OECD Reviews of School Resources

Uruguay

Paulo Santiago, Beatrice Ávalos, Tracey Burns,
Alejandro Morduchowicz and Thomas Radinger

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Foreword

This report for Uruguay forms part of the OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools (also referred to as the School Resources Review, see Annex A for further details). The purpose of the review is to explore how school resources can be governed, distributed, utilised and managed to improve the quality, equity and efficiency of school education. School resources are understood in a broad way, including financial resources (e.g. expenditures on education, school budget), physical resources (e.g. school infrastructure, computers), human resources (e.g. teachers, school leaders) and other resources (e.g. learning time).

Uruguay was one of the countries which opted to participate in the country review strand and host a visit by an external review team. Members of the OECD review team were Paulo Santiago (OECD Secretariat), co-ordinator of the review; Beatrice Ávalos (Associate Researcher at the Centre for Advanced Research in Education at the University of Chile); Tracey Burns (OECD Secretariat); Alejandro Morduchowicz (Education Lead Specialist at the Education Division of the Inter-American Development Bank) and Thomas Radinger (OECD Secretariat). The biographies of the members of the review team are provided in Annex B. This publication is the report from the review team. It provides, from an international perspective, an independent analysis of major issues facing the use of school resources in Uruguay, current policy initiatives, and possible future approaches. The report serves three purposes: i) to provide insights and advice to Uruguayan education authorities; ii) to help other countries understand the Uruguayan approach to the use of school resources; and iii) to provide input for the final comparative analysis of the OECD School Resources Review.

The scope for the analysis in this report includes early childhood education, pre-primary education and school education. At the request of Uruguayan authorities, the focus areas of the Review of School Resources in Uruguay are: i) the governance of school resource use, including the role of school leadership; ii) the funding of school education (including planning, distribution, incentives and monitoring); and iii) the teaching profession. The analysis presented in the report refers to the situation faced by the education system in March 2015, when the review team visited Uruguay.

Uruguay's involvement in the OECD review was co-ordinated by the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEEd). The national co-ordinators were Cecilia Llambi, then Associate Researcher at INEEd, from December 2013 until August 2015; and Cecilia Oreiro, Researcher at INEEd, from August 2015 onwards. An important part of Uruguay's involvement was the preparation of a comprehensive and informative Country Background Report (CBR) on school resource use authored by Cecilia Llambí (Co-ordinator), Lucía Castro, Melissa Hernández and Cecilia Oreiro from the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEEd). The OECD review team is very grateful to the main authors of the CBR and to all those who assisted them in providing a high-quality informative document. The CBR is an important output from the OECD project in its own right as well as an important source for the review team. Unless indicated otherwise, the data for this report are taken from the Uruguayan Country Background Report. The CBR follows guidelines prepared by the OECD Secretariat and provides extensive information, analysis and discussion in regard to the national context, the organisation of the education system, the use of school resources and the views of key stakeholders. In this sense, the CBR and this

report complement each other and, for a more comprehensive view of the effectiveness of school resource use in Uruguay, should be read in conjunction.

The review visit to Uruguay took place on 17-25 March 2015. The itinerary is provided in Annex C. The visit was designed by the OECD in collaboration with Uruguay's National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEEd). It also involved a preparatory visit by the OECD Secretariat on 15-16 December 2014. The review team held discussions with education officials, including the National Public Education Administration (Administración Nacional de Educación Pública, ANEP) and its education councils, the inspectorates, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU), a Departmental Co-ordinating Commission for Education; the National Institute for Education Evaluation (INEEd); national authorities in charge of public expenditure, including the Ministry of Economy and Finance; teacher unions; non-governmental organisations with an interest in education; representatives of private schools; representatives of teacher education institutions; and researchers with an interest in the effectiveness of school resource use. The team also visited a range of schools in five departments (Flores, Montevideo, Paysandú, Río Negro and San José), interacting with school management, teachers, parents and students. The intention was to provide the review team with a broad cross-section of information and opinions on school resource use and how its effectiveness can be improved. Overall, the OECD review team held 45 meetings and interviewed about 200 individuals.

The OECD review team wishes to record its gratitude to the many people who gave time from their busy schedules to inform the review team of their views, experiences and knowledge. The meetings were open and provided a wealth of insights. Special words of appreciation are due to the National Co-ordinators, Cecilia Llambí and Cecilia Oreiro, for going to great lengths to respond to the questions and needs of the review team. The review team was impressed by their efficiency and expertise. Our gratitude extends to other members of the team, in particular Lucía Castro, Carolina Cohenar and Melissa Hernández, from INEEd, for providing excellent support to the review team. The review team also wishes to express its gratitude to Pedro Ravela, Executive Director of INEEd between 2012 and 2014, for promoting the participation of Uruguay in the OECD School Resources Review. The courtesy and hospitality extended to us throughout our stay in Uruguay made our task as a review team as pleasant and enjoyable as it was stimulating and challenging.

The OECD review team is also grateful to colleagues at the OECD. Luka Boeskens and Francesc Masdeu provided analytical support and Eleonore Morena provided key administrative, editorial and layout support. Deborah Nusche and Claire Shewbridge provided advice while Yuri Belfali provided guidance and support.

This report is organised in five chapters. Chapter 1 provides the national context, with information on the Uruguayan school system. Chapter 2 analyses the governance of school resource use. Chapter 3 reviews approaches to school funding. Chapter 4 looks at school organisation and operation while Chapter 5 looks at the management of the teaching workforce. Chapters 2 to 5 present strengths, challenges and policy recommendations.

The policy recommendations attempt to build on and strengthen reforms that are already underway in Uruguay, and the strong commitment to further improvement that was evident among those the OECD review team met. The suggestions should take into account the difficulties that face any visiting group, no matter how well briefed, in grasping the complexity of Uruguay's education system and fully understanding all the issues. This report is of course the responsibility of the OECD review team. While the team benefited greatly from Uruguay's CBR and other documents, as well as the many discussions with a wide range of Uruguayan personnel, any errors or misinterpretations in this report are its responsibility.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ANEP	*Administración Nacional de Educación Pública* – National Public Education Administration
ATD	*Asambleas Técnico Docentes* – Teachers Technical Assemblies
CAIF	*Centro de Atención a la Infancia y la Familia* – Childcare and Family Centres
CBR	Country Background Report
CEIP	*Consejo de Educación Inicial y Primaria* – Pre-Primary and Primary Education Council
CES	*Consejo de Educación Secundaria* – Secondary Education Council
CETP	*Consejo de Educación Técnico-Profesional* – Technical and Professional Education Council
CFE	*Consejo de Formación en Educación* – Teacher Training Council
CODICEN	*Consejo Directivo Central* – Central Governing Council
ESCS	Economic, Social and Cultural Status
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GURI	*Gestión Unificada de Registros e Información* – Unified Management of Registry and Information
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFD	*Institutos de Formación Docente* – Teacher Education Institutes
INAU	*Instituto del Niño y Adolescente del Uruguay* – Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay
INEEd	*Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa* – National Institute for Educational Evaluation
INET	*Instituto Normal de Enseñanza Técnica* – Normal Institute of Technical Education
INM	*Instituto Normal de Montevideo* – Normal Institute of Montevideo
IPA	*Instituto Profesional Artigas* – Artigas Professional Institute
IPES	*Instituto de Perfeccionamiento y Estudios Superiores* – Institute for Advanced and Higher Studies
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
MEC	*Ministerio de Educación y Cultura* – Ministry of Education and Culture
MIDES	*Ministerio de Desarrollo Social* – Ministry of Social Development
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	OECD Programme for International Student Assessment
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
SERCE	*Segundo Estudio Regional Comparativo y Explicativo* – Second Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study
TERCE	*Tercer Estudio Regional Comparativo y Explicativo* – Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study

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Executive summary

Universal access has been reached in primary education. In addition, access to pre-primary education is good for children aged 4 and 5, with coverage rates considerably above the average for the Latin America region. However, the completion rates of lower and upper secondary education remain unsatisfactory and have increased slowly over the past decades compared to other countries of the region. Uruguay has also very high repetition rates in regional and international comparison, leading to a high number of overage students. Furthermore, levels of student achievement in international assessments have decreased but remain above the regional average. A major concern is the significant proportion of students underperforming in secondary education.

The recognition of equity challenges in education has led Uruguay to invest considerably in targeted programmes aimed at improving equity in education. However, there remain marked educational inequities based on students' socio-economic status. Uruguay had the fifth strongest association between socio-economic status and student performance among all PISA 2012 participating countries. There are large differences in students' achievement, depending on school type, school location and school resources. These inequities are reflected in students' educational attainment. In 2010, only 25% of 15-17 year-olds from the lowest income quintile had completed lower secondary education and 7% of 18-20 year-olds had completed upper secondary education, compared to 85% and 57% from the top income quintile respectively.

The following policy priorities were identified to improve the effectiveness of resource use in the Uruguayan school system.

Rethink the governance of school education to facilitate reform implementation and improve the use of school resources

A major challenge in education in Uruguay concerns its institutional governance structure and the distribution of responsibilities to develop and implement school education policy. There is no clarity regarding who is responsible for defining education policy and who is ultimately held accountable for policy implementation and learning outcomes within the education system. This results from the ambiguity of roles between the National Public Education Administration (ANEP)'s Central Governing Council (CODICEN) and its sectorial education councils. Lines of responsibility are unclear, there is a lack of leadership of the school system as a whole, and competition between education councils for resources. Also, the governance structure is highly fragmented as, in practice, each education council operates its subsystem in a rather independent manner. Only small and incremental change is feasible under the current governance arrangements. Education governance is also overly centralised in Uruguay leaving very little autonomy to both schools and departments. Another major feature of the governance of school education in

Uruguay is the institutionalised co-administration with teachers which raises concerns as, inevitably, they do have vested interests.

As a result, there is a need to clarify responsibilities in the school education sector. A first step is to concentrate ultimate responsibility and accountability in a single body which would lead the development of school education policy. The most natural such body in Uruguay is the CODICEN, which should have its responsibilities reinforced *vis-à-vis* the individual education councils. The objective is to define the entity to be held accountable for the state of education in Uruguay; reduce unnecessary duplication; provide the potential for better co-ordination across education levels and types; establish closer linkages between funding, resource allocation and accountability; facilitate the alignment between education strategic objectives and school-level management; and assist with medium- and long-term planning in education. Another priority is to review the pertinence of the institutionalised co-administration with teachers. An education system should be student-centred and the risk of the co-administration with teachers is that, instead, it becomes teacher-centred. Moreover, Uruguay could explore ways to gradually provide more autonomy to schools and lower levels of government (departments) in order to enable them to foster improvements in education. Certain decisions are best left to local authorities and school principals, who best know their schools' needs, to ensure a more optimal allocation of resources.

Increase overall public spending on education, while addressing key inefficiencies

The public funding of education has increased significantly in recent years. In real terms, public spending on education grew at an average annual rate of 10% between 2004 and 2013. This reflects the growing importance of education as an area of public investment and a clear commitment of national authorities to improve resourcing in education. However, in spite of the recent efforts, public expenditure on education remains considerably below the OECD average and below the equivalent expenditure in other Latin American countries. Also, while the multiannual budget process allows medium-term planning the budget preparation is not strategic.

The Uruguayan government should continue efforts to increase the amount spent on education in real terms and as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) as can be afforded, given general economic conditions and government fiscal policy. Priorities for increased funding include the extension of learning time in primary education, the expansion of secondary education, growth in early childhood and pre-primary education and the increase of teacher and school leader salaries. Given the constraints on increasing education public expenditure, it is all the more vital to secure efficiencies within the existing budget. These could entail decreasing drop-out rates in secondary education, reducing repetition rates, addressing the existence of many small schools, enhancing the allocation of teachers to schools and improving completion rates in initial teacher education. Moreover, there is a need to develop a strategic approach to budget planning. An education strategy which informs budget planning needs clear objectives, established targets to be achieved, an indicators framework, and clear structures for reporting on progress and performance.

Improve the transparency of school funding mechanisms and the monitoring of the use of public resources

The distribution of resources across schools lacks transparency. While each education council seems to have an established algorithm to distribute public resources to individual

schools, the parameters defining the basis for the distribution are not made public. In addition, the extra staff allocated to individual schools depends on the subjective advice of inspectors. The lack of transparency extends to the fact that there is no public information available on the education resources allocated to each school. Challenges also arise in monitoring the use of financial resources: the analysis of the impact of financial resources on educational achievement is not common; auditing procedures are not given enough resources; there is no reporting on the use of budgets at the school level; and there is a general lack of cost-benefit analyses of different educational policies and programmes.

In order to bring greater transparency to the distribution of public resources to schools, the introduction of a funding formula is recommended. The distribution through a formula is more likely to lead to a more efficient and equitable allocation than other methods, including discretionary and incremental funding models. A per student funding scheme implies that resources are calculated per each student and that a specific formulation is drawn. In Uruguay, at least two separate funding formulas could be developed, one for determining staff resources for each school (teachers and support staff) and another for determining the operational budget for each school. The formulas to be introduced should take into account the socio-economic context of schools. Also, there is a need to strengthen the monitoring of the use of public resources in school education. The monitoring system should more broadly consist of a periodical assessment of the state of education in Uruguay, be based on a framework of education indicators, include the in-depth analysis of the data collected, and involve the evaluation of specific education policies and educational programmes. Furthermore, Uruguay needs to improve dissemination of information about activities at the school level, including information on school budgets.

Strengthen the professionalism of teachers

In spite of the recent efforts by the Uruguayan government to increase the status of teaching through higher teacher salaries, a number of factors limit the professionalism of teachers. The Uruguayan education system lacks a national framework of teacher competencies. Initial teacher education is faced with considerable challenges such as very low completion rates. The conception of teacher employment in Uruguay, whereby basic compensation is associated essentially to the teacher's teaching load, is also a source of concern as it does not provide recognition to activities other than teaching. Teacher recruitment and deployment are highly inefficient while teacher compensation is unstructured. Teacher appraisal, while established, is limited in its ability to provide teachers with useful feedback for their development. Moreover, participation in professional developments seems to be low. As a result, there is a need to strengthen the professionalism of teachers. This should involve developing a competency framework for the teaching profession, reconceptualising teacher employment to account for all activities performed by teachers, creating a career structure for teachers associated with a teacher certification process, rethinking the system for the recruitment and deployment of teachers, improving the provision and status of initial teacher education, strengthening school-based teacher appraisal for formative purposes and strengthening the provision of professional development.

Conceive school evaluation and school leadership to foster the continuous improvement in schools

Considering the high level of centralisation of decision-making in Uruguay, the school inspections constitute a crucial link between the councils at the central level and schools

and principals across the country. However, the Uruguayan model of school inspection is limited in the extent to which it supports school development. Inspectors tend to focus more on control and compliance and evaluations are at an individual level rather than covering the school as a whole. A priority for policy development is therefore strengthening the capacity of the school inspection to contribute to school improvement. In the long-run, Uruguay should consider the introduction of a comprehensive school evaluation process. School evaluation will need to contribute towards school improvement and not simply be an exercise in compliancy. There is also a need to encourage and support schools to develop school development planning and self-evaluation processes. A possible approach lies in establishing requirements for schools that promote strategic planning. Furthermore, while school leaders benefit from an established employment framework their potential for pedagogical leadership is not sufficiently recognised. As part of its school leadership development strategy, Uruguay should consolidate a competency framework for school leaders; re-evaluate current levels of remuneration; improve the quality of school leader preparation; provide greater opportunities for professional development and broaden the criteria for the selection of school leaders.

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Assessment and recommendations

Education system context

There has been good progress in basic education but attainment in secondary education has increased slowly

The education system in Uruguay has made good progress in pre-primary and basic education. Universal access has been reached in primary education. In addition, access to pre-primary education is good for children aged four and five, with coverage rates considerably above the average for the Latin America region. However, the completion rates of lower and upper secondary education remain unsatisfactory. The proportion of 15-24 year-olds who have completed secondary school is one of the lowest in the region and has shown little improvement over the past decades compared to other countries of the region (29.7% in 2010 compared to 22.4% in 1990). Uruguay also has very high repetition rates in regional and international comparison, leading to a high number of overage students. Nevertheless, the repetition rate in public primary schools has decreased since 2002 and had almost halved by 2013. Also, student achievement in international assessments has decreased but remains above the regional average. A major concern is the significant proportion of students underperforming in secondary education. In PISA 2012, 55.8% of students demonstrated low levels of mathematics proficiency compared to 23.0% on average in the OECD.

In spite of the significant policy efforts equity concerns remain in the education system

The recognition of equity challenges in education has led Uruguay to invest considerably in targeted programmes aimed at improving equity in education. The main approach is to design compensatory programmes providing greater resources to those students and schools with the greatest needs as a result of a given disadvantage. However, there remain marked educational inequities based on students' socio-economic status. Uruguay had the fifth strongest association between socio-economic status and student performance among all PISA 2012 participating countries. There are large differences in students' achievement, depending on school type, school location and school resources. These inequities are reflected in students' educational attainment. In 2010, only 25% of 15-17 year-olds from the lowest income quintile had completed lower secondary education and 7% of 18-20 year-olds had completed upper secondary education, compared to 85% and 57% from the top income quintile respectively.

This report analyses the use of resources in the Uruguayan school system, with a particular focus on the governance of school resource use, the funding of school education, school organisation and operation, and the teaching workforce. It identifies policy areas with potential efficiency gains or requiring further public investment. The following policy priorities were identified to improve the effectiveness of resource use in the Uruguayan school system.

Strengths and challenges

Education is faced with a fragmented governance structure with an ambiguous distribution of responsibilities

A major challenge in education in Uruguay concerns its institutional governance structure and the distribution of responsibilities to develop and implement school education policy. First, there is no clarity regarding who is responsible for defining education policy and who is ultimately held accountable for policy implementation and learning outcomes within the education system. This results from the ambiguity of roles between the National Public Education Administration (ANEP)'s Central Governing Council (CODICEN) and ANEP's education councils (Pre-Primary and Primary Education Council [CEIP], Secondary Education Council [CES], Technical and Professional Education Council [CETP], Teacher Training Council [CFE]). While CODICEN co-ordinates the work of the four councils and is hierarchically above them, the councils are considered autonomous in their decisions. In practice, each education council operates quite autonomously *vis-à-vis* the CODICEN and the other councils; and the CODICEN maintains a collegial approach to the co-ordination with the councils. This has a number of challenges associated with it: unclear lines of responsibility, a lack of leadership for educational policy as a whole, and at times competition between the bodies for resources. Second, the governance structure is highly fragmented as, in practice, each education council operates its subsystem in a rather independent manner. As a result, school education is not governed as a system, but as a number of rather isolated subsystems. The risk is the development of policies which are not coherent across the education system, duplication of efforts and resources not allocated efficiently. The fragmentation of education governance makes it difficult for subsystems to share resources and also hinders the smooth shift of resources from one subsystem to the other when needed. Under such a governance structure, holistic "whole-system" change is difficult to implement. Ambiguity in education leadership together with accountability for education results not well targeted prevents any major reform in Uruguay's education system. Only small and incremental change is feasible under the current governance arrangements.

Education governance is overly centralised

Schools and departments have little autonomy in Uruguay compared to OECD countries. Both the CODICEN and the education councils strongly centralise the management of resources. Not only do central authorities manage school budgets, the recruitment of teachers and the allocation of infrastructure and equipment but they also retain decision-making power over less fundamental aspects of school operation such as the acquisition of instructional materials, ad hoc repairs at schools and the approval of schools' special activities. Little local and school autonomy hinders effectiveness in the use of resources as local authorities and schools are unable to match resources to their specific needs, and in consideration of their conditions and context. Also, responses from central educational authorities to an emerging school need can prove very slow. In addition, limited autonomy disempowers school and local actors and makes it more difficult to hold local players accountable, in particular school leaders, as they do not have the responsibility to take most of the decisions. Besides, as local actors (namely school principals) have limited leeway on the operation of schools, they have few opportunities to build their capacity to guide and lead school development. In such a context, the few initiatives such as the Regional Campuses for technical-professional education providing some leeway at the local level merit support.

