the educational culture to the proposed changes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process may affect Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eg: The fact that the process was different at each institution made it necessary for the evolving plans to recognise lack of 'project'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process may be affected by Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eg: The lack of any professional preparation for implementation of 3YP meant the first few years were very stressful for implementers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Macro Context may affect the Process
Eg: the socio-economic status of teachers meant that implementers became unable/unwilling to work full time on the implementation of the content.

Micro Context may be affected by the Process.
Eg: IEAS increasingly recognising that CETT had certain strengths and so being more open to the idea of DELS.

Context may affect Content
Eg: Universities fight against 3YP as a degree course contributes to content of Higher Education Act.
Desire for democratic transparency in Civil Service pay results in Public Service Law and lower salaries for 3YP graduates.

Context may be affected by Content
Eg: The project helped to raise the profile of English within education at large and that of English Teacher Training within the academic community.

Fullan in his latest work, introduces chaos or complexity theory to his study of the change process. He notes that (1999:4):

'This new science of complexity essentially claims that the link between cause and effect is difficult to trace, that change (planned and otherwise) unfolds in non-linear ways, that paradoxes and contradictions abound and that creative solutions arise out of interaction under conditions of uncertainty, diversity and instability.'

The manner in which the case study data was mapped, analysed and interpreted, has helped make visible some of the complex non-linear, often contradictory interrelationships between content, context and process that characterise this particular example of educational change.

2. Some limitations of the study

2.1 Excessive control of interview topics.

Trying to 'manage' such a very fluid research process, in which both the complexity of what is revealed and the processes by which it is revealed are continuously evolving, was frightening at times. I was often unsure whether I would be able to bind the 'whole' study together in any coherent manner. In retrospect, this lack of confidence led me to try to compensate for the lack of obvious 'structure' by controlling the content of my interviews through ensuring that the questions and sub-questions were tightly focussed.
on areas that seemed to be important to me (see apps X-Y). In this sense the research represents my 'voice' rather than theirs. If I had been confident enough to allow the research fully to evolve through interaction with my subjects, I might have been more prepared to base my interviews more loosely around a few key concepts and allow interviewees' perceptions of those concepts to emerge.

In future research of this kind, I would still feel it necessary to identify some initial themes and areas needing further investigation, probably through beginning with a number of more focused interviews. Thereafter however, I would attempt in any further data gathering to emulate the evolutionary nature of the change planning-implementation process itself.

By this I mean, that having identified broad themes that appeared to merit further investigation (overall aims or vision), I would then allow the route followed towards an understanding of these concepts to evolve, in the light of subjects' perceptions in context (implementation evolving in the light of experience). In so doing I would hope to enable research to more accurately reflect the voice of my subjects, rather than my own.

2.2 Lack of proficiency in Hungarian.

Readers may wonder how the range and nature of my interactions and so the quality of the data gathered was affected by my poor level of Hungarian. My Hungarian interviewees ranged from near-native speakers of English (all those represented as 'Coll' and all bar two of those represented as 'Admin' in the case study) to advanced users (most of those represented by 'Part'). Although there were two or three informants whose spoken English was frequently formally incorrect, they could communicate perfectly about matters in their professional sphere. In addition, the chances of significant mutual incomprehension were considerably diminished by the reality that researcher and most interviewees shared a great deal of case study content and process (and, as the research progressed, contextual) background knowledge and experience.

It is however, possible that if interviews had been carried out in the subjects' mother tongue, Hungarian, the data gathered might have been richer, in the sense of researcher
and subjects sharing a greater degree of cultural and experiential background, and/or in the sense of subjects finding it easier to express exactly what they thought. Either or both of these factors might have resulted in a fuller representation of a 'Hungarian' reality as actually perceived by the subjects., undistorted by the need to translate it to another language.

For this to have been possible however, the researcher would have needed to be a native or near-native speaker of Hungarian. This suggests that qualitative research, of the kind represented by the case study, may only fully be carried out by a near bilingual researcher; a very limiting proviso.