The institutionalised co-administration of the school system with teachers raises concerns

A rather unique feature of school education governance in Uruguay is the institutionalised co-administration of the school system with teachers. Indeed, teachers elect representatives to CODICEN and to each individual education council. Therefore, in practice, teachers are directly involved in the development of school education policy, including in those decisions that directly concern their interests. The direct involvement of teachers in the administration of the school system is debatable as, inevitably, they do have vested interests. Such practice enables corporate interests to influence the development of education policy. The risk is that some education policies might be biased to favour the interests of the teachers. As a result, the education system risks being more teacher-centred than student-centred.

There are considerable efforts to extend education provision but demand is not met in a range of areas

The last decade in Uruguay has been characterised by considerable efforts to extend the coverage of the school system. Uruguay operates an extensive school network able to ensure good access to education, including a strong emphasis on providing access to early education in rural areas. There has also been considerable progress in providing access to pre-primary education. The net attendance rate for children aged 5 reached 98% in 2012 while it stood at 89% for children aged 4. However, enrolment in early childhood education (age 3 and below) is low and associated with ability to pay. The extension of student learning time in primary education has also been a priority through the full-time schools programme and the extended-time schools programme. However, full-time primary schooling in Uruguay remains underdeveloped as it covered only about 11% of primary education students in 2013. Expansion has been considerably slower in secondary education. In 2013, the net attendance rate in lower secondary education was 75% while it only reached 43% in upper secondary education. The expansion of secondary education faces a range of constraints, particularly in technical-professional programmes. These include lack or inadequate infrastructure, limited equipment and lack of qualified teachers. An additional major constraint is the inadequacy of the diversity of offers in secondary education to accommodate the interests and characteristics of students. Furthermore, the provision of services for special needs students is underdeveloped in Uruguay. These are mostly provided in special schools, which exist only at the primary education level. There are possibly large numbers of disabled and special needs children who are not in any school, special or mainstream, and receiving little or no useful education in their own homes. Overall, there is a low level capacity of the system to provide inclusive or integrated education.

Education policy gives good prominence to equity in education but the current strategy requires rethinking

Education policy in Uruguay is giving increasing prominence to equity in education. This is in recognition of the impact the socio-economic background of students has on their academic achievement. A range of compensatory educational programmes such as the Community Teachers Programme, the Teacher + Teacher Programme, the Tutorials Project and the Educational Commitment Programme provide schools with greater opportunities to offer the necessary support for students with greater needs. However, there are three aspects which require further reflection. First, most resources for equity are channelled through

targeted educational programmes, especially in secondary education, while the regular funding of individual schools distributes few resources on the basis of the specific needs of schools. This might reduce the transparency of funding to schools while increasing the complexity of resource distribution. Second, other policy issues such as student repetition and teacher deployment to individual schools have not received enough attention in terms of the inequities they introduce in the system. Third, there is limited knowledge about educational disadvantage in the Uruguayan education system.

The bases for accountability at the system level are being strengthened but there remains a lack of strategic planning

A highly relevant development in education governance in Uruguay was the recent establishment of the National Institute for Education Evaluation (INEEd). INEEd brings an authoritative and autonomous voice to the analysis of the Uruguayan education system, highly credible for its expertise and technical capacity. It has become a fundamental institution to improve checks and balances in the education system. Also, a number of initiatives are strengthening the bases for the evaluation of the education system. First, references for the monitoring of the education system are being improved with the development of expected learning outcomes at given education stages. Second, improved instruments such as student assessments for the national monitoring of student learning are being developed. Third, there is also some, albeit limited, progress in developing data information systems. However, there is a lack of strategic planning based on evidence and analysis and little accountability at the system level. There is no systematic strategy to incorporate the results of education research, either Uruguayan or international, into the policy process. Also, there is no tradition in Uruguay of evaluating the impact of specific policies or programmes. Another major challenge is the little accountability at the system level for educational results. For example, the execution of public spending in education is not evaluated against educational results. This significantly reduces the accountability of elected officials in charge of education. However, INEEd's work in analysing the state of education in Uruguay, reflected in a biennial publication, is a major progress in introducing system-level accountability.

There is a variety of sources of inefficiency

A major source of inefficiency in the Uruguayan school system relates to the very high rates of year repetition, which raise important concerns. This is not compatible with a student centred educational system as it extensively involves branding students a failure. It runs counter to the need for teachers to have the highest possible expectations of what children can achieve. And the direct costs for school systems are very high, as these include providing an additional year of education and delaying entry to the labour market by a year. Also, school completion rates are low and increasing slowly. Furthermore, the monitoring and planning of the school network is limited. There are quite a number of very small schools with small classes which do not offer a rich learning experience to students. This situation arises because there has not been a review of the school network to assess the need for some re-organisation of local educational supply and no major school transportation strategies have been developed. Furthermore, transitions between education levels are ineffective, which is linked to the little co-ordination of education provision across education levels and types. Other areas in which efficiencies can be produced are the management of human resources (whether schools receive teachers meeting their needs, equity concerns

about the distribution of teachers across schools), the low completion rates in initial teacher education, and the little use of evaluation results to generate improvement of practices at the school level.

There are efforts in improving resourcing in education but expenditure on education remains low

The public funding of education has increased significantly in recent years both as a proportion of the GDP and as a proportion of total public spending. In real terms, public spending on education grew at an average annual rate of 10% between 2004 and 2013. This reflects the growing importance of education as an area of public investment and a clear commitment of national authorities to improve resourcing in education. However, in spite of the recent efforts, public expenditure on education remains considerably below the OECD average and below the equivalent expenditure in other Latin American countries. In international comparison, public expenditure appears to be particularly low in public general upper secondary programmes. This relatively low level of spending translates into inadequate spending on teacher and school leader salaries and on learning materials, and challenges to meet the demand for pre-primary education places. While there have been considerable efforts to increase the salaries of public teachers in recent years, the relative salaries of public teachers remain low. In Uruguay the low pay of teachers impacts negatively on the quality of entrants into teaching, on public perceptions of the teaching profession and on the motivation of those already in the profession. The current low expenditure on education comes in a context in which there is a variety of pressures for further public spending on education. The expansion of coverage, particularly in secondary education and in early childhood and pre-primary education, will require further resources. This will come alongside the expansion of tertiary education. In addition, there is still considerable room to expand learning time across the different education levels. And, as mentioned above, continued efforts to raise the salaries of public teachers are expected.

The multiannual budget process allows medium-term planning but budget preparation is not strategic

Public spending in education is executed according to a five-year budget agreed between the ANEP and the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF). In theory, this provides an opportunity for medium-term planning in education whereby public spending in education is associated with medium-term goals and a set of policy measures to achieve them. The stability of education funding, the clarity of goals for education beyond the short-term and linking policy objectives to resourcing strategies, all of which benefit from a budget established on a longer horizon, are key elements for ensuring an effective use of school resources. Another positive feature is the fact that five-year budgets provide enough flexibility for adjustments in annual education budgets. However, the budget documents do not typically provide clearly defined educational objectives, actions, goals and target results. The budget requests submitted by ANEP to the MEF are typically not presented with a vision of the school system as a whole and do not clearly establish priorities for public spending. This results in the development of five-year education budgets that only weakly link to medium- and long-term strategies for the education sector. Nonetheless, in a positive development subsequent to the visit by the OECD review team, ANEP established annual targets for the period 2016-20 in its 2015-19 Budget Plan covering 61 indicators in a range of areas.

Mechanisms to fund schools have some positive features but lack transparency and do not respond to schools' needs

The mechanisms to allocate resources to individual schools are well-established and, in general, accepted by the main stakeholders. There is the perception that education councils distribute resources so as to ensure some horizontal equity across individual schools (i.e. similar resources are given to schools with similar type of provision). The allocation mechanism seeks to ensure that, in each school, a basic level of resources is made available that enables students, regardless of their socio-economic background, to benefit from a similar schooling experience. While individual schools have no autonomy to manage financial resources, they receive a monthly small amount of money ("petty cash") to give them some minimal ability to respond to the most pressing maintenance needs. However, the distribution of resources across schools lacks transparency. While each education council seems to have an established algorithm to distribute public resources to individual schools, the parameters defining the basis for the distribution are not made public. As a result, schools are not provided with clear information on the bases to distribute the resources between them. The lack of transparency might be partly explained by the absence of a rationale for the algorithms used by each of the education councils (and their likely historical basis) as well as the possible lack of articulation between the algorithms independently developed by each education council. In addition, the extra staff allocated to individual schools depends on the subjective advice of inspectors and discretion on whether or not one specific school is eligible for a given educational programme (e.g. Community Teachers Programme). These decisions seem to not always involve objective criteria. The lack of transparency extends to the fact that there is no public information available on the education resources allocated to each school. This makes it difficult to evaluate whether resources are being allocated to where they are most needed.

Also, school-level funding provides little flexibility to respond to local needs. The algorithms used to distribute most staff resources to individual schools do not take systematic account of indicators reflecting the socio-economic characteristics of the school and its population (e.g. level of education of parents, income level of families). This implies that school-level funding is not directly related to the socio-economic characteristics of the school's student population which reduces the ability of funding mechanisms to respond to school needs. The same conclusion applies to resources for operating expenses.

The multitude of education programmes responds to important needs but reduces the transparency of funding to schools

While clear distribution criteria are not communicated publicly, individual schools receive extra resources to account for the additional learning needs of their students. This takes place in three major forms: i) the type of school attended (*Aprender* schools, which serve more disadvantaged populations, receive greater resources); ii) extra staff (e.g. support teachers, teacher leaders and social workers) as part of the regular distribution of resources to individual schools by each education council; and iii) extra resources as part of specific educational programmes (e.g. Community Teachers Programme). There is evidence that these approaches are providing greater resources to schools facing the most challenging socio-economic contexts. Targeted funding through the wide range of compensatory education programmes available in Uruguay conveys clear policy objectives and responds to important needs in the education system.

However, there is a risk that the multitude of educational programmes reduces the transparency of funding to schools. The proliferation of educational programmes, to a great extent, reflects the need to circumvent an institutional governance framework which does not facilitate education reform and renders difficult the implementation of education policies to address specific challenges. In Uruguay, except for some discretionary allocation of extra staff (e.g. support teachers) by the education councils (driven, to a great extent, on the subjective views of school inspectors), there is no distribution of resources to individual schools involving an objective funding formula with a needs-based group of variables. This considerably limits the ability of the education system to target education resources according to objective individual schools' needs. Also, the multitude of educational programmes makes the distribution of resources to schools considerably more complex and potentially leads to some inefficiency of resource use. An excessive reliance on supplementary educational programmes may generate overlap, difficulties in co-ordinating allocations, excessive bureaucracy and lack of long term sustainability for schools. The lack of co-ordination between education programmes raises concerns about whether needs-based resources are effectively distributed across schools.

In spite of some provisions there are limitations in monitoring the use of public funds for education

Mechanisms to monitor the use of public resources in education concentrate on the management of financial resources at the central level, namely the execution of the budget by CODICEN and the education councils. This is understandable in light of the fact that very little public funding is managed at the school and departmental levels. Audit regulations are also in place. Both ANEP's internal audit and the external control by the Court of Auditors have standardised procedures to periodically assess ANEP's compliance with existing laws and regulations. However, a number of challenges arise in monitoring and making transparent the use of financial resources. First, the analysis of the impact of financial resources on educational achievement (or education objectives) is not common with audits mostly concentrating on compliance with existing laws and regulations. Second, auditing procedures are not given enough resources. Also, the results of external oversight and control do not always produce concrete and visible adjustments in the governance and functioning of educational authorities. Third, the absence of reporting on budgets at the school level is a concern. There is no disclosure of the budget at the school level and no reporting on how the budget was spent. Finally, there is a general lack of cost-benefit analyses of different educational policies and programmes, meaning that educational authorities in Uruguay often make decisions with minimal attention to the efficiency or effectiveness of their likely education outcomes.

School inspection crucially links central policy to local practice but provides limited support for school development

Considering the high level of centralisation of decision-making in Uruguay, the school inspections constitute a crucial link between the councils at the central level and schools and principals across the country. They bring insights and knowledge from their work at the local level to inform policy decisions at the central level. For instance, in pre-primary and primary education, inspections provide input into the central decisions about the distribution of staff positions in schools, and decide about the distribution of targeted programmes to individual schools. In secondary education, the inspection provides advice

on the organisation of the school offer. Also, concerns about infrastructure needs can be passed on from schools through the inspection to the central level. In addition, inspections play an important role for the implementation of the decisions about the organisation and operation of schools taken at the central level. Finally, the inspection services provide an invaluable source of feedback and external perspectives through the individual appraisal process and the inspections' contact with individual schools.

However, the Uruguayan model of school inspection does not support school development. First, individual appraisal of teachers and school leaders does not communicate that school development is the responsibility of the whole school community. Second, individual appraisals do not emphasise the improvement of professional competencies and practices as, instead, inspectors tend to focus more on control and compliance. Third, individual appraisal procedures lack clarity, transparency and objectivity and do not clearly focus on pedagogical leadership. Fourth, school development planning and self-evaluation practices are rare and do not inform appraisal. Finally, school inspection is fragmented across levels of education, the evaluation of teaching and school leadership, and between subject specialisations.

School leadership benefits from an established employment framework but needs greater recognition

The employment framework for school principals and deputy principals entails a number of valuable elements and provides a good basis for strengthening the school leadership profession. School principals are required to take part in initial preparation before taking the school leader examination and before assuming a leadership role. Concerning employment, it is positive that the distribution of principals and deputy principals to schools entails a performance-based element as it takes the inspection's appraisal rating into account. In terms of remuneration, principals and deputy principals benefit from a separate salary scale that is detached from the salary scale for teachers, although there are concerns about the level of compensation. Also, there are some opportunities for teacher leadership and teachers have a channel for providing their opinion to school management. However, there is a range of challenges in the organisation of school leadership in Uruguay, including the limited recognition of the important role that school leadership can play for teaching and learning. School principals are poorly paid for their responsibilities and when compared to teachers. Also, the recruitment process of school principals is based on a limited set of criteria, provides almost no financial incentives to work in disadvantaged contexts, and can create instability in schools when appointment is on a temporary basis. In addition, initial preparation could prepare school principals better for their role and there are no further development opportunities for school principals. Also, the administrative responsibilities of principals and the lack of a stable teaching body may make it difficult for principals to develop learning communities in their schools. Finally, school principals could require further support from teacher leaders and the high degree of centralisation makes it difficult for principals to build a leadership team.

Efforts to increase teacher salaries send important signals about the importance of teaching

In recent years, there have been efforts on the part of the Uruguayan government to increase teacher salaries in public schools. Since 2003, real salaries of public school teachers have grown above those in the general economy, reflecting a commitment to bring teacher

salaries to more adequate levels. However, while the gap has been reduced in recent years, the relative salaries of public teachers remain low. Low salaries have clear detrimental effects on the motivation levels of teachers and limit considerably the ability of the system to attract high-quality entrants and more males into the profession. In Uruguay, they also lead teachers to accumulate a high number of teaching hours and several jobs.

There is currently no shared understanding of what constitutes good quality teaching

The Uruguayan education system lacks a national framework of teacher competencies. There is no clear and concise statement or profile of what teachers are expected to know and be able to do. At the national level, there are no uniform performance criteria or reference frameworks which can inform teacher preparation programmes or against which teachers can be appraised. A framework of teacher competencies is an essential mechanism for clarifying expectations of what systems of teacher education and professional development should aim to achieve, offering the credible reference for making judgments about teacher competence, guiding teacher professional development, selecting teachers and providing the basis for career advancement.

There are concerns about teacher quality

There are serious concerns about the lack of qualifications of teachers, particularly in secondary education. In 2014, the proportion of non-qualified teachers was about 42% and 31% in lower secondary and upper secondary general programmes respectively while, in 2007, the proportion of non-qualified teachers in technical-professional secondary programmes was about 55%. The lack of teacher qualifications in secondary education seems to be more serious in public schools, outside Montevideo and in very disadvantaged schools. This is likely to affect teacher quality.

Initial teacher education has a number of positive features but is also faced with considerable challenges

In Uruguay, there is a long tradition of initial teacher education. A positive development has been the creation in 2008 of the "National System of Teacher Education", with the introduction of a common curriculum for teacher education in the country. This has brought greater coherence to programmes across institutions and had the benefit of significantly reducing the fragmentation of different curricula in the system (including in the same institutions). Another positive feature is the fact that the preparation for pre-primary teaching is on par with preparation for primary education teaching, which ensures that both types of teachers are equally recognised as professionals by the education system. In addition, the preparation for secondary education teachers is diversified and accounts for the specific needs of technical-professional programmes – dedicated and specialised pre-service preparation for teaching in technical secondary schools is offered. Also, although limited in coverage, it is commendable that the government is providing scholarships to stimulate retention of teacher candidates in teacher education programmes.

However, there are some challenges to the preparation of teachers. First, completion rates in initial teacher education are very low. This might be, at least partly, related to the fact that initial teacher institutions have not organised their programmes – in terms of curriculum requirements and teaching strategies – in such a way they facilitate the success of the type of student population they have. Second, in Uruguay, there is no accreditation of tertiary education programmes in public institutions. As a result, there is no formal

external evaluation of teacher education programmes and these do not need a quality-based accreditation process to operate. The consequence is that there is no external challenge to the organisation of initial teacher education programmes and no incentives to continuously improve the quality of programmes. Third, a number of aspects to the organisation of teacher education programmes require rethinking. Teachers seem to receive little preparation for special needs in mainstream schools, multi-year teaching (i.e. simultaneously teaching students who are in different school years) and teaching in rural schools. In addition, the organisation of studies for secondary teacher preparation is too specialised. Most programmes prepare teacher candidates to teach one specific discipline (e.g. history, mathematics) instead of preparing candidates to teach disciplines within related areas (e.g. history and geography; mathematics and physics). Finally, there are no special courses or programmes for non-qualified teachers in secondary education. This is surprising in a context of a great proportion of non-qualified teachers in secondary education.

There is a limited conception of teacher employment

The conception of teacher employment in Uruguay, whereby basic compensation is associated essentially to the teacher's teaching load, is a source of concern. In combination with both a low base salary (as is the case in Uruguay) and little guarantee of having a full teaching load (especially in secondary education), remuneration on the basis of the teaching load has the potential to turn the teaching profession into a part-time job that encourages teachers to teach excessively (in one or more schools), take on an additional job, or look for additional sources of income in or outside the school. This leads some teachers in Uruguay to have heavy teaching loads, often in several schools, and others to have a second job outside education. A heavy teaching load or a job in addition to teaching leaves little room for teachers to engage in other activities at the school such as collaboration with colleagues, reflection on own practices, mentoring of less experienced teachers, communication with parents and professional development. Another key question is the limited time teachers might have for the preparation of their classes. In addition, working in several schools might generate higher rates of teacher absenteeism. There is no reason why other tasks performed by teachers such as lesson preparation, meeting parents, marking students' work, collaborative work with colleagues and administrative work should not be formally recognised by teachers' pay. This is likely to be a great source of dissatisfaction among teachers.

Teacher recruitment and deployment are highly inefficient

The Uruguayan education system has a complex and rather inefficient system of teacher recruitment and deployment. First, the fully centralised approach (with no involvement of individual schools) raises concerns about whether schools have the teachers that fit their particular needs. Second, the selection processes might be based in limited criteria that might bear little relationship to the qualities needed to be an effective teacher. Third, the recruitment and deployment of teachers raise equity concerns. As a result of the processes established, teachers with greater seniority and very good records of quality teaching will be best positioned in both the registry of interim teachers (which defines priority access to non-tenured posts/hours) and the competitions to reach tenure. Since they then express their preferences for the schools at which to teach, more experienced and higher quality teachers are more likely to end up teaching at higher prestige, more

advantaged and urban schools. Fourth, the teacher allocation system generates a great degree of instability both in schools and among teachers, particularly in secondary schools. For primary teachers the system provides greater stability as once tenured is obtained at a school, the teacher may remain there for as long as he or she chooses to. However, for secondary teachers the situation is much more complex as they must bid every year for hours available in the school in which they wish to teach. At the same time, each year each school must open its teaching hours for competition through the reallocation system, requiring all of its tenured teachers to reapply. The annual re-opening of the allocation of all teaching hours in secondary education causes instability both for the school, as it faces difficulties in building a stable teaching body, but also for the teachers who find themselves in a continuous state of uncertainty. Fifth, the system involves high administrative costs.

Teacher compensation is unstructured and working conditions uneven

Currently, in Uruguay, there is no career structure for teachers. There is a unique career stage with a single salary scale. Minor pay differentiation is achieved through a small number of salary allowances. Within a teaching role there are no opportunities for promotion, greater recognition and more responsibility. There are no career steps in teacher development (e.g. beginning; classroom teacher; experienced teacher), which would permit a better match between teacher competence and skills and the tasks to be performed at schools (e.g. mentor teacher; co-ordinator of professional development). The absence of a career structure also prevents the system to provide the recognition of experience and advanced teaching skills with a formal position and additional compensation. Also, little flexibility exists regarding teacher incentives. Teachers with a given seniority and qualification status are generally paid the same irrespective of their working conditions, level of shortages in the subject area, or school location. The exceptions are the additional compensation received by teachers in special schools and rural schools. This restricts the ability of schools and the system as a whole to address staffing problems (e.g. shortages of qualified teachers in specific subjects) or to give incentives for teachers to work in disadvantaged schools.

Teacher appraisal is established but limited in a variety of ways

A positive aspect of the teaching career in Uruguay is that teacher appraisal is established. The approach to teacher appraisal has some valuable aspects. First, both in the cases of an appraisal conducted by inspectors and school leaders, teachers are given an opportunity to establish a professional dialogue about their practices, which grants them the opportunity to identify areas for improvement. Second, albeit limited, the teacher statute provides some guidance in terms of the aspects teacher appraisal should cover. Third, a key strength of teacher appraisal in Uruguay is that the process typically includes assessing actual teaching practices in the classroom. Fourth, teacher appraisal processes are school-based and therefore take good account of the context faced by each teacher. However, teacher performance appraisal is limited in a variety of ways. First, the appraisal conducted by inspectors, which is a process with high-stakes for teachers (e.g. impacts competitions to obtain tenure), is also expected to achieve a developmental function and inform the improvement of the teacher's practices. Nevertheless, it is difficult to achieve the developmental function of teacher appraisal through a high-stakes process. Second, it appears that the approach inspectors follow in the appraisal process is often mechanistic and compliance-based with a focus on assigning a score to each teacher. Appraisal criteria

seem to centre on formal aspects such as punctuality rather than on actual teaching competencies. The appraisal criteria used are rather limited in spite of the tradition of classroom observation. This also relates to the lack of a national framework of teaching competencies. Third, the provision of professional development appears not systematically linked to teacher appraisal.

There are opportunities for professional development but its organisation faces a range of challenges

There is a range of in-service professional development activities to which teachers have free access. Particularly important in this respect is the contribution of the Institute for Advanced and Higher Studies, an institution dedicated to teacher professional development which also carries out research and outreach activities. A recent development that offers new opportunities for school-based professional development is the establishment of "co-ordination hours" for teachers to co-ordinate school activities. These exist in *Aprender* schools, primary full-time schools and secondary schools. However, the organisation of professional development faces a range of challenges. In international comparison, the participation rates in professional development of Uruguayan teachers appear to be low. There are indications that this might result from the combination of a number of factors such as the little relevance of the supply of professional development programmes, the limited entitlement to free professional development, the little time available to teachers to engage in professional development, and the little tradition of school-based professional development. Also, a gap in the organisation of the teaching career in Uruguay is the absence of a regulated systematic induction or mentoring process for teachers as they enter the school system. While mentoring programmes may be in place in some schools, there are no guarantees that beginning teachers are adequately supported as they enter the career.

Policy recommendations

Clarify responsibilities for education and integrate policy across education levels

There is a need to clarify responsibilities in the school education sector and define who is ultimately held accountable for policy implementation and learning outcomes. A first step is to concentrate ultimate responsibility and accountability in a single body which would lead the development of school education policy. The most natural such body in Uruguay is the CODICEN, which should have its responsibilities reinforced *vis-à-vis* the individual education councils. This would involve making each education council subordinate to the CODICEN. Each education council could become a department below the CODICEN or, rather, the education councils could be discontinued and its units integrated in the equivalent CODICEN units (e.g. budget and planning; human resources management; infrastructure). This approach would define the entity to be held accountable for the state of education in Uruguay; reduce unnecessary duplication; provide the potential for better co-ordination across education levels and types; establish closer linkages between funding, resource allocation and accountability; facilitate the alignment between education strategic objectives and school-level management; reduce ambiguities in defining who is responsible for what; and assist with medium- and long-term planning in education.

Another priority to improve school education governance in Uruguay is to review the pertinence of the institutionalised co-administration with teachers. It is conceptually debatable that an education governance system has among its administrators representatives of a group which clearly has a vested interest in the system. Given the high

risks this approach poses for the neutrality of education policy development, the OECD review team recommends its discontinuation. Teachers have respected organisations which represent them – teacher unions and professional associations – and these should be part of consultation processes as education policies are developed and implemented. The key fundamental aspect which needs to be respected is that the views and perspectives of teachers are taken into account in education reform processes, a principle that is valid for other groups such as students, parents, employers or school leaders. An education system should be student-centred and the risk of the co-administration with teachers is that, instead, it becomes teacher-centred.

Another pending task in shaping school education governance in Uruguay is defining the complementarity of the role of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). While it is not clear why the MEC should retain its regulatory role in private early childhood and pre-primary education (functions that could be integrated within ANEP to reinforce a more holistic public policy at these levels), it could have its co-ordination/consultation role reinforced. A possibility would be for MEC to become the main body organising consultations among the main education agencies and relevant stakeholders to discuss and agree long-term strategies for education in Uruguay.

Strengthen evidence-based strategic planning and reinforce accountability at the system level

Uruguay needs to develop a culture of using evidence from research, programme evaluation and performance audits as the basis for future reform initiatives, both in the design – to identify what policies would be more cost-effective – and in the implementation – to make change happen in schools. This involves a strategic approach to research, analysis and evaluation, and information management activities in view of supporting the development of evidence-based policies. The creation of INEEd is a potential opportunity to systematise this process, but would require extending the mission beyond evaluation to be fully successful. INEEd could act as a knowledge broker in the Uruguayan education system and the MEC could bring together the relevant stakeholders to discuss the implications of the existing evidence for the development of an education strategy in Uruguay.

The improvement of data collection systems and practices is also needed. In particular, there is a need to integrate the range of existing databases, expand the information collected, better link resource allocation to programmes and education results, and provide explicit capacity building tools and training for a better analysis of the data. Also, there is ample room to improve the external and independent monitoring systems of Uruguay's education system in order for accountability at the system level to be reinforced. A step in the right direction has been the recent setting of educational targets by ANEP for the period 2016-20.

Also, a needed key adjustment to strengthen national education monitoring in Uruguay is the considerable expansion of the autonomy of INEEd so it can take the leadership in evaluation and assessment activities in the country and provide an independent judgment on the state of education in Uruguay. This would be in a context where the ANEP retains the leadership in setting educational strategy and developing educational policy and maintains a role in the implementation of all the components of the evaluation and assessment framework (e.g. student assessment, school evaluation, teacher appraisal). The further independence of INEEd would imply being politically and financially independent from the ANEP and the government, reinforcing the presence of evaluation experts, researchers and

specialists in its decision-making bodies and being led by a governing board not nominated by existing educational authorities. The objective would be to establish INEEd as the authoritative voice in evaluation and assessment in Uruguay, highly credible for its expertise and technical capacity, issuing directions for the implementation of evaluation and assessment procedures in the country, and providing analysis on the education system feeding into the process of education policy development.

Gradually increase local and school autonomy as capacity to support local implementation is strengthened

Uruguay could explore ways to gradually provide more autonomy to schools and lower levels of government (departments) in order to enable them to foster improvements in education. Certain decisions are best left to local authorities and school principals, who best know their schools' needs, to ensure a more optimal allocation of resources. Schools, for example, could be allowed to manage a budget for operational expenses for materials, equipment, teacher professional development and school development projects. Also, teacher recruitment and selection could include input from school principals (e.g. being part of the commissions making the final selection of the candidates). Similarly, departmental governments could be directly involved in infrastructure development and maintenance, including with a dedicated budget, and the provision of logistical support (e.g. transportation services, dormitories, school meals). As school leaders and departments' officials learn to exercise their new responsibilities and as monitoring systems gather more experience, central educational authorities can proceed with stronger deregulation and increased autonomy. In other words, increasing autonomy must be associated with the process of mutual learning of school principals and departments' officials and of monitoring experts. A possibility would be to develop a certification process, possibly led by the inspectorates, to grant some schools the possibility to exercise autonomy in a range of areas. As the education system moves to provide further autonomy to local actors, Uruguay would benefit from an explicit focus on capacity building on all levels of the system.

Improve the supply of a range of education services

A priority should be given to meeting demand for early childhood education services for younger children (aged 3 and younger) as there are indications of shortfalls in provision for this age range. A possibility is to enlarge the scope for the public funding of private provision, including with voucher schemes. Also, efforts should continue to strengthen the quality of services at all pre-primary schools. In addition, there is a need to increase instructional hours, particularly for students in primary education. Having a relatively short school day, in terms of hours of instruction, may place children, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds and those who may be struggling, at risk of failure. Lengthening the school day has been found to benefit learners.

In order to improve the attractiveness of secondary education and retain students at this level, there is a need to further diversify and make more relevant the provision of secondary education. The objective is to improve the matching of educational offerings in secondary education to both the interests of the students and the needs of the labour market and society. Part of the solution is to make technical-professional programmes a more attractive option for students. This involves ensuring the labour market relevance of technical-professional programmes, which requires a close collaboration of labour market actors; greater responsiveness of schools to the identified needs in the labour market;

creating more opportunities for work-based learning and apprenticeships; greater partnerships between general and technical-professional programmes; and student career guidance which is informed by labour market outcomes of graduates from technical-professional programmes. In addition, it is important to keep the curriculum of general programmes relevant for the continuation of studies at a higher level while increasing the flexibility of its delivery to take into account the increasing diversity of student achievement as students make progress within the education system.

Moreover, there is an urgent need to establish a comprehensive education strategy for students with special needs, which can raise their aspirations at all levels of the education system. A range of aspects need to be considered. First, there needs to be a reflection about the type of special needs that should be considered in an overall strategy. Types of special needs typically include students with disabilities, gifted children and students with more severe learning difficulties. Second, approaches and structures to identify and diagnose special needs need to be developed. This is not an easy task and requires the contribution of a range of specialists (e.g. teachers, doctors, psychologists) and good communication with parents. Third, there needs to be a reflection about the roles of special schools and the extent to which mainstream schools can contribute to the education of special needs students. Fourth, resourcing strategies need to be developed with the adequate assessment of the extra resources needed to educate a student with special needs. One priority is the establishment of special schools at the secondary education level. There is no reason to assume that students with special needs cannot aspire to reach secondary education.

Address inefficiencies in the education system

Among measures that improve the effectiveness of resource use in the Uruguayan school system are the decrease of drop-out rates in secondary education and the reduction of repetition rates at all educational levels. This requires early intervention and co-ordinated strategies for equity. To compress socio-cultural differences in achievement requires structured programmes in early childhood care and education, extending upwards into primary school. Ensuring that schools provide their students with adequate and timely support is essential to enable struggling students not only to stay at school but to get the most of their schooling years. Schools should be encouraged to use early warning systems to identify students at risk and support them as early as possible. Timeliness matters because later interventions are less cost-effective. This suggests reinforcing educational programmes targeted at early intervention such as the Community Teachers Programme, the Teacher + Teacher Programme (*Maestro más Maestro*) and *Aprender* schools. At the same time, targeted interventions at the secondary level to prevent dropouts and to raise the awareness about the benefits of education should receive further resources. Students from socially-disadvantaged backgrounds should be supported by a maintenance grant contingent on regular school attendance and satisfactory progress. Improving completion rates in the Uruguayan education system also requires improving the supply of educational services at the secondary level to make them more relevant for the interests and characteristics of students. This calls for strategies to improve student transitions across education levels, namely the development of a common curriculum framework for all levels of school education.

Another area of inefficiency concerns the existence of many small schools. A strategic vision is required at the national level on how best to deliver education in rural and remote areas. Smaller schools often have higher operating costs, but also may serve more isolated or remote communities and their existence and quality need to be seen in the context of

wider regional development policies. It is important to keep in mind that the organisation of the school network must be about ensuring quality education for all children. Students' access to high quality education should not be affected adversely by their place of residence. In some cases, closing the school may not be the best solution – the distance to travel may simply not be practicable. However, in others consolidating educational provision on fewer sites will present wider opportunities for both students and teachers (e.g. closing small schools, sharing of resources between nearby schools, clustering of schools under the same school leadership). Investment in effective transportation solutions, after-school facilities, the use of ICT, and the creation of rural school networks can also be part of an overall strategy to provide education in rural and remote areas.

Increase overall public spending on education

The Uruguayan government should continue efforts to increase the amount spent on education in real terms and as a percentage of GDP as can be afforded, given general economic conditions and government fiscal policy. An underinvestment in one generation of students can have long-lasting effects on the country's economic and social prospects. The gradual expansion of public spending on education needs to be accompanied by a reflection about the specific areas that should receive priority for further investment. This is a complex decision which requires comprehensive analysis in the system and wide consultation among stakeholder groups. The expansion of education services is likely to absorb a considerable proportion of new public resources for education. These include the extension of learning time in primary education (as a greater proportion of schools will offer full-time schooling), the expansion of secondary education (as completion rates are improved in secondary education) and growth in early childhood and pre-primary education (as coverage rates increase). Another priority for the use of additional public resources in education is increasing the salaries of teachers and school leaders. Finally, increasing public investment in education needs to go alongside improving the efficiency of public funds' use, as suggested above.

Develop a strategic approach to budget planning

An important aspect of aligning funding strategies with policy objectives is the integration of education budgeting processes into strategic frameworks for education. In Uruguay, there is a need to strengthen the links between the five-year budgeting process to strategic documents and medium-term expenditure frameworks that connect spending decisions to education priorities. This requires developing medium-term and long-term strategies for the development of the education system which encompass the views and perspectives of a variety of stakeholder groups. A well thought-out and inclusive strategic vision for the education sector is necessary to design long term legal and institutional changes, to plan effectively the human and financial resources needed in different areas of the system, and to adopt a clear implementation path. An education strategy which informs budget planning needs clear objectives, established targets to be achieved, an indicators framework, and clear structures for reporting on progress and performance. The recent establishment by ANEP of annual targets for the period 2016-20 in its 2015-19 Budget Plan is a step in the right direction. Also, a strategic approach to budget planning requires the consideration of the education system as a whole and not the establishment of separate budget processes per institution involved in the governance of education and per education council in the case of the ANEP budget process.

Introduce funding formulas to distribute resources to individual schools

In order to bring greater transparency to the distribution of public resources to schools, the introduction of a funding formula is recommended. The distribution through a formula is more likely to lead to a more efficient and equitable allocation than other methods, including discretionary and incremental funding models. A per student funding scheme implies that resources are calculated per each student and that a specific formulation is drawn, often in the form of a mathematical equation. A well designed funding formula can, under certain conditions, be the most efficient, equitable, stable and transparent method of funding schools. In Uruguay, at least two separate funding formulas could be developed, one for determining staff resources for each school (teachers and support staff) and another for determining the operational budget for each school (which could possibly include the current provisions for "petty cash"). In addition to the transparency and predictability introduced, funding formulas remove the current subjective judgment in terms of the extra staff that is allocated to each school. The same formulas can also be used across educational levels and types as they would include specific coefficients which account for cost differences, for instance, between primary and secondary education and between general and technical-professional programmes. The formulas to be introduced should take into account the socio-economic context of schools. This would improve the ability of distribution mechanisms to respond to local circumstances.

Review the delivery and impact of compensatory educational programmes in view of consolidating them

Funding strategies play an important role in achieving equity objectives within school systems. A crucial aspect of policy is to decide on the best mechanisms to channel the extra resources to student groups who have additional needs. This can typically be achieved through a systematic weighted allocation to particular student groups within schools (using a funding formula, as suggested above) or through funding directly targeted at specific groups (e.g. scholarships for disadvantaged students). As analysed earlier, in Uruguay, targeted funding through compensatory programmes has been the privileged mechanism to provide extra resources to disadvantaged student groups and schools. However, there is a large number of educational programmes whose implementation is not sufficiently co-ordinated and which are likely to involve a great deal of duplication in terms of objectives and allocated resources. The suggested move of some of these equity-related resources to be distributed through needs-based funding formulas (see above) is an opportunity to review the delivery and impact of compensatory educational programmes in view of consolidating them.

Strengthen the monitoring of the use of public resources in school education

There is ample room to improve the monitoring of the use of public resources in school education in Uruguay. There is a need to evaluate the use of public resources in education *vis-à-vis* their impact on educational outcomes. The financial monitoring system remains focused on financial compliance while it needs to evolve into an analysis of education system performance, including in audit exercises (performance audits). This could benefit from the more strategic budget planning suggested above, whereby education targets are established and the monitoring of resource use assesses whether or not the targets were achieved. As a result, the annual reporting of ANEP to parliament about the execution of the education budget should involve evidence of the performance of the education system *vis-à-vis* established policy objectives and education targets. More generally, the monitoring system

should more broadly consist of a periodical assessment of the state of education in Uruguay, be based on a framework of education indicators, include the in-depth analysis of the data collected, and involve the evaluation of specific education policies and educational programmes. Furthermore, Uruguay needs to improve dissemination of information about activities at the school level, including information on school budgets. While dissemination of reports may be viewed as another burden in the reporting process, the education councils should consider using a single nationally-developed format to ensure that parents and voters know how schools operate in their community and how school resources are used. In particular, it would be important to publicly disclose the public resources each school receives alongside the uses of those resources and the educational outcomes at the school.

Strengthen the capacity of the school inspection to contribute to school improvement

In the long-run, Uruguay should consider the introduction of a comprehensive school evaluation process. The sole reliance on personnel appraisal risks to focus on the performance of individuals only and to lose sight of the ways in which individuals can contribute to the improvement of the whole school. This requires a reflection of how school evaluation will be aligned with teacher appraisal and, in particular, school leader appraisal to create synergies and to avoid duplication and misconceptions. School evaluation will need to contribute towards school improvement and not simply be an exercise in compliancy. The approach to school evaluation, the criteria and questions governing judgments and the methods employed should, therefore, focus directly on the quality of teaching and learning. The introduction of school evaluations will also require a rethinking of the current structure of the inspection.

There is also a need to encourage and support schools to develop school development planning and self-evaluation processes. A possible approach lies in establishing requirements for schools that promote strategic planning, for example, the drawing up of a four to five year strategic plan and regular updates of school progress on this plan, or the development of annual school reports about their achievements, challenges and strategies for improvement. The school inspection can also play a role in promoting school development planning and self-evaluation, through a future comprehensive school evaluation. A further need is to develop a coherent framework for individual school leader appraisal so appraisal contributes to the improvement of school leaders' practices. This involves providing effective and useful feedback.

Develop the school leadership profession so it can provide pedagogical leadership

As the basis of its school leadership development strategy, Uruguay should develop a shared understanding of the school leadership profession. This could include a revision of the regulations of the responsibilities of principals and deputy principals and the development of a related set of professional school leadership standards. Such standards would provide a clear and concise statement of the core elements of successful leadership by mapping out what school leaders are expected to know, be able to do, and how. Furthermore, Uruguay needs to re-evaluate the current levels of remuneration of principals and deputy principals to ensure that school leadership is sustainable in the future and that qualified and interested teachers who would like to take on more responsibilities are not deterred from making this step. Principals and deputy principals should earn a salary sufficiently greater than teachers' salaries to compensate for their additional workload, exposure and responsibilities.