This is not to say that my lack of language was not limiting in certain ways. For example, if I had been able to speak and understand Hungarian at advanced level, it would have been interesting to have interviewed representatives of two, potentially non-English speaking, groups in the wider case study environment, who were excluded through lack of a common language. These were:

- Headmasters and non-English speaking teachers of other subjects at schools where CETT graduates did their TP. Interviews with these might have helped to provide evidence of the extent to which the wider profession was aware of the different classroom practices that the trainees tried to introduce and, if aware, how they were perceived. This would in turn have provided further evidence of the extent to which the project might truly expect to affect the wider profession, as suggested by the Deputy State Secretary for Education in the quote on page 172.

- Representatives from MEC who had been involved in agreeing on and overseeing their financial contribution to the project over the case study period. Interviews with them might have illuminated the extent to which their agenda was purely a reaction to short-term quantitative problems, or whether, as the quote on page 172 suggests, they were consciously sponsoring a programme that they hoped would have more far reaching effects on the national educational culture.

2.3 Personal subjectivity in identification and interpretation of the main themes

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Any research of this kind is bound to be scrutinised for researcher bias. As explained in chapter 3, insofar as I came to the research with certain preconceived ideas based on previous experience, and that these were influential in determining some of the interview questions, particularly in the first round, such bias existed. In addition, in identification of what I considered to be relevant data from interview transcripts, and interpretation of what themes that data did reveal, I was of course at every stage of the process making personal judgements. I have argued in section 6 of chapter 3 that I believe the research to be broadly trustworthy and have been supported in this view by the two ELTSUP core colleagues who I asked to read chapters four to six, prior to submission. While they commented on certain aspects of the context as I had interpreted it, (chapters 4B and 5B), and suggested that I changed certain points of fact and/or emphasis, neither suggested that the overall picture of the educational change process that the research provides was inaccurate in any significant way.

3. What I have learned from the research experience

3.1 A fuller understanding of fundamental concepts.

First of all, the research process and product has enabled me to experience at first hand what was previously 'understood' only intellectually. The evolutionary, open process that characterises qualitative research, change planning and implementation and the continuous development of individual's constructs of reality, is easier to comprehend now that I have consciously experienced the process. Similarly concepts frequently mentioned in the literature, like for example, the potentially infinite number of unpredictably interconnected variables that are part of any educational change context, and the contextual requirements for effective change management, have a tangible reality for me which they did not have previously.

3.2 A clearer appreciation of the complexity of change leadership.

Throughout much of my time in Hungary, as had been the case in China previously, the attitude of many BC contractees like myself, towards local BC management was frequently negative. They were perceived as politically motivated, short sighted,
culturally unaware and insensitive, and lacking consistent coherent vision of what the projects they were managing might hope to achieve.

The research demonstrates to me that I have generally underestimated the difficult position in which local BC representatives often find themselves in, sandwiched as they are between the demands, needs and expectations of the local environment and those of their own UK policy makers. As the case study demonstrates, the ELT staff at BC in Budapest did have a vision which they continued to do their best to support, even when changes in the UK political environment meant that project budgets were substantially reduced, and impossible to predict from one year to the next.

Their support, was both direct, (through the continuing provision of outsider leadership and specialised expertise to those ELTSUP institutions that appeared to be genuinely trying to progress project aims), and more indirect, (through support for the Language pedagogy PhD programme and the various special interest groups). Local BC staff showed a real sense of commitment over the longer term to the evolution of an established, academically accepted, language teacher education profession. In doing so, both their practical help and the kudos given to emergent ELTSUP teacher education institutions by their continued association with it, contributed considerably to the maintenance of morale among change implementers.

3.3 A clearer understanding of the critical need for coherence in change planning

Finally, I now understand more about the difficulty of maintaining coherence between the many levels of the change context from individual to institution to whole system, and the time scales needed. The achievement of complete coherence between all levels of the system, over time, in an unstable environment is, unfortunately, impossible. However, any time and effort spent striving for coherence by policy makers at the initial change planning stage, is in my opinion, time well spent, since as discussed in chapter 7, it is the existence or lack of such coherence that will determine the extent to which the implementers at institutional level feel supported throughout the inevitably many years of their personal change process and so, motivated to continue.
The last word: evaluating the study

I consider myself to have been extremely fortunate to have had the opportunity of being in this place at this time with these colleagues (both immediately and more widely defined), and so enabled to carry out this research.


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