The quality of school leader preparation can be improved and be made more systematic. The development of a systematic school leadership preparation course that is not geared towards the passing of the school leader exam, but towards the future school leadership role, would be one step to improve current school leader training. Also, professional development should be provided periodically to give school leaders the opportunity to develop new competencies and to learn about innovative approaches and practices. Another priority is to broaden the criteria used for the recruitment of school leaders.

Develop a competency framework for the teaching profession

Uruguay needs to have a basic reference of what good teaching means. This means establishing a clear competency framework for the teaching profession that signals to teachers and to society as a whole the core knowledge, skills and values associated with effective teaching at different stages of a teaching career. A clear, well-structured and widely supported competency framework for teachers can be a powerful mechanism for aligning the various elements involved in developing teachers' competencies.

Reconceptualise teacher employment to account for all activities performed by teachers

Making the work of teachers more effective in Uruguayan schools necessitates a whole new concept of teacher employment. Uruguay needs to move to employment under a workload system whereby teachers work a specified number of hours per week (e.g. 40 hours), a proportion of which are devoted to teaching. Such conception of teacher employment recognises that teachers need time for engaging in a range of other tasks, including the adequate preparation of lessons. This is likely to make the profession more attractive and to reduce the number of teachers with unreasonably high teaching loads. This reform will necessitate considerable resources but should be a priority for the application of extra resources devoted to education.

Create a career structure for teachers associated with a teacher certification process

Schools and teachers could benefit from a career structure for teachers that comprised (say) three career pathways: teacher, established teacher, and accomplished/expert teacher. The different career pathways should be associated with distinct roles and responsibilities in schools associated with given levels of teaching expertise. For instance, an established teacher could assume responsibility for the mentoring of beginning teachers and an expert teacher could take responsibility for the co-ordination of professional development in schools. Voluntary access to the top career pathways should be associated with formal processes of appraisal through a system of teacher certification. Also, each of the career pathways should be organised according to steps indicating a clear salary progression. The accountability function of teacher appraisal that is currently being achieved through the annual formal teacher appraisal by inspectors could be transformed into a process of teacher appraisal for career progression through a certification process associated with the teacher career structure suggested above – with progression within career paths and access to distinct career paths.

Rethink the system for the recruitment and deployment of teachers

The current system of recruitment and deployment of teachers to schools works against there being a stable team of teachers committed to the school's educational project, is not constructed to optimise the matching between teachers' skills and schools' needs and leads

to an inequitable distribution of teacher resources across schools. These undesirable effects call for the reform of the current approach to select, recruit and deploy teachers to schools. Hence, the new model needs to give more stability to teaching bodies within schools, respond better to the needs of individual schools and ensure more experienced and high-quality teachers are willing to work in disadvantaged schools. It is recommended that the new model builds on a number of principles. First, greater stability needs to be provided to both teachers and schools. Second, recruitment methods and selection criteria need to take better account of the specific needs of individual schools. Third, criteria to order teachers in the registry need to encourage better equity in the distribution of teachers across schools.

Improve the provision and status of initial teacher education

There is a need to raise the status of initial teacher education. The implementation of the plans to establish a National Pedagogic University could help in this respect by providing greater structure to initial teacher education and raising its status to university level. A priority should be to improve the quality of initial teacher education programmes. This requires accreditation procedures ensuring that teacher education institutions are evaluated on an ongoing basis and that the teacher education sector as a whole is subject to periodic review and debate. In the Uruguayan context, a particularly important criterion of the relevance of teacher education programmes concerns their completion rates. Teacher education programmes need to ensure their adequacy to the student populations they receive (i.e. older students, most of whom have a full-time job). Teacher education institutions also need to assume further responsibilities in reducing the number of non-qualified teachers currently in the system by offering specific programmes of study for non-qualified teachers which would recognise teachers' experience in schools, be offered on a part-time basis and supplemented with on-line activities. In addition, the organisation of studies in initial teacher education requires improvement. For instance, an increase in the common components of teacher preparation programmes for different levels of education and specialisations would increase opportunities for working in different educational levels and specialisations as teacher demand and career interests change. Teacher education programmes for secondary education teaching, in particular, should be less specialised and allow the graduate to teach in a broader range of specialisms. Finally, there is a clear need to strengthen the preparation of all teachers to deal with the diverse needs of their students.

Strengthen school-based teacher appraisal for formative purposes

There needs to be a stronger emphasis on teacher appraisal for development purposes. Given that there are risks that the developmental function is hampered by the high-stakes inspector-based annual teacher appraisal process, it is proposed that a component predominantly dedicated to developmental appraisal, fully internal to the school, be formalised. This development evaluation would have as its main purpose the continuous improvement of teaching practices in the school. It would be an internal process carried out by senior peers and the school management. The reference standards would be the suggested competency framework for teachers but with school-based indicators and criteria. This appraisal should also take account of the school objectives and context. The main outcome would be feedback on teaching performance which would lead to an individual plan for professional development for each teacher in the school.

Strengthen the provision of professional development

There is a clear need for professional development to become a more regular practice among teachers in Uruguay, with an adequate time entitlement, greater diversity of activities, led by school development plans and with a supply which reflects teachers' developmental needs. There must be an explicitly stated expectation that every teacher engages in a career-long quest of improved practice through professional development activities. This is likely to require providing teachers with dedicated release time and financial support for professional development than is currently the case. It is important that the professional development system benefits all teachers in the school system. In this sense, it is important to improve the supply of professional development activities outside Montevideo. This could build on the capacity of teacher education providers that are located outside Montevideo.

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Chapter 1

School education in Uruguay

The Uruguayan education system is highly centralised, both in terms of distribution of responsibilities across levels of governance and in terms of space and geography. Almost all of the decisions about administrative and pedagogical aspects are taken at the central level. In contrast to OECD countries, the main responsibility for formulating and implementing policies in school education does not lie with the Ministry of Education and Culture but rather with the autonomous National Public Education Administration (ANEP). In addition, pre-tertiary education is co-administered with teachers as they elect representatives to the governing bodies of ANEP. The large majority of children attend public education. Curricula are defined at the central level. The level of educational attainment in Uruguay remains modest and has increased slowly over the past decades. Universal access has been reached in primary education while access to pre-primary has expanded considerably. However, completion rates in lower and upper secondary education remain unsatisfactory while repetition rates are very high in international comparison. Levels of student achievement have decreased in recent years but remain above the regional average. Finally, students' and schools' socio-economic status have a strong impact on student performance.

This chapter provides political, demographic and economic background information for the subsequent analysis. It also includes a detailed description of the Uruguayan school system, including its governance. In addition, it provides an account of recent developments and main trends within the education system of Uruguay.

Context

Situated on the Atlantic coast of South America, Uruguay spans a territory of 176 215 km^2 and, in 2014, had a population of more than 3.4 million (United Nations, 2015). Uruguay shares a border with Argentina to the west and Brazil to the north. The country's capital and largest city is Montevideo (1.3 million inhabitants) and the second largest city is Salto, with little over 100 thousand inhabitants (United Nations, 2014).

Uruguay is a high income economy (World Bank, 2015) and is ranked "high" on the Human Development Index – fourth among all Latin American and Caribbean states, behind Chile, Cuba and Argentina (UNDP, 2014, Table 1). It has the lowest poverty rate (per day capita income below USD 4) and largest middle class (USD 10-50) in Latin America, comprising 56% of the population (OECD/ECLAC, 2014, Figure 1.18).

Governance and administration

Uruguay is a presidential, representative democracy whose 1967 Constitution establishes the separation of powers among three branches: the legislative (the General Assembly, a bicameral parliament comprised of a House of Representatives and a Senate Chamber), the executive (the President, who is both head of government and head of state as well as a Cabinet of Ministers), and the judiciary (the Supreme Court, Courts of Appeals, Trial Councils and Magistrate's Courts). The Administrative Court, the Electoral Court and the Court of Auditors function as additional supervisory bodies (INEEd, 2015). Elections for the Presidency and for parliament are held simultaneously every five years. Members of the House of Representatives (99 members) are elected by department while members of the Senate (31 members) are elected nationwide.

Uruguay's administrative structure is divided into a national, a departmental and a municipal level. The 19 departments (see Table 1.1) are governed by mayors (*intendentes*), elected every five years, who execute national laws and by elected departmental boards, which take on legislative functions. The departments are responsible for the maintenance of local infrastructure such as transportation, waste management and public lighting. Departments have the power to levy some property and vehicle taxes but largely rely on financial transfers from the central government. A 2009 reform introduced one-third level of government, sub-dividing the departments into 112 municipalities (as of 2015). Municipalities are governed by councils which are comprised of five directly elected members and are chaired by a municipal mayor (*alcalde*). The municipalities do not have their own budget or officials and their responsibility is largely confined to the execution of tasks delegated by departmental governments (INEEd, 2015).

Demographic characteristics

Population

The majority of Uruguay's departments are very sparsely populated with as few as five inhabitants per square kilometre, resulting in a low overall population density of 19 inhabitants per square kilometre. The adjacent southern departments Montevideo and Canelones are the exceptions with 2 489 and 115 inhabitants/km^2 respectively (see Table 1.1). In 2014, 50% of Uruguay's population lived in the Montevideo agglomeration, which constitutes a very high degree of population concentration (United Nations, 2015) and reflects the country's historically high degree of urbanisation. With 95.2% of its population living in urban areas in 2014, Uruguay remains one of the world's ten most urbanised countries[1] (United Nations, 2015).

Table 1.1. **Departments of Uruguay**

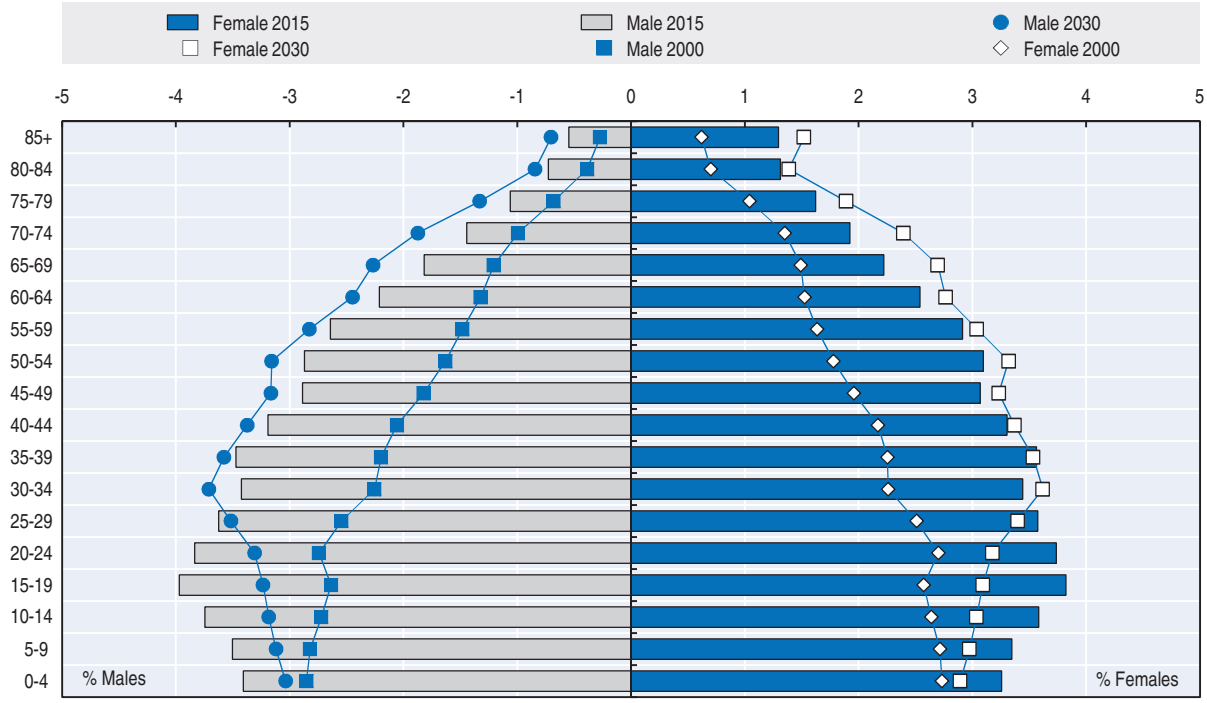
Department	Capital	Land area (km^2)	Population (2011)	Population density (inhabitants per km^2, 2011)
Montevideo	Montevideo	530	1 319 108	2 489
Artigas	Artigas	11 928	73 378	6
Canelones	Canelones	4 536	520 187	115
Cerro Largo	Melo	13 648	84 698	6
Colonia	Colonia del Sacramento	6 106	123 203	20
Durazno	Durazno	11 643	57 088	5
Flores	Trinidad	5 144	25 050	5
Florida	Florida	10 417	67 048	6
Lavalleja	Minas	10 016	58 815	6
Maldonado	Maldonado	4 793	164 300	34
Paysandú	Paysandú	13 922	113 124	8
Río Negro	Fray Bentos	9 282	54 765	6
Rivera	Rivera	9 370	103 493	11
Rocha	Rocha	10 551	68 088	6
Salto	Salto	14 163	124 878	9
San José	San José de Mayo	4 992	108 309	22
Soriano	Mercedes	9 008	82 595	9
Tacuarembó	Tacuarembó	15 438	90 053	6
Treinta y Tres	Treinta y Tres	9 529	48 134	5
Uruguay	**Montevideo**	**175 016**	**3 286 314**	**19**

Source: INE (2011a), *Censos 2011: Superficie, Población, Densidad, Tasa de Masculinidad y Variación Porcentual en el Periodo Intercensal, Según Departamento* [2011 Census: Area, Population, Density, Rate of Masculinity and Percentage Variation for the Inter-Census Period, by Department], *www.ine.gub.uy/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=a79effde-e5e1-4bb5-9a5a-64825e3bb93c&groupId=10181*.

Uruguay's population is expected to continue growing at a very low rate, reaching 3.5 million by 2025 before stagnating around 3.6 million after 2035 (United Nations, 2015). Uruguay is also confronted with a rapidly ageing population – a trend which will continue in the coming years, as can be seen in Figure 1.1. Fertility rates have dropped over the past two decades and the proportion of over 65-year-olds has increased from 7.6% in 1963 to 14.1% in 2011 (OECD/ECLAC, 2014).

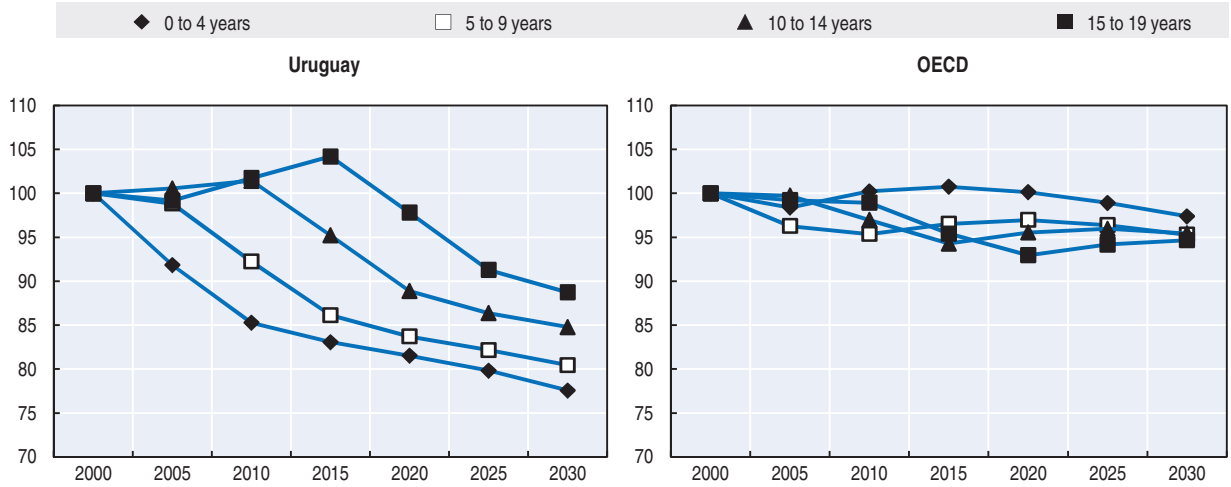
The school age population has been in decline since 2005 and will continue to drop over the next few years, causing the school age dependency ratio (school age population to the working-age population [15-64 year-olds]) to drop before settling at 30% in 2035 (INEEd, 2015). The evolution of the school age population in Uruguay is slightly different from that of the average OECD country. As can be seen in Figure 1.2, in Uruguay cohorts across all

Figure 1.1. **Uruguayan population pyramids in 2000, 2015 and 2030**



Source: INE (2011b), *Censos 2011* [Census 2011], *www.ine.gub.uy/web/guest/censos-2011*.

Figure 1.2. **Variation in Uruguay's school age population compared to the OECD**



Source: OECD.Stat (n.d.), *Historical population data and projections (1950-2050)*, *Demography and Population* (database), OECD.Stat, *http://dotstat.oecd.org/Index.aspx*; Uruguay data from INE (2013a), *Estimaciones y Proyecciones de Población (Revisión 2013)* [Population Estimations and Projections (2013 Revision)], *www.ine.gub.uy/estimaciones-y-proyecciones*.

levels of education are expected to decrease continuously until 2030, following an increase over the past decade in the number of children at upper secondary school age. Unlike the OECD which will see a small increase in the number of lower secondary students between 2015 and 2030, Uruguay's population of 10-14 year-olds will shrink by 11.0% and that of 15-19 year-olds by 14.8% over the same period. Similarly, Uruguay's population of 5-9 year-olds will shrink by 6.6% between 2015 and 2030.

Cultural and linguistic diversity

Uruguay's official language of administration and instruction is Spanish. According to the 2011 census, the large majority of the population reports to be of primarily European ancestry while 4.8% stated to be of mainly African and 2.4% of indigenous descent (INE, 2013b).

Economy

Economic growth

Uruguay's economy has made remarkable progress since the financial crisis of 2002 (OECD/ECLAC, 2014). Following low growth throughout the second half of the 20th century and a period of recession in the early 2000s, Uruguay's economy has quickly expanded (see Figure 1.3), reaching a cumulative annual growth rate of 5.7% between 2004 and 2013 (INEEd, 2015). The GDP (gross domestic product) per capita based on purchasing power parity reached USD 20 500 by 2014, which is the third highest value among South American countries after Argentina and Chile (IMF, 2014).

Figure 1.3. **Evolution of GDP growth in Uruguay, the OECD, and Latin America and the Caribbean, 2000-14**

Source: OECD (2014a), *OECD Economic Outlook*, Volume 2014 Issue 1, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eco_outlook-v2014-1-en*; ECLAC (2014), *Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean 2014: Challenges to Sustainable Growth in a New External Context*, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, Santiago, Chile; and projections by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and CAF – Development Bank of Latin America; IMF (2014), World Economic Outlook Database, *www.imf.org/external/ns/cs.aspx?id=29*.

Unemployment

Between 2007 and 2010, Uruguay succeeded in increasing the employment rate while reducing the prevalence of non-standard work at the same time (UNDP, 2014, Figure 3.7). Since the crisis in 2002, unemployment has dropped from a peak of 17% to 6.7% in 2013 (INEEd, 2015) and the labour force participation rate is close to the OECD average (OECD/ECLAC, 2014). However, unemployment among the young population (14-24 year-olds) remains high at 19.4%, compared to 15.1% across the OECD and 9.5% in Mexico[2] as well as 4.6% among 25-54 year-olds in Uruguay in 2014 (ILO, 2015; OECD, 2015). The proportion of young people (aged 15-24) who are not in employment, education or training (NEET) has been rather stable from 10.7% in 1992 to 11.8% in 2012 (64.6% of whom female) (MEC, 2013), compared to 17.8% and 13.7% for women and men aged 15-24 respectively, in OECD countries (OECD/ECLAC, 2014).

Inequality

Income inequality in Uruguay, as measured by the Gini coefficient, remains among the lowest in the region but is higher than that of any non-Latin American OECD country (OECD/ECLAC, 2014, Figure 1.18; INEEd, 2015). There remains a significant regional disparity between the Montevideo metropolitan area and the rest of the country. Salaries in Montevideo are significantly higher than those in the rest of the country, partly due to a concentration of the industry and service sector in the capital (OECD/ECLAC, 2014). At the same time, between 2006 and 2012, Montevideo has persistently exhibited higher levels of income inequality than the rest of the country (CEDLAS and World Bank, 2014).

Gender inequality in Uruguay is low compared to other Latin American countries, according to the UNDP Gender Inequality Index.[3] Despite a persistent salary gap, the female-male labour market participation ratio is the fourth highest in the region and only slightly below the OECD average. The remaining gender gap in the exclusion from the labour market has been attributed to deficiencies in childcare arrangements, although the government has recently launched targeted programmes to guarantee access to mono-parental childcare services (OECD/ECLAC, 2014).

The governance of the school system

The governance of the school system is highly centralised and unique in a number of ways

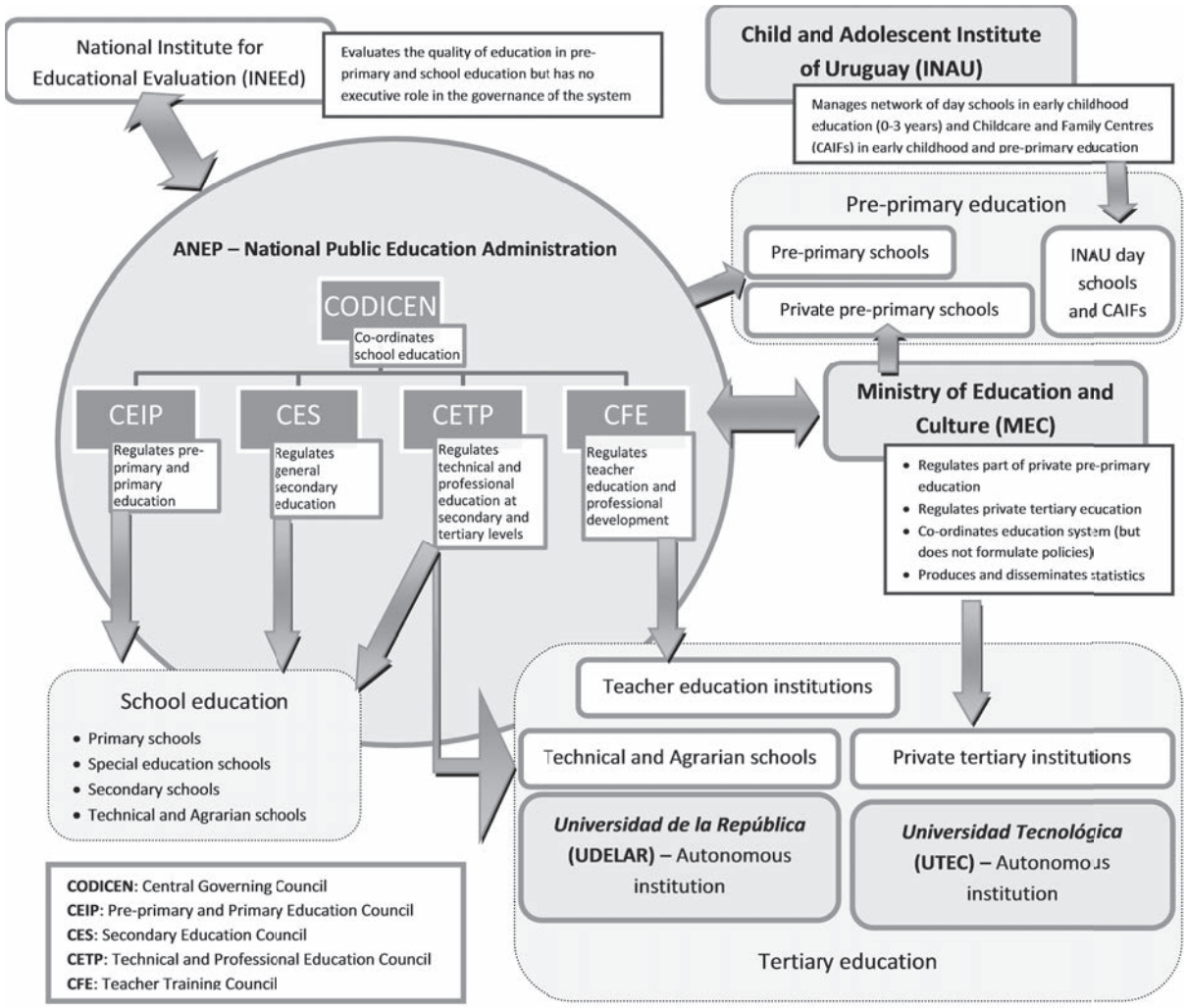
Overview

The governance of the education system in Uruguay is characterised by a high degree of functional and geographical centralisation (INEEd, 2015). In contrast to OECD countries, the main responsibility for formulating and implementing policies in school education does not lie with the Ministry of Education and Culture (*Ministerio de Educación y Cultura,* MEC), but rather with the autonomous National Public Education Administration (*Administración Nacional de Educación Pública,* ANEP) (INEEd, 2015).

Figure 1.4 displays the structure for the governance of the Uruguayan education system. Five agencies with different levels of responsibility govern the education system:

- ANEP: regulates and administers part of early childhood and pre-primary education; all of school education; teacher education at the tertiary level; and technical and professional education at the secondary and tertiary levels.
- MEC: regulates and oversees part of private early childhood and pre-primary education; and private tertiary education (universities, university institutes and tertiary non-university institutes).
- The Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (*Instituto del Niño y Adolescente del Uruguay*, INAU): regulates and administers both the network of day schools in early childhood education and the Childcare and Family Centres (*Centro de Atención a la Infancia y la Familia*, CAIF).
- *Universidad de la República* (UDELAR), which is an autonomous institution of tertiary education at the university level.
- *Universidad Tecnológica* (UTEC), which is an autonomous institution of tertiary education at the university level specialising in technological degrees.

Figure 1.4. **The governance of education in Uruguay**



Source: Authors' own elaboration.

The leading role of the National Public Education Administration

The ANEP has full responsibility for developing and implementing school-level policy in Uruguay. It is based in Montevideo and headed by a central governing council (*Consejo Directivo Central*, CODICEN) which is comprised of three members nominated by the President (with the consent of the Senate) and two members elected by teachers. This participation of teacher representatives in institutions of educational governance was introduced by the 2008 Education Law and reflects the rather idiosyncratic situation in Uruguay of institutionalised co-administration of the school system with teachers. The CODICEN co-ordinates the work of four education councils, each of which takes the majority of administrative and curricular decisions and plays a decisive role in the development and implementation of educational policies:

- The Pre-Primary and Primary Education Council (*Consejo de Educación Inicial y Primaria*, CEIP), which regulates and administers early childhood, pre-primary and primary education.

- The Secondary Education Council (*Consejo de Educación Secundaria,* CES), which regulates and administers general programmes within secondary education.
- The Technical and Professional Education Council (*Consejo de Educación Técnico-Profesional,* CETP), which regulates and administers technical and professional education at both the secondary and tertiary levels, also commonly known in the country as *Universidad del Trabajo de Uruguay* (UTU, University of Labour of Uruguay).
- The Teacher Training Council (*Consejo de Formación en Educación,* CFE), which regulates and administers teacher education and professional development for teachers.

Each of the four councils is composed of two members designated by the CODICEN and one member elected by the respective teaching bodies (INEEd, 2015). Within their areas of responsibility, the councils concentrate significant authority. They develop curricula, manage teaching and non-teaching staff, establish monitoring processes for both public and private institutions, manage financial resources and submit budget forecasts to the CODICEN (INEEd, 2015). The 2008 Education Law reorganises the set of councils under the CODICEN but the future structure has not yet been implemented. The latter includes the CEIP and the following new councils: Lower Secondary Education Council (*Consejo de Educación Media Básica*), Upper Secondary Education Council (*Consejo de Educación Media Superior*) and the Technical and Professional Education Council (with different responsibilities than the current equivalent council). In addition, the 2008 Education Law provides for the conversion of the CFE into the University of Education. However, the latter has not yet been approved by the parliament.

The CODICEN defines general guidelines for all levels and types of education, including the supervision of private schools. It is also responsible for drafting the educational budget and approving both the curricula and the statutes of teachers and non-teaching staff developed by the councils. In addition, the CODICEN decides on the establishment of new schools (as well as their location) and has authority over the school calendar. The CODICEN co-ordinates the work of the four councils and is hierarchically above them but, at the same time, the councils are considered autonomous in their areas of responsibility. While the CODICEN may have the final say in the decision-making process, the councils tend to exert their autonomy implying that decisions within the ANEP tend to be collegial between the CODICEN and the councils. This leads the councils to operate somewhat independently from each other which, in practice, results in little co-ordination of education policies across councils' areas of responsibility and a possible lack of consistency of education policies across education levels and school types.

Other main players

The Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) plays a minor role in the governance, supervision and administration of education and does not formulate education policy. Its main executive functions consist of regulating part of private early childhood and pre-primary education and all private tertiary education. In addition, it contributes to the co-ordination of national education policies, establishes general guidelines and collects and disseminates statistical information (INEEd, 2015). The MEC, as part of its co-ordination role, manages the Co-ordinating Committee of the National System of Public Education (*Comisión Coordinadora del Sistema Nacional de la Educación Pública*), which brings together the MEC, ANEP, UDELAR and UTEC represented at their highest level. The Committee, which meets once a month, seeks to promote educational planning and formulate recommendations for co-ordinated policy development.

The Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU) plays a role in the regulation and administration of early childhood education and pre-primary education overseeing two major networks: the public Day Schools (*Centros Diurnos*) and the private Childcare and Family Centres (*Centros de Atención a la Infancia y la Familia*, CAIF) (INEEd, 2015).

Public university education is self-regulated by the two only public universities in the country. The *Universidad de la República* (UDELAR) was the single public university in the country until the *Universidad Tecnológica* (UTEC) started operating in 2014. The latter is oriented towards technological university careers (with a strong presence in the countryside) while the former is an institution with a comprehensive range of offerings.

The 2008 Education Law established the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (*Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa*, INEEd), which started operating in 2012. INEEd is an autonomous institution with the responsibility of evaluating the quality of education at the pre-primary, primary and secondary levels. INEEd's objectives include the provision of information about student learning in Uruguay, the development and dissemination of knowledge on evaluation and assessment procedures, and the formulation of recommendations for the improvement of education. While INEEd produces relevant information for policy-making and supports the implementation of evaluation and assessment procedures in the school system, it is not formally part of the governance of school education.

The inspections

The inspections, which are part of the structure of ANEP (one inspection per each CEIP, CES and CETP), perform a key liaison function between the central level (where most decisions are taken) and individual schools. Their role is twofold: i) to observe and evaluate educational processes in individual schools and report this information back to the central level with advice for decisions to be taken by CEIP, CES and CETP; and ii) to supervise educational processes in individual schools in view of both providing support and holding schools (and its teachers and school leaders) accountable. The role of informing central decision-making involves, for instance, advice on which schools to target for improvements in educational infrastructure and the identification of which schools should be part of specific educational programmes (e.g. extra resources for equity). Guidance and support to individual schools involve, for example, the organisation of the educational offer, the creation or removal of student groups or the implementation of specific education programmes (e.g. ICT use). Inspections also assist individual schools in the implementation of new education policies dictated at the central level and take some decisions regarding the school's operation (e.g. the maximum number of students allowed). Furthermore, inspections have an accountability function. They do not evaluate individual schools as a whole but, instead, evaluate individual teachers, school principals and deputy-principals.

Three inspection structures exist (see also Chapter 4 for further details). In pre-primary and primary education, the Technical Inspection is a division within the CEIP and is organised according to the following types of inspectors:

- District inspectors (*inspector de zona*): responsible for the supervision of a number of schools in a given district. They appraise individual teachers, school principals and deputy-principals and both oversee and guide the schools for which they are responsible.
- Departmental inspectors (*inspector departamental*): responsible for a territorial department or for specific types of schools (e.g. Full-time schools) or educational programmes (e.g. ICT).

- Specialised inspectors (*inspector de área/inspector nacional*): responsible for specific areas such as pre-primary education, special needs education, physical or arts education.
- General inspectors (*inspector general*): responsible for a part of the country.
- Technical inspector (*inspector técnico*): responsible for the inspection service as a whole.

In general secondary education, the General Inspection is a directorate within the CES and is organised according to the following types of inspections:

- Subject inspection (*inspección de asignaturas*): responsible for the appraisal of individual teachers in a given subject.
- School inspection (*inspección de institutos y liceos*): responsible for the supervision of given schools and the appraisal of individual school principals and deputy-principals.
- Technical inspection (*inspección técnica*): responsible for advice on technical issues such as curriculum implementation and student assessment.

In technical-professional secondary education, the inspection is divided across different programme directors as part of CETP:

- Some programme directors are responsible for the technical inspection and teacher appraisal in specific technical-professional specialisations (e.g. agriculture, industrial processes, services).
- Other programme directors are responsible for specific education processes such as school management which involves the appraisal of school principals.

Initiatives to decentralise the governance of school education

In school education, policy development and the use of resources are highly centralised. ANEP's councils have the final say in most administrative and pedagogical matters. Few initiatives have been developed to delegate more autonomy at the regional level. The most significant initiatives to decentralise the governance of school education to the regional level are the following:

- The creation of Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education (*Comisión Coordinadora Departamental de la Educación*, CDE) within the country's departments to foster some co-ordination of education offerings within departments. The CDE brings together the main education players within the department to discuss education priorities but it does not have the mandate to develop and implement education policies at the regional level.
- Five regional campuses of the CETP (each covering three to four departments) have been created to manage the use of school resources, co-ordinate school offerings and supervise schools within regions. Each campus has a director and a board composed of regional inspectors and school principals in the region.
- Within pre-primary and primary education (CEIP), the departmental inspections can make some decisions on teacher recruitment and decide on the participation of individual schools in specific education programmes.
- Within general secondary education (CES), there are plans to establish regional offices of the inspectorate.
- Each department has a Departmental Infrastructure Committee which establishes priorities for interventions to improve education infrastructure in the department even if the final decision rests with the CODICEN.

Key features of the governance of the Uruguayan education system in an international context

In summary, the main features of the governance of the education system that distinguish Uruguay in an international context are the following:

- The governance of the education system is shared among a number of agencies (ANEP, MEC, INAU, UDELAR, UTEC), each of which has exclusive powers over a specific part of the system.
- The main governance agencies (ANEP, UDELAR, UTEC) have technical and administrative autonomy from the government.
- The Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) has a relatively secondary role in the design, development and implementation of educational policy, namely within school education.
- The pre-tertiary education system is co-administered with teachers as they elect representatives to the governing bodies of ANEP.

Private provision

Public education is dominant in Uruguay. In 2013, considering all pre-tertiary levels, 86% of students attended public schools while the remaining 14% attended private schools. Private schools are generally not publicly funded in Uruguay even if they are exempt from paying taxes (value-added tax, employer's contribution to social security). The only exceptions, all at the early childhood and pre-primary levels, are the Childcare and Family Centres (CAIF), the "Our Children" programme and the voucher scheme organised in the context of the CISEPI project (Care and Socio-educational Inclusion for Early Childhood) (as of 2016, replaced by a new programme, Scholarships for Socio-educational Inclusion [*Becas de Inclusión Socioeducativa*, BIS], (see below). Private institutions are concentrated in Montevideo and its neighbouring departments such as Canelones and Maldonado. The majority of private institutions follow the national curriculum and use their autonomy in the provision of extracurricular activities.

A range of policy consultation processes

The development of educational policies by the ANEP councils provides for some stakeholder involvement through consultation mechanisms. In 2008, the National Education Commission (*Comisión Nacional de Educación*, COMINE) was created as an advisory and consultative body. It brings together representatives from ANEP, MEC, INAU, UDELAR, UTEC, private institutions, labour unions, teacher unions, students, businesses and civil society. The COMINE meets four times in a year and deliberates on educational policies and promotes their coherence with other areas of public policy (INEEd, 2015). Also, each council has advisory commissions (*Comisiones Consultivas*). The Advisory Commissions are made up of non-teaching public officials, students, parents and guardians. In the case of the Technical and Professional Education Council (CETP), at least one or more Advisory Commissions advise on issues within specific sectors of the economy and include public and private, business and industry and trade union representatives. The Co-ordinating Committee of the National System of Public Education, managed by MEC, is also in charge of organising the National Congress of Education (*Congreso Nacional de Educación*), an arena for citizens to express their interests and debate educational issues. The National Congress of Education must be convened at least within the first year in office of a new government to express views on education policy (INEEd, 2015).

ANEP organises consultations with teachers through four institutionalised Teachers Technical Assemblies (*Asambleas Técnico Docentes,* ATD). These represent pre-primary and primary education, general secondary education, technical and professional education, and teacher training and have, as their main objective, the expression of the views of teachers on education policy initiatives proposed by CODICEN or its education councils. They can do so on their own initiative or at the request of CODICEN or its councils (INEEd, 2015). ATDs exist at the school and national levels. Each national-level ATD has a Standing Committee which is the direct interlocutor of CODICEN or the respective council.

Teacher unions have considerable influence in the policy debate and organise themselves according to education levels and sectors: teachers of public pre-primary and primary education come together in the Uruguayan Federation of Primary School Teachers (FUM); public general secondary school teachers in the National Federation of Secondary School Teachers (FENAPES); public professional and technical school teachers in the Staff Association of the Uruguayan University of Labour (AFUTU); and private primary and secondary education teachers in the Union of Workers in Private Education (SINTEP).

Private schools, whose influence in the policy making process is limited, are represented through the Uruguayan Association of Catholic Education (*Asociación Uruguaya de Educación Católica*, AUDEC) and the Association of Institutes in Private Education (*Asociación de Institutos de la Educación Privada*, AIDEP).

The organisation of the school system

Overview

As displayed in Table 1.2, the school system in Uruguay is organised in four consecutive stages: early childhood education (*Primera Infancia*, ISCED[4] 01, below three years of age) and pre-primary education (*Educación Inicial*, ISCED 02, ages 3 to 5); primary education (*Educación Primaria*, ISCED 1, Year 1 to Year 6, typical ages 6 to 11); lower secondary education (*Educación Media Básica*, ISCED 2, Year 7 to Year 9, typical ages 12 to 14); and upper secondary education (*Educación Media Superior*, ISCED 3, Year 10 to Year 12, typical ages 15 to 17). School attendance is compulsory from the age of four to the end of upper secondary education.

The first selective transition occurs in lower secondary education at age 11 (compared to the OECD average of 14), which is one of the earliest selection ages among the 47 countries participating in PISA and by far the earliest in participating countries from Latin America (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.2.5). Lower secondary education is of three types: general programmes (*Ciclo básico de secundaria*); technical programmes (*Ciclo básico tecnológico*); and basic professional training programmes (for students aged at least 15) (*Formación profesional básica*). Similarly, upper secondary education has three different tracks: general programmes (*Educación media general*); technical programmes (*Educación media tecnológica*); and professional training programmes (*Educación media profesional*).

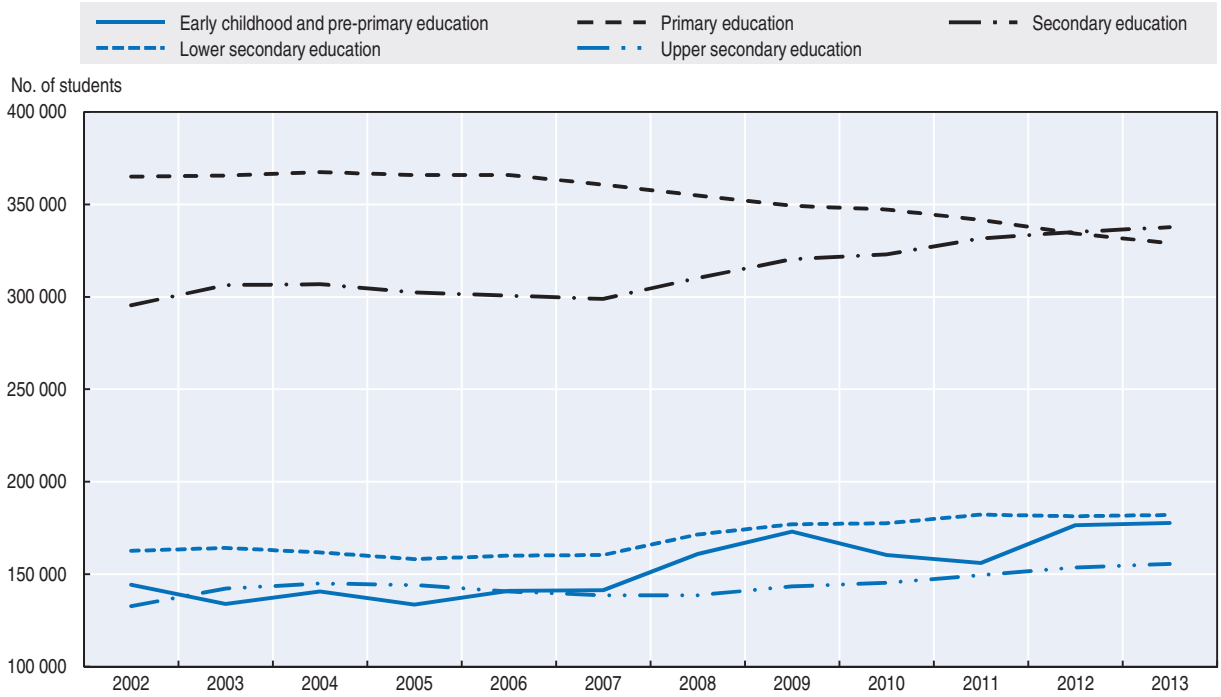
As shown in Figure 1.5, enrolment in primary education has been declining in recent years (9.9% between 2002 and 2013) while enrolment in secondary education has been increasing (14.3% between 2002 and 2013). The latter increase is more pronounced in upper secondary education (17.2% in the same period) than in lower secondary education (11.9%). Yet, the highest enrolment increase has been in early childhood and pre-primary education (23.2% between 2002 and 2013).

Table 1.2. **The Uruguayan education system**

Level	Public	Private
Early childhood **Age: 0 to 36 months**	**Pre-primary school (ANEP-CEIP)** **INAU day school** **(INAU: Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay)**	**Private without public funding** • Private pre-primary school (regulated by ANEP) • Private school with pre-primary classes (regulated by ANEP) • Private early childhood school (regulated by MEC) **Private with public funding** • Childcare and Family Centre (CAIF) (regulated by INAU) • "Our Children" programme (regulated by MEC) • Private early childhood education with vouchers CISEPI (project: Care and Socio-educational Inclusion for Early Childhood), replaced in 2016 by Scholarships for Socio-educational Inclusion (*Becas de Inclusión Socioeducativa*)
Pre-primary **Age: 3 to 5 years** **(compulsory from 4 years)**	**Pre-primary school (ANEP-CEIP)** • Common • Full-time • JICI (*Jardín de Infantes de Ciclo Inicial*) (Pre-primary school with initial cycle: combines pre-primary with Years 1 and 2 of primary) • CEPI (*Centro Educativo de Primera Infancia*, Early Childhood Educational Centre, former nurseries) **Urban primary school with pre-primary school (ANEP-CEIP)** • Common • Full-time • Extended-time • Practice • "*Aprender*" ("Learning") **Rural primary school with pre-primary school teacher (ANEP-CEIP)**	**Private without public funding** • Private pre-primary school (regulated by ANEP) • Private school with pre-primary classes (regulated by ANEP) • Private pre-primary school (regulated by MEC) **Private with public funding** • Childcare and Family Centre (CAIF) (regulated by INAU) • Private pre-primary schools w/ vouchers CISEPI (project: Care and Socio-educational Inclusion for Early Childhood), replaced in 2016 by Scholarships for Socio-educational Inclusion (*Becas de Inclusión Socioeducativa*)
Primary **(Mainstream education)** **(Year 1 to Year 6)** **Age: 6 to 11 years (compulsory)**	**Urban primary school (ANEP- CEIP)** • Common • Full-time • Extended-time • Practice • "*Aprender*" ("Learning") **Rural primary school**	**Private without public funding** Private schools (regulated by ANEP-CEIP)
Primary **(Special education)** **(Year 1 to Year 6)** **Age: 6 to 11 years (compulsory)**	**Special education school (ANEP CEIP)**	**Private special education school (regulated by ANEP CEIP)**
Lower secondary **(General programmes)** **(Year 7 to Year 9)** **Age: 12 to 14 years (compulsory)**	**Secondary school (ANEP-CES)** **Rural primary school with Years 7, 8 and 9 (ANEP CEIP)**	**Private without public funding** Private schools (regulated by ANEP-CES)
Lower secondary **(Technical programmes; Basic Professional Training programmes)** **(Year 7 to Year 9)** **Age: 12 to 14 years (compulsory)**	**Technical and Agrarian schools (ANEP CETP)**	**Private without public funding** Private schools (regulated by ANEP-CES)
Upper secondary **(General programmes)** **(Year 10 to Year 12)** **Age: 15 to 17 (compulsory)**	**Secondary school (ANEP-CES)**	**Private without public funding** Private schools (regulated by ANEP-CES)
Upper secondary **(Technical programmes; Professional Training programmes)** **(Year 10 to Year 12)** **Age: 15 to 17 (compulsory)**	**Technical and Agrarian schools (ANEP-CETP)**	**Private without public funding** Private schools (regulated by ANEP CES)
Tertiary **Age: from 18 years**	**Universidad de la República (UDELAR, autonomous)** **Universidad Tecnológica (UTEC, autonomous)** **Technical and Agrarian schools (ANEP-CETP)** **Teacher education (ANEP-CFE)**	**Private universities (regulated by MEC) (a total of 4)** **Private university institutes (regulated by MEC) (12)** **Private tertiary non-university institutes (regulated by MEC) (3)**

Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Figure 1.5. **Enrolment by level of education, 2003-13**



Source: MEC (2013), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación 2013* (Education Statistical Yearbook 2013), *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

Pre-primary education

Early childhood education

Children from birth to the age of three can be enrolled, on a voluntary basis, in early childhood education. Table 1.3 shows the distribution of children across different types of early childhood and pre-primary education. Private provision is dominant in early childhood education (below age three). The Childcare and Family Centres (CAIF), which are privately-run,

Table 1.3. **Early childhood and pre-primary education enrolment by age and type of offer, 2013**

Type of offer	Early childhood education				Pre-primary education				
	0-1 year	2 years	Total (0-2 years)	Share (0-2 years) (%)	3 years	4 years	5 years	Total (3-5 years)	Share (3-5 years) (%)
Public sector	**527**	**643**	**1 170**	**2.4**	**8 353**	**35 266**	**37 272**	**80 891**	**62.5**
Pre-primary schools (under ANEP)	0	102	102	0.2	7 729	13 738	12 386	33 853	26.2
Primary schools with pre-primary classes (ANEP)	0	0	0	0	106	21 359	24 886	46 351	35.8
INAU day schools	527	541	1 068	2.2	518	169	0	687	0.5
Private with public funding (CAIF)[1]	**17 928**	**12 106**	**30 034**	**61.9**	**11 837**	**3 279**	**0**	**15 116**	**11.7**
Private without public funding	**6 512**	**10 790**	**17 302**	**35.7**	**12 339**	**10 899**	**10 088**	**33 326**	**25.8**
Private pre-primary school (ANEP)	807	1 262	2 069	4.3	1 267	1 074	745	3 086	2.4
Private school with pre-primary classes (ANEP)	1 372	3 412	4 784	9.9	4 944	6 986	7 725	19 655	15.2
Private early childhood and pre-primary schools (MEC)[2]	4 333	6 116	10 449	21.5	6 128	2 839	1 618	10 585	8.2
Total	**24 967**	**23 539**	**48 506**	**100.0**	**32 529**	**49 444**	**47 360**	**129 333**	**100.0**

1. Children below the age of two enrolled in CAIFs (Childcare and Family Centres) attend them once a week accompanied by their parents.
2. Includes the publicly-funded "Our Children" Programme of the departmental government of Montevideo.

Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

publicly-funded and regulated by INAU, constitute the main provider with about 62% of the enrolments in 2013. Children attend CAIF centres on a daily or weekly basis and families are not charged fees. The "Our Children" programme, which is jointly organised by NGOs and the departmental government of Montevideo and supervised by MEC, constitutes another case of private provision with public funding. The rest of the private sector, which is not publicly-funded, attracts about 36% of the enrolments. These include private pre-primary classes under the supervision of the ANEP (about 14% of enrolments) and private early childhood and pre-primary schools under the supervision of the MEC (about 22% of enrolments). Public provision, most of which is provided by INAU's day schools, represents only 2.4% of enrolments at this level. CAIF centres, the "Our Children" programme and INAU day schools mainly cater to children from vulnerable families.

As part of its recent "Care and Socio-Educational Inclusion for Early Childhood" project (CISEPI), in areas where public provision is not available, the government offers, through a voucher system, financial assistance to single parents with children between ages 0 and 3 for attendance of private pre-primary schools under the supervision of MEC (MIDES, 2014). As of 2016, the CISEPI project was replaced by a new programme, Scholarships for Socio-educational Inclusion (*Becas de Inclusión Socioeducativa,* BIS). The BIS programme offers scholarships for children between the ages of 45 days and 2 years from vulnerable families which participate in priority programmes organised by the Ministry of Social Development to attend private early childhood schools in geographical areas with insufficient public supply of early childhood programmes.

Pre-primary education

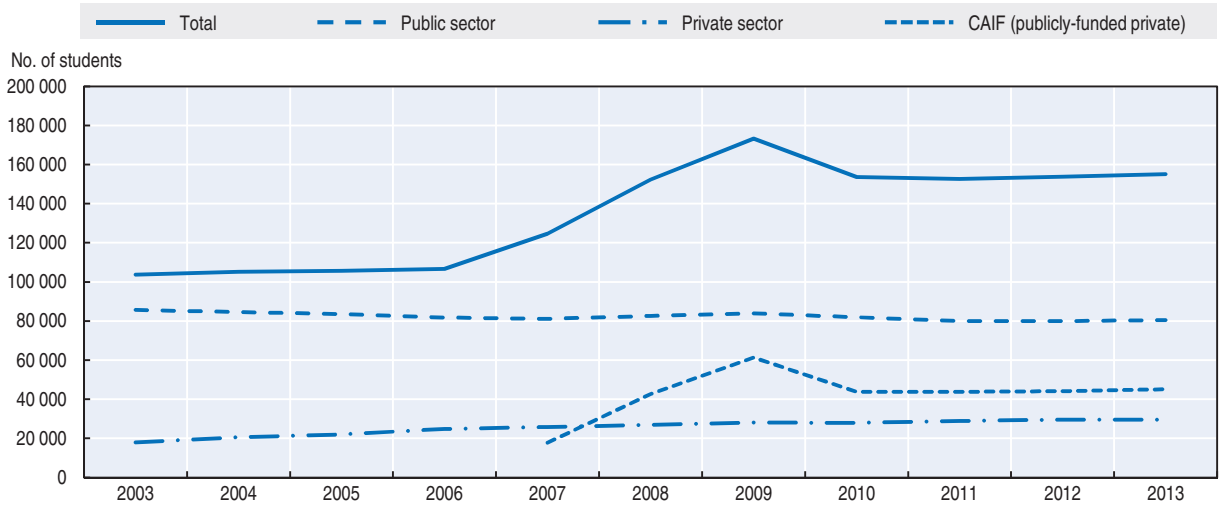
Pre-primary education is aimed at children aged 3 to 5 and is compulsory from the age of 4. At this level, public provision is dominant with about 63% of enrolments (see Table 1.3). Public free provision includes pre-primary schools (about 26% of enrolments), pre-primary classes in primary schools (about 36% of enrolments), both under the supervision of the ANEP, as well as INAU day schools (0.5% of enrolments). ANEP provides pre-primary education in various formats even if these share a common curriculum. ANEP's pre-primary education services are provided in pre-primary schools (in the following modalities: common; full-time; JICI [*Jardín de Infantes de Ciclo Inicial*, pre-primary school with initial cycle combining pre-primary with Years 1 and 2 of primary]; and CEPI [*Centro Educativo de Primera Infancia*, Early Childhood Educational Centre, former nurseries]) and in primary schools with pre-primary classes (in the following modalities: common; full-time; extended-time; practice; and *Aprender* (Learning), see further description under "Primary education").

The CAIF centres, with about 12% of enrolments, while privately-run are publicly-funded and do not charge fees. The fee-paying private sector is sizable and includes private pre-primary schools and primary schools with pre-primary classes, both under the supervision of the ANEP (with about 18% of enrolments), as well as private pre-primary schools under the supervision of the MEC (about 8% of enrolments). In 2013, there were 2 192 institutions offering pre-primary education, of which just under half were public (45.9%); 38.4% were private without public funding; and 15.7% were private with public funding (CAIF). This distribution differs considerably across departments within the country. In Montevideo, in 2013, most pre-primary institutions were private (58.7%) while in the rest of the country this proportion stood at 27%.

The coverage rate for children aged between 3 and 5 reached 84.4% in 2013 (from 76.8% in 2008) while that for children aged between 4 and 5 reached 94.4% in the same year (from

88.9% in 2008) (MEC, 2013). This is reflected in the overall increase of enrolment in early childhood and pre-primary education, as displayed in Figure 1.6 (which does not include data for institutions regulated by MEC and for public INAU day schools). The overall increase of 49.7% between 2003 and 2013 was pushed by growth in the private sector (enrolment in the public sector actually shrank 6.1% for the same period). While the fee-paying private sector grew 64.5% between 2003 and 2013, the CAIFs (privately-managed and publicly-funded) grew 154% between 2007 and 2013.

Figure 1.6. **Enrolment in early childhood and pre-primary education by sector, 2003-13**



Note: CAIF refers to the publicly-funded private Childcare and Family Centres (*Centro de Atención a la Infancia y la Familia*) supervised by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (*Instituto del Niño y Adolescente del Uruguay*, INAU).
Data do not include enrolment in private early childhood and pre-primary schools under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and the public INAU day schools.
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay, www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Primary education

Primary education in Uruguay lasts six years (Year 1 to Year 6) and is delivered both in mainstream and special education schools (see below further information on special education). In 2013, about 83% of primary education students attended public schools (see Table 1.4), although there are large regional variations in the proportion of private primary schools, accounting for less than 10% in most departments compared to 44% in Montevideo (INEEd, 2015; INEEd, 2014). Over half of the private schools are located in Montevideo. All public primary schools are administered by the ANEP's CEIP which also supervises all private schools at the primary level (INEEd, 2015).

Mainstream primary schools can be of different types. In the public sector, and within the urban context, primary schools can have the following modalities (see Table 1.4):

- Common (*Común*): regular offer operating half a day (four hours either in the morning or in the afternoon) (in 2013, it catered for 27.8% of primary students).
- Full-time (*Tiempo completo*): operates the whole day (7.5 hours) (10.1% of enrolment in 2013).
- Extended-time (*Tiempo extendido*): similar to common school (four hours of regular classes) but with time extended for the organisation of extra activities (which typically involves staying at school about seven hours) (1.1% of enrolment).

- Practice (*Práctica*): similar to common school (four hours of regular classes) with the distinct feature of receiving teacher education students for their practice (12.7% of enrolment).
- *Aprender* – "Learning": similar to common school (four hours of regular classes) but located in a disadvantaged socio-economic context with extra support programmes (23.8% of enrolment).

Another modality consists of rural schools which are located in rural areas and teach for five hours a day. In 2013, rural schools, which are typically very small, made up 52% of all public primary schools in Uruguay but merely account for 4.7% of the primary school enrolment due to ongoing decline and increasing sparseness of the country's rural population (INEEd, 2015) (see Table 1.4).

Table 1.4. **Schools and students in primary education, 2013**

Type of offer	Schools	Students	Share of students (%)
Primary Schools	**2 556**	**324 783**	**100.0**
Public	***2 143***	***268 001***	***82.5***
Urban	952	245 840	75.7
Common	329	90 187	27.8
Full-time	188	32 957	10.1
Extended-time	29	3 559	1.1
Practice	129	41 157	12.7
Aprender ("Learning")	265	77 268	23.8
Pre-primary school with primary classes (JICI)	12	712	0.2
Rural	1 111	15 348	4.7
Common	1 105	15 215	4.7
Rural internship	6	133	0.0
Special education	80	6 813	2.1
Private	***413***	***56 782***	***17.5***
Common	345	53 572	16.5
Special education	68	3 210	1.0

Note: JICI (*Jardín de Infantes de Ciclo Inicial*) refer to pre-primary schools with initial cycle (combines pre-primary with Years 1 and 2 of primary).
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

As displayed in Figure 1.7, between 2003 and 2013, total enrolment in primary education declined about 11%. The decline was pronounced in the public sector (about 16%) while enrolment in the private sector grew about 25% during this period.

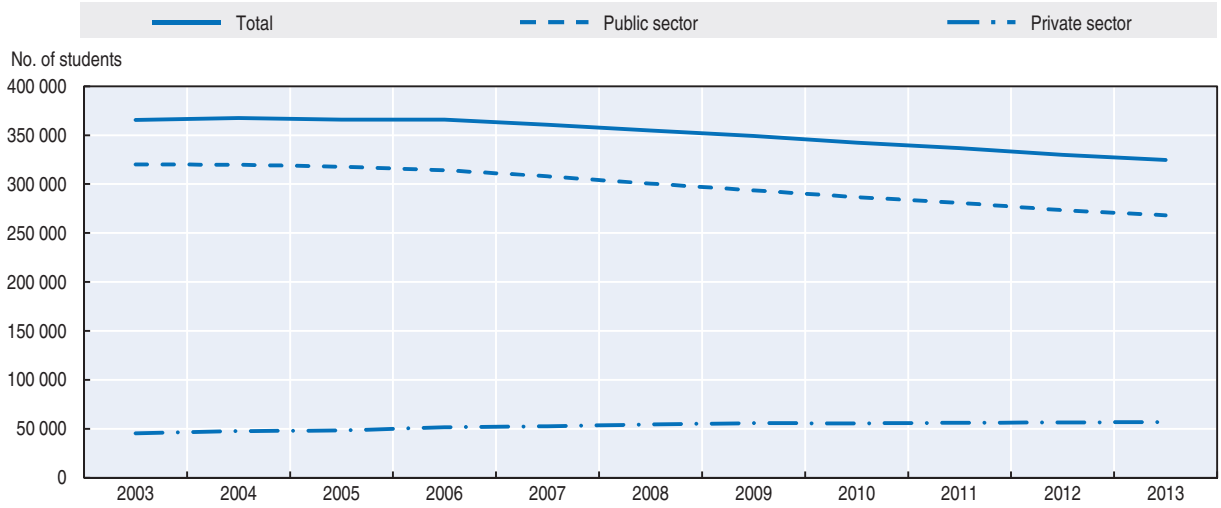
Lower secondary education

Lower secondary education spans Years 7-9 and has been compulsory since 1973. It offers programmes of three types:

- General programmes (*Ciclo básico de secundaria*), with about 85% of enrolment in 2013.
- Technical programmes (*Ciclo básico tecnológico*), catering for about 10% of students in 2013.
- Basic professional training programmes (*Formación profesional básica*), targeted at students who are 15 or older, with a 5.5% share of enrolment in 2013 (see Table 1.5).

The public school offer at the lower secondary level is entirely administered by the ANEP's CES (general programmes), CETP (technical and professional training programmes) and CEIP (rural primary schools with Years 7, 8 and 9). Private secondary schools, which offer general programmes only (with a few exceptions), are regulated by the CES. Most of them

Figure 1.7. **Enrolment in primary education by sector, 2003-13**



Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Table 1.5. **Schools and students in lower secondary education, 2013**

Type of offer	Schools	Students	Share of students (%)
Total	**663**	**184 533**	**100**
Public	***486***	***150 081***	***85.7***
Secondary school (general programmes)	255	124 749	67.6
Technical and agrarian school (technical and professional training programmes)			
Technical programmes	138	18 876	10.2
Basic professional training programmes		10 198	5.5
Rural primary school with Years 7, 8 and 9 (general programmes)	61	1 812	1.0
Community classrooms (*Aulas Comunitarias*)	25	1 429	0.8
Pedagogical areas (*Á;reas Pedagógicas*)	7	1 017	0.6
Private (offer general programmes only)	***177***	***26 452***	***14.3***

Note: Lower and upper secondary courses from different levels can co-exist in the same school.
Source: INEEd (2015), OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*; and MEC (2013), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación 2013* (Education Statistical Yearbook 2013), *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

charge tuition fees, although there are examples of private schools not charging fees to children from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds (these are supported by corporate donations under tax exemption schemes). The proportion of private providers in lower secondary education varies considerably between regions, ranging from 50% of schools in Montevideo to only 5% in the northern department of Artigas (INEEd, 2014). In 2013, private schools catered for about 14% of total enrolment in lower secondary education (see Table 1.5).

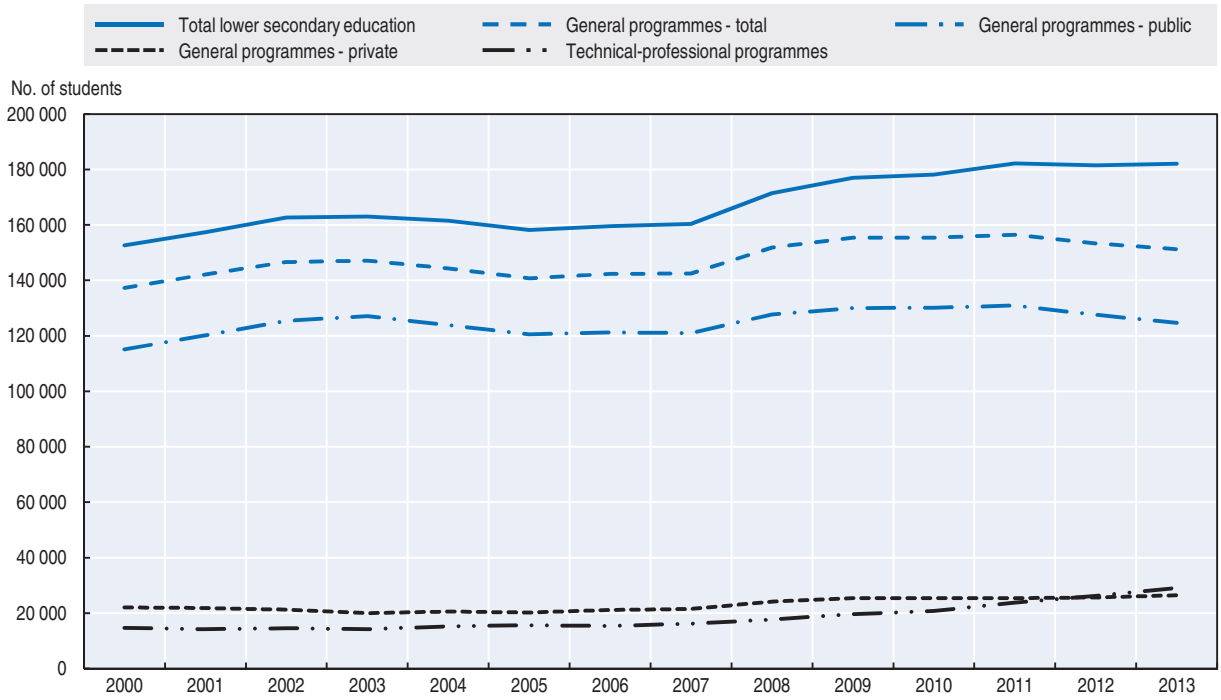
Basic professional training programmes are available for young people above 15 years of age who have not completed lower secondary education. Completion of this programme enables students to move on to general or technical-professional upper secondary education and grants students a professional certificate in a chosen field. Basic professional training is based on the principle of integrated knowledge. Subjects are integrated and allow teachers to develop learning strategies for individuals and groups. Basic professional training

programmes also recognise prior learning which allows students to complete programmes following different individual pathways.

There are also a number of special programmes at the lower secondary level targeted at specific populations which the ANEP carries out in co-operation with other public institutions (INEEd, 2015). These include the "Community Classrooms" programme (*Aulas Comunitarias*) (targeted at students below 17 years of age who have not completed Year 7); and the "Pedagogical Areas" programme (*Areas Pedagógicas*) (targeted at young people under INAU guardianship and young people with behavioural problems).

As displayed in Figure 1.8, enrolment in lower secondary education has grown about 21% between 2000 and 2013. In this period, the proportion of private provision has remained stable at around 14%. By contrast, the proportion of students in technical and professional training programmes has grown from about 10% in 2000 to about 16% in 2013.

Figure 1.8. **Enrolment in lower secondary education by sector and type of programme, 2000-13**



Note: Total includes general programmes, technical and professional training programmes and primary schools with Years 7, 8 and 9. Specific figures for the latter are not shown in the figure. Technical and professional learning programmes are only offered in public schools.
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Upper secondary education

Upper secondary education covers Years 10-12 and has been compulsory since 2008. It offers three different tracks:

- General programmes (*educación media general*), mainly geared to the continuation of studies at tertiary education level. These lead to the diversified baccalaureate (*Bachillerato diversificado*) as an upper secondary qualification.
- Technical programmes (*educación media tecnológica*), geared to working life or the continuation of studies at tertiary education level. These offer practical and theoretical education in a

specialised subject area. They lead to the technical baccalaureate (*Bachillerato tecnológico*) as an upper secondary qualification.

- Professional training programmes (*educación media profesional*), geared towards an initial qualification for students, giving priority to their entering the job market. These offer two years of technical training and one year of general education. They lead to the professional baccalaureate (*Bachillerato profesional*) as an upper secondary qualification.

While general education programmes are administered by CES, the technical and professional tracks are administered by CETP. In 2013, about 75% of the students attended general programmes, while technical programmes and professional training programmes catered for 15% and 10% of the students respectively. A small proportion of the students were enrolled in private schools (11%), which offer general programmes only (with the exception of a few private schools with technical programmes) and are overseen by CES (see Table 1.6). Over half of the private schools are located in Montevideo (INEEd, 2015).

Table 1.6. **Schools and students in upper secondary education, 2013**

Type of offer	Schools	Students	Share of students (%)
Total	**500**	**155 522**	**100**
Public	***333***	***138 480***	***89.0***
Secondary school (general)	195	99 485	64.0
Technical and agrarian school (technical and professional training programmes)			
Technical programmes	138	23 492	15.1
Other, including professional training programmes		15 503	10.0
Private (offer general programmes only – except for a few with technical programmes)	***167***	***17 042***	***11.0***

Note: Lower and upper secondary courses from different levels can co-exist in the same school.
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*; and MEC (2013), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación 2013* (Education Statistical Yearbook 2013), *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

As displayed in Figure 1.9, enrolment in upper secondary education has grown about 21% between 2000 and 2013. In this period, the proportion of private provision has remained stable at around 11%. By contrast, the proportion of students in technical and professional training programmes has grown from about 16% in 2000 to about 25% in 2013.

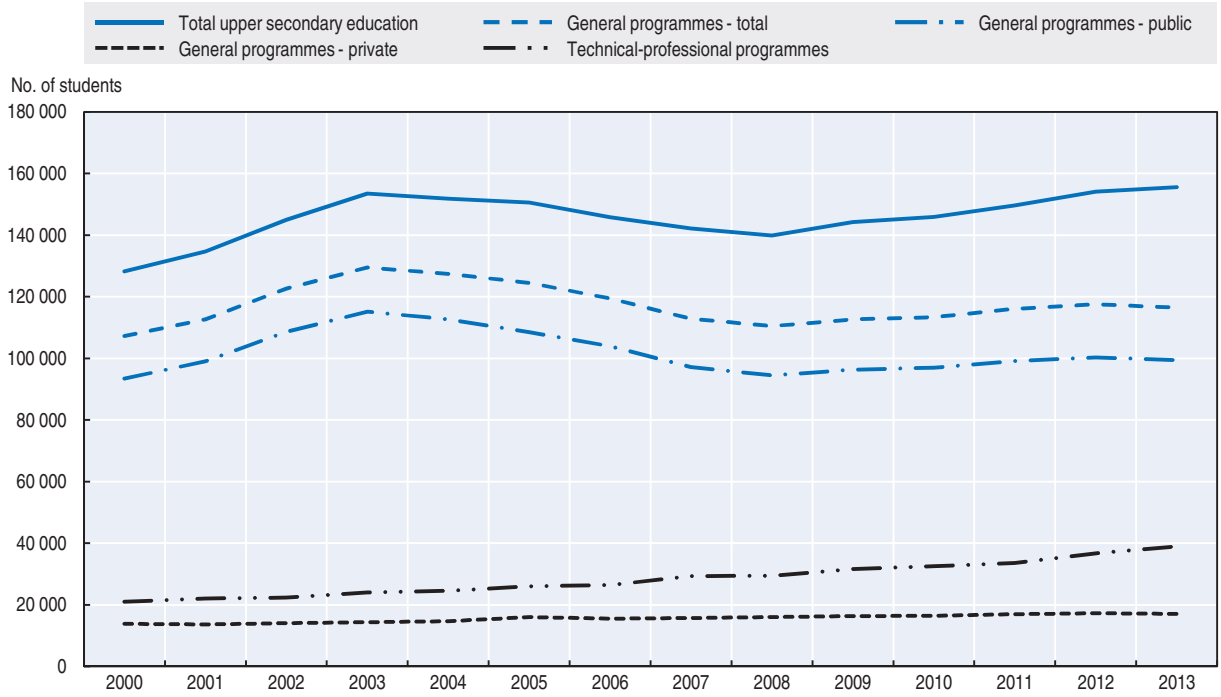
Educational goals

General goals

The 2008 Education Law states that the purpose of the education system "as a public and social good" is to pursue "everyone's full physical, psychological, ethical, intellectual and social development without discrimination." It also states that education should aim at a life that integrates various aspects such as work, culture, health care, entertainment and exercising citizenship responsibly (INEEd, 2015). Furthermore, the law defines the general goal of each level of education as follows:

- **Pre-primary education:** Stimulating children's emotional, social, motor and intellectual development while fostering their social inclusion, self-awareness and an understanding of their family, community and natural environment.
- **Primary education:** Providing basic knowledge and imparting the communication and reasoning skills necessary to responsibly coexist in the community.

Figure 1.9. **Enrolment in upper secondary education by sector and type of programme, 2000-13**



Note: Total includes general programmes, and technical and professional training programmes. Technical and professional training programmes are only offered in public schools.
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

- **Lower secondary education:** Deepening acquired knowledge and skills while promoting the theoretical and practical command of disciplines such as the arts, humanities, biology, science and technology.
- **Upper secondary education:** Offering a higher degree of orientation, specialisation, and, depending on the chosen educational track, preparing students for tertiary education or the entry into the labour market.
- **Technical-professional education:** Teaching students from the age of 15 the skills required to pursue professional careers in basic and advanced technical and technological occupations.

Student learning objectives

Curricula are defined for the entire country at the central level. National curricula for each level and type of school education are developed independently by the respective councils (CEIP, CES and CETP) following guidelines established by the CODICEN which is responsible for ensuring the implementation of student learning objectives (INEEd, 2015). While the education councils develop national curricula, the CODICEN needs to formally approve them.

At pre-primary and primary levels, student learning objectives at the national level (the national curriculum) are elaborated in the common "Programme for Pre-primary and Primary Education" (*Programa de Educación Inicial y Primaria*) issued in 2008 by the CEIP. This Programme describes overarching learning objectives as well as learning content in six areas of knowledge (languages, mathematics, arts, natural sciences, social sciences and physical

education) for three years in pre-primary education (age 3 to 5) and Year 1 to Year 6 in primary education. The curriculum is built around a concept of transversal education, i.e. teachers introduce concepts in the first compulsory year of pre-primary education and work with these concepts until the end of primary education in Year 6. The required content is provided as a list of topics to be covered (e.g. "the estimation of areas" in Year 5's mathematics) with limited detail (e.g. the content suggested for mathematics from Year 1 to Year 6 is listed in 18 pages of the document) (ANEP-CEP, 2013). The Programme leaves substantial room for interpretation when it comes to concrete content, which gives schools and teachers considerable autonomy to decide upon more specific goals, content and methods. Also, aspects such as the expected learning outcomes at given education stages (defining what students should know – content standards – and be able to do – performance standards); didactic and pedagogical methodologies; and assessment criteria (with performance descriptors) are not specified. This makes it more difficult to measure student performance and ensure the consistency of student assessment across teachers and schools. However, a significant recent development was the establishment, in 2015, of expected learning outcomes at the end of Year 3 and Year 6 (also called "graduation profiles" for students completing Years 3 and 6). These specify what students should know and be able to do at the end of Years 3 and 6 in four knowledge areas (languages, mathematics, natural sciences and social sciences) – e.g. "be able to identify the fraction that expresses the probability of a success" in mathematics at the end of Year 6 (ANEP-CEIP, 2015).

In lower secondary education, three different national curricula exist for: general programmes (developed by CES); technical programmes (developed by CETP); and basic professional training programmes (developed by CETP). For general and technical programmes the curriculum is defined for different subjects and school years while that for basic professional training programmes is structured in courses and modules. In general and technical programmes, the requirements of the curriculum are not provided in detail (e.g. in general mathematics in Year 7, five pages provide the domains to be covered and a content list) while the type of specifications in the curriculum differ across subjects and year levels (some might provide a greater level of content detail or even broad expected learning outcomes). While some regulations exist on criteria for year progression and the use of some assessment instruments, the assessment of students against the curriculum objectives is the responsibility of the teachers. A large number of subjects in these two tracks complicates students' transition across year levels. By contrast, the curricula for basic professional training programmes are considerably more detailed to serve as a basis for student assessment. They include explicit student learning objectives.

Upper secondary education is based on distinct curricula for the general, technical and professional training strands. Similarly to lower secondary education, both general and technical programmes lack a set of precise learning goals and focus on a description of broad content. CETP-administered professional training programmes have more detailed descriptions of required content and student learning objectives and reflect closer ties to the productive sector. As in lower secondary education, the curricula for upper secondary programmes provide regulations for students' progression across year levels, but student assessment is the responsibility of schools and teachers. At both levels of secondary education, CES-developed curricula were issued in 2006 while CETP-developed curricula were issued in 2004 for professional programmes and in 2007 for technical programmes.

National curricula are typically developed in consultation with teachers, education experts and inspections. In pre-primary and primary education, the national curriculum was

developed by a central committee supported by sub-committees for each of the six areas of knowledge covered. These were formed by practicing teachers, secondary teachers appointed by the CES, inspectors, delegates from the Teachers Technical Assemblies (ATD) and representatives from the relevant teacher union (FUM). Similarly, in general secondary education, commissions were formed with experts, members of the inspections and representatives of the ATD. In technical and professional secondary education, consultations to define the curricula are broader and include, for example, representatives of employers, trade unions and the Ministry of Social Development. They are organised on the basis of working groups created at the regional and national levels. The inspections also play a key role not only on the definition of the curricula but also on putting them into practice at the school level (i.e. defining the concrete content taught by teachers).

In sum, student learning objectives for the different educational levels and strands have the following characteristics:

- They are defined at the national level.
- Emphasis is placed on content.
- In most instances, expected learning outcomes are not specified.
- Assessment is not considered a curricular technical component.
- Little co-ordination exists between CEIP, CES and CETP in the development of the curricula.
- Teachers and schools have some autonomy to interpret an often not-so-detailed curriculum and define assessment criteria.

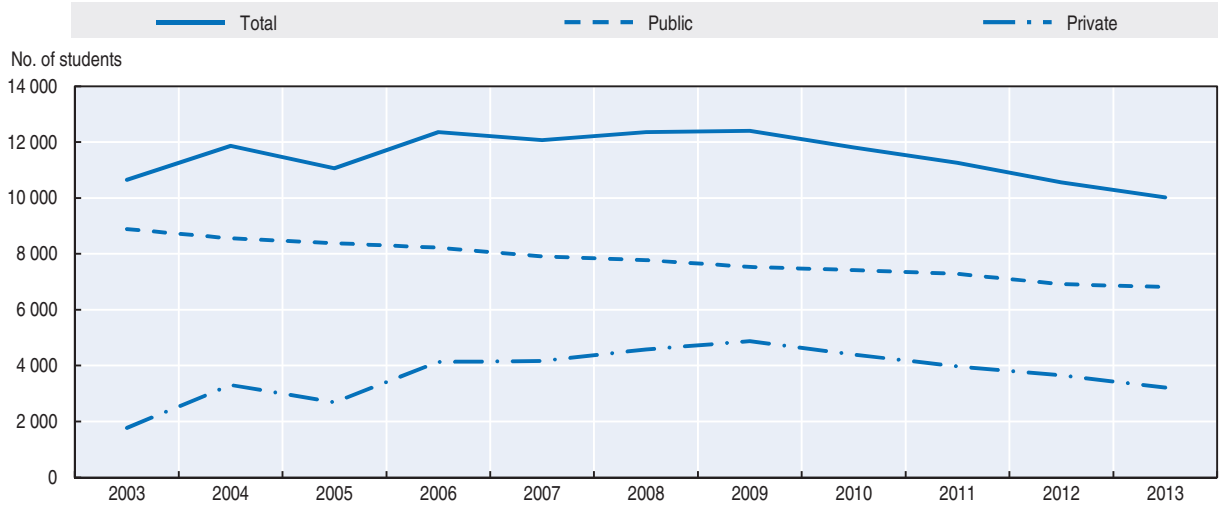
Students with special educational needs

Specific accommodations for special needs are only available in primary education. Mentally and physically disabled children, children with visual and hearing impairments, and children with behavioural difficulties at this level of education can choose to go to a special school. Alternatively, children can attend both a special and a mainstream school, either splitting their time between the two schools (*escolaridad compartida*) or attending both schools (*doble escolaridad*), or only spend some time period in a special school. Provision for special needs education also includes classrooms in mainstream schools with groups for inclusion, support teachers (*maestros de apoyo*) and medical teachers (*maestros hospitalarios*) in mainstream schools, and home assistance, if needed (INEEd, 2015). Special schools are organised according to the type of special need (e.g. students with hearing disabilities). Enrolment in special schools represented 3.1% of overall primary school enrolment in 2013 (see Table 1.4). About 32% of these students attended private special schools in 2013, compared to 17% in 2003. Also, as shown in Figure 1.10, the number of students in special schools decreased about 6% between 2003 and 2013, with a pronounced decrease in the public sector (23%).

Teacher preparation for special needs is organised as a postgraduate specialisation at initial teacher education institutions. By 2012, about 65% of special education teaching staff had acquired this specific qualification (INEEd, 2015).

Beyond primary education, there are no specific provisions for students with special needs. No special schools exist and although some programmes for special needs students are provided within the mainstream school system, the majority of secondary schools have neither specific provisions nor resources for the integration or separate teaching of special needs students (INEEd, 2015). Secondary schools also generally do not receive funds for inclusion (e.g. professional development to work with children with autism). Due to the

Figure 1.10. **Enrolment in special schools by sector, 2003-13**



Note: Data refer to attendance of special schools, which only exist at the primary education level. Data for public providers also include children in special courses in mainstream schools.
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

challenges this poses to educational continuity for special needs students, more than one thousand students beyond the age of 15 continued to attend special needs schools administered by CEIP in 2011 (UNESCO, 2015).

School governance

The composition of the school leadership team depends on the school's type and size. Schools are typically led by a school principal, one or two deputy principals, and one or more secretaries. The school leadership team is also supported by teacher leaders (*maestros* and *profesores adscriptos a la dirección*) who fulfil mainly administrative (e.g. data management, keeping discipline) but also some pedagogical tasks. With a few selected exceptions for positions of trust (e.g. some teacher leaders), school principals do not select their school leadership team. Deputy principals and teacher leaders are recruited centrally through exams and competitions, and secretaries are chosen according to their ranking in the teacher hierarchy. School principals are responsible for leadership in three areas: pedagogical, organisational-administrative and communal. However, as will be analysed later in the report, the autonomy of individual schools in Uruguay is rather limited. Schools have no autonomy to manage human resources and manage very limited financial resources.

The 2008 Education Law foresees the implementation of participation councils (*Consejos de Participación*) in all schools. These councils bring together students, parents and guardians, teachers and educators and community representatives, and must meet at least three times a year. According to the regulations, participation councils have the right to make suggestions to the school leadership on the education project and the running of the school, a school's collaboration with external institutions, social and cultural activities in schools, a school's infrastructure, donations, and the use of resources. They are also supposed to participate in school self-evaluations and provide their views on the development of the school. However, the development of participation councils in the country is still incipient and the large majority of schools have yet to form one.

Active parental participation in schools' activities occurs through specific parental associations. In primary and technical-agrarian schools, parents contribute to the school's activities through the Support Commission (*Comisión de Fomento*) while in general secondary schools, parental involvement is organised through an Association of Parents and Friends of the School (*Asociación de Padres y Amigos del Liceo*). Traditionally, these parental associations have focused on raising additional resources for the operation of their school.

School choice

In Uruguay, school choice exists among public schools only. In general, private schools receive no public subsidies and involve the payment of an attendance fee. As described earlier, exceptions exist in early childhood and pre-primary education through the public funding of privately-run CAIFs, the "Our Children" programme and the voucher system embedded in the project "Care and Socio-educational Inclusion for Early Childhood" (CISEPI, replaced, as of 2016, by a new programme, Scholarships for Socio-educational Inclusion, BIS). Also, in secondary education, some private schools do not charge fees to children from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

Within the public education system, families can choose the school for their children, but if demand exceeds school capacity priority is typically given to those families who live in or whose workplace is in the neighbourhood of the school or who have other children already enrolled at the concerned school. In primary education, excess demand often occurs for a particular modality such as full-time schools. In this case, additional selection criteria are the family income and the employment status of the mother (if the mother works).

In general secondary education, the allocation of students to secondary schools is organised by a central office on the basis of students' preferences. Students can register at any school but, if there is excess demand, the residence of the family is used as a criterion. School admission on the basis of academic criteria is less frequent in Uruguay than in the OECD area. However, there are significant differences between public and private schools with the latter giving considerably more importance to academic performance in their admissions policies (see also Chapter 4).

Evaluation and assessment

In addition to school leadership appraisal and teacher evaluation, which are described in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively, the evaluation and assessment framework in Uruguay comprises the following main components.

Student assessment

Student performance is assessed by a variety of instruments, ranging from national external assessments to ongoing daily formative assessment in the classroom. At the national level, sample-based national tests are conducted every three (or four) years in Year 6, the results from which are used for national monitoring. These have been organised in 1996 (full cohort), 1999, 2002, 2005, 2009 and 2013 in language, mathematics and science. No other regular national external standardised assessment exists (INEEd, 2015). One-off national full cohort assessments were organised in Year 9 in 1999 and in Year 12 in 2002. Summative assessment is based on teacher-based classroom assessments as there are no external national examinations. While student assessment criteria are defined mostly at the school level, there are national regulations on criteria for year transition in secondary

education. Teachers also benefit from a system of online formative assessments proposed by ANEP. The platform – System for the Assessment of Learning (*Sistema de Evaluación de Aprendizage*, *www.anep.edu.uy/sea*) – proposes assessments and allows teachers to create their own assessments in reading, mathematics, science and English for students in Year 3 to Year 6. As of 2013, assessments are also available for lower secondary education.

School evaluation

In Uruguay, there is no evaluation of schools and their processes as a whole. As explained earlier, the work of inspections concentrates on the appraisal of individual teachers, school principals and deputy-principals. Results from evaluations undertaken by inspections are not made publicly available. There is also no requirement for schools to perform self-evaluations (see also further analysis in Chapter 4).

Also, it remains uncommon in Uruguay for data on academic achievement at the school level to be published, although the 2008 Transparency Act requires it to be released from central authorities upon request (INEEd, 2015). Recently, the CODICEN's Research, Evaluation and Statistics Division (DIEE) and CES have started publishing selected indicators such as repetition and year-transition rates as well as student-teacher ratios for public primary schools and general secondary schools. These are often published in the media in raw format. No such data are provided for private or technical-agrarian schools (INEEd, 2015). In 2012, according to school principals' perceptions, only 9.8% of 15-year-old students attended schools in Uruguay that publicly posted student achievement data, against an OECD average of 45% (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.4.31). Also, according to the same PISA data, only 16.5% of 15-year-old students attended schools which used student results to compare themselves to the national or regional performance and 12.2% attended schools which used student results to compare themselves to others. Both are the lowest figures among all participating countries and well below the OECD averages of 61.7% and 52.5% respectively. However, compared to 2003, more schools are now using student results to track their progress over time (87.5%, up by 11.0 percentage points and above the OECD average of 79.6%) and to identify aspects of instruction or the curriculum that could be improved (86.3%, up by 17.5 percentage points and above the OECD average of 80.1%) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.4.36).

Education system evaluation

The National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEEd) is in charge of providing an independent evaluation of the state of school education in the country. This evaluation is published in a biennial report (called "Report about the state of education in Uruguay"), the first of which was released in December 2014. As explained above, standardised student assessment for national monitoring is only organised in Year 6. As of 2015, INEEd is developing a national system to monitor student achievement in Year 3 to Year 9 (INEEd, 2015; see INEEd, 2014) focusing on three main assessment areas: cognitive skills (especially problem resolution and reading comprehension); socio-emotional skills; and citizenship knowledge. Education system evaluation also includes a range of statistics on education based on data collected from schools by ANEP, MEC and INAU. These are the basis for annual publications with system-level indicators on education such as the Education Statistical Yearbook published by MEC. Also, international benchmarks of student performance provided by international student surveys have been influential in driving policy development at the system level. In 2006 and 2013, Uruguay took part in the Second

and Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Studies (SERCE and TERCE) carried out by UNESCO and which cover the Latin America region.[5] Uruguay also participates since 2003 in the triennial OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which measures 15-year-old students' skills in mathematics, reading and science.

Main trends and concerns

A good provision of basic education but high repetition and low completion rates in secondary education

The level of educational attainment in Uruguay remains modest with an average of 8.1 years of education among the population aged 25 or older in 2010, higher than that of Brazil (7.7 years) but lower than that of Mexico (8.3 years), Argentina (9.5 years) and Chile (9.7 years). Compared to the region, attainment has increased very slowly over the past decades. In 2010, 20-24 year-olds had completed an average of 10.2 years of schooling, compared to 9.1 among 30-34 year-olds, 8.8 among 40-44 year-olds and 8.5 among 50-54 year-olds (Barro and Lee, 2010).

Universal access has been reached in primary education. Also, access to pre-primary education is good for children aged 4 and 5, with coverage rates considerably above the average for the Latin America region (Mateo and Rodriguez-Chamussy, 2015). The net attendance rate for children aged 5 reached 98% in 2012 while it stood at 89% for children aged 4 (INEEd, 2015). For age 3, the net attendance rate is significantly lower, reaching 64% in 2012. At this age there are important inequities of access: while 93% of children from families in the highest income quintile attend pre-primary education, only 49% of children from families in the lowest income quintile do so (INEEd, 2015).

However, the completion rates of lower and upper secondary education remain unsatisfactory and lower than those of other countries in the region (INEEd, 2015). The proportion of 15-24 year-olds who have completed secondary school is one of the lowest in the region and has shown little improvement over the past decades compared to other countries of the region. In 2010, it reached 29.7% (up from 22.4% in 1990), compared to the OECD average of 75% (OECD/ECLAC, 2014, Figure 1.8). In 2013, the net attendance rate in lower secondary education was 75% while it only reached 43% in upper secondary education (INEEd, 2015).

Uruguay also has very high repetition rates in regional and international comparison. According to PISA data, 37.9% of 15-year-olds reported to have repeated a year at least once, which is more than in any OECD country and the second highest in Latin America after Colombia (40.6%). 21.6% had repeated at least one school year in primary school, and 27.1% one school year in lower secondary school (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.2.2). As a result, there is a high number of overage students. In 2013, 43% of lower secondary and 59% of upper secondary students fell outside their school years' expected age range (INEEd, 2015). Nevertheless, the repetition rate in public primary schools has steadily decreased since 2002 and had almost halved by 2013 (INEEd, 2015).

Levels of achievement have decreased but remain above the regional average

Uruguayan students perform above the regional average at the primary level in reading, mathematics and science

Students in Years 3 and 6 achieved some of the best mathematics and reading scores among Latin American countries in both the 2006 SERCE (Second Regional Comparative and

Explanatory Study, *Segundo Estudio Regional Comparativo y Explicativo*) and the 2013 TERCE (Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study, *Tercer Estudio Regional Comparativo y Explicativo*) studies. Students in Year 6 also achieved one of the highest results in natural sciences. Across all subjects and year groups, Uruguay had a higher proportion of students reaching the top achievement level and a lower share of students in the bottom achievement group than the Latin American average. However, in contrast to the majority of the participating countries, Uruguay did not improve its results in any of the subjects since 2006 and its performance in natural sciences was worse in 2013 than it had been six years earlier (UNESCO/LLECE, 2015). Furthermore, SERCE revealed that Uruguay exhibited one of the widest achievement gaps between the 10th and 90th percentile and one of the most pronounced urban-rural divides of the region in mathematics (UNESCO/LLECE, 2008).

Uruguayan students perform below the international average at the secondary level in reading, mathematics and science

Uruguay's 15-year-old students achieved one of the best results among Latin American countries in the OECD PISA study but lagged behind those of all non-Latin American OECD countries. In 2012, Uruguay's mean score in mathematics was 409, compared to the OECD average of 494, a gap equivalent to around 2 years of schooling. Uruguay's results were statistically significantly below those for Chile, similar to those for Mexico and Costa Rica and above those for Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Peru. The mean reading score was 411, compared to the OECD average of 496 and in science, Uruguay reached a mean score of 416, compared to the OECD average of 501 (OECD, 2014c, Figure I.2.b). In reading Uruguay's results were statistically significantly below those for Chile, Costa Rica and Mexico while in science they were below those for Chile and Costa Rica (OECD, 2014c). Uruguay's performance in PISA has deteriorated over the years both in absolute terms and relative to other countries. Uruguay's mean score in mathematics in 2003 was 422 while the mean score in science in 2006 was 428. In analysing PISA results for Uruguay, it is however important to consider that both Uruguay's high school drop-out rates and the fact that PISA is limited to students enrolled in schools mean that PISA results for Uruguay are likely to overestimate the skills of the wider population of 15-year-olds.

A significant proportion of students underperform in secondary education

A significant challenge in Uruguay is the high proportion of low-performing students. In PISA 2012, 55.8% of students demonstrated low levels of mathematics proficiency compared to 23.0% on average in the OECD. The equivalent proportions in reading and science were 47.0% and 46.9% respectively (against OECD averages of 18.0% and 17.8% respectively) (see Table 1.7). In fact, a significant increase in the proportion of low-performing students in mathematics has driven the deterioration in mathematics performance since 2003 (7.7 percentage points increase of students performing below mathematics proficiency Level 2, as defined by PISA) (OECD, 2014c, Figure I.2.23). It is the same case for science performance (OECD, 2014c, Figure I.5.11). Also, the share of Uruguayan students reaching the highest performance levels (at or above proficiency Level 5, as defined by PISA) in mathematics decreased from 2.8% in 2003 to 1.4% in 2012 (see Table 1.7).

Students' and schools' socio-economic status have a strong impact on performance

In Uruguay, there are marked educational inequities based on students' socio-economic status (INEEd, 2015; OECD, 2016). In PISA 2012, in Uruguay, 22.8% of the variance in

Table 1.7. **Selected indicators of quality and equity in education in Uruguay based on PISA 2012**

	OECD average (2012)	Uruguay (2012)	Uruguay (2003; for science: 2006)
Percentage of top performers			
Mathematics	12.6	1.4	2.8
Reading	8.4	0.9	5.3
Science	8.4	1.0	1.4
Percentage of low achievers			
Mathematics	23.0	55.8	48.1
Reading	18.0	47.0	39.8
Science	17.8	46.9	42.1
Difference in performance between the 90th and 10th percentiles (in score points)			
Mathematics	239	229	259
Reading	242	249	315
Science	239	245	244
Percentage of variance in performance explained by socio-economic status			
Mathematics	14.8	22.8	..
Reading	13.1	17.5	..
Science	14.0	19.8	..
Percentage of resilient students (mathematics)	6.4	2.1	..
Between-school variance in mathematics performance (as percentage of total variation in mathematics performance across OECD countries)	36.9	38.9	..
Within-school variance in mathematics performance (as percentage of total variation in mathematics performance across OECD countries)	63.3	53.6	..

..: Not available.

Note: Top performers are those students proficient at Level 5 or 6 of the assessment; Low achievers are those students proficient at or below Level 1 of the assessment. ESCS is the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status. Resilient students are those in the bottom quarter of the PISA ESCS index in the country of assessment who perform in the top quarter of students among all countries, after accounting for socio-economic status.

Source: OECD (2013b), *PISA 2012 Results: Excellence through Equity: Giving Every Student the Chance to Succeed* (Volume II), *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201132-en* (Table II.2.1, p. 174; Table II.A, p. 15; Table II.2.7b, p. 195; Table II.2.8a, p. 196); OECD (2014c), *PISA 2012 Results: What Students Know and Can Do: Student Performance in Mathematics, Reading and Science* (Volume I, Revised edition, February 2014), *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264208780-en* (Table I.A, p. 19; Table I.2.1b, p. 299; Table I.4.1b, p. 376; Table I.4.3d, p. 386, Table I.2.3d, p. 308, Table I.5.1b, p. 393, Table I.5.3d, p. 401).

mathematics test scores was explained by students' economic, social and cultural status (ESCS). Although the degree of socio-economic inequality is high across Latin America, Uruguay had the fifth strongest association between socio-economic status and student performance among all PISA participating countries, behind Hungary, Chile, Peru, and the Slovak Republic (and well above the OECD average of 14.8%, see Table 1.7) (OECD, 2013b, Table II.A). Also, Uruguay had a percentage of resilient students – students in the bottom quarter of ESCS who perform among the top 25% of students after accounting for ESCS – below the OECD average (2.1% against 6.4%) (OECD, 2013b, Table II.A).

In PISA 2012, in Uruguay, between-school variance explained 41.9% of the total variation in mathematics performance, compared to the OECD average of 36.9%. In contrast, only 57.8% of performance differences were observed within schools, compared to 63.3% across the OECD (see Table 1.7). Uruguay's index of academic inclusion[6] stood at 58, significantly below the OECD average of 64. This places Uruguay's inclusiveness below Mexico's and Colombia's (both 65), but above Peru (54), Argentina (56), Chile and Brazil (both 57) (OECD, 2013b, Figure II.5.1b).

There are large differences in students' achievement, depending on school type and school resources. Students in private schools performed on average 100 score points better in mathematics than those attending public schools, which is the equivalent of more than two years of schooling and the second highest difference among 47 participating countries (OECD, 2013a, Figure IV.1.19). However, nearly half of this performance difference is accounted for by differences in the socio-economic status of students attending public and private schools (which are the second highest among all PISA countries) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.4.7). In fact, once schools' index of economic, social and cultural status is also taken into account, students in public schools outperform students in private schools in about 28 points (Figure IV.1.19).

Also, educational differences between rural areas and cities are significant. According to the PISA 2012 mathematics assessment, Uruguayan students in rural areas were significantly outperformed by their peers in towns and cities, although some of this was explained by socio-economic differences (OECD, 2013b, Table II.3.3a). Even when taking into account these socio-economic differences, the performance disadvantage for students in rural areas is significantly more pronounced than on average in the OECD.

In Uruguay, 15-year-old students who have attended more than one year of pre-primary education perform on average 50 score points better in mathematics than those who have not, which is close to the OECD average (OECD, 2013a, Figure IV.1.13). Students who attend pre-primary education also have a considerably higher socio-economic status than those who do not, which gives rise to equity concerns. Although this divide is more pronounced in Uruguay than the average OECD country, it has narrowed by 25% between 2003 and 2012 (OECD, 2013a, Figure IV.1.14).

These inequities are also reflected in students' educational attainment. In 2010, only 25% of 15-17 year-olds from the lowest income quintile had completed lower secondary education and 7% of 18-20 year-olds had completed upper secondary education, compared to 85% and 57% from the top income quintile respectively (MIDES/OPP, 2011).

Notes

1. For countries with 90 000 inhabitants or more in 2014.
2. Figures for Mexico and the OECD refer to the population of 15-24 year-olds.
3. For details, see *http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii*.
4. ISCED, the International Standard Classification of Education, is the reference classification developed by UNESCO for organising education programmes and related qualifications by education levels and fields which is used as an instrument for compiling internationally comparable education statistics (UNESCO, 2012).
5. SERCE and TERCE are international student assessments carried out by UNESCO's Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC/UNESCO) in 2006 and 2013 respectively. SERCE assessed Year 3 and Year 6 students in 16 countries (plus one Mexican state) in reading, writing, mathematics and natural sciences (Year 6 only). TERCE repeated the same assessments for 15 countries (plus one Mexican state).
6. Calculated as 100*(1-rho), where rho stands for the intra-class correlation of performance, i.e. the variation in student performance between schools, divided by the sum of the variation in student performance between schools and the variation in student performance within schools (OECD, 2013b).

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Chapter 2

Governance of school resource use in Uruguay

This chapter is about the governance of schooling, including the distribution of responsibilities, the supply of school services and the organisation of the school network. It places particular emphasis on areas of priority for Uruguay such as the structure of education governance, strategic planning and equity within the school system. It also reviews areas in which demand for education services is likely not to be met and identifies a number of sources of inefficiency in school resource use. The chapter further highlights the importance of implementation aspects of education policy and the need to increase trust in education through effective change in educational policy.

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

This chapter is about the governance of schooling, including the supply of school services and the organisation of the school network. It analyses how the effectiveness of resource use is influenced by key features of the school system such as the distribution of responsibilities, the structure of schooling, diversity of school offerings, and learning opportunities across student groups. The chapter places particular emphasis on areas of priority for Uruguay such as the structure of education governance and equity within the school system.

Context and features

Distribution of responsibilities: a high degree of centralisation and limited school autonomy

As described in Chapter 1, the Uruguayan education system is highly centralised, both in terms of distribution of responsibilities across levels of governance and in terms of space and geography. Almost all of the decisions about administrative and pedagogical aspects that provide the framework for the operation and organisation of schools are taken at the central level by ANEP's Central Governing Council (CODICEN) in Montevideo and the councils for the different subsystems of the education system (the Pre-primary and Primary Education Council [CEIP], the Secondary Education Council [CES] and the Technical and Professional Education Council [CETP]). As described in Chapter 1, the CODICEN co-ordinates the work of the different councils and holds ultimate decision-making power in some administrative and pedagogical areas (e.g. approving the statutes of teachers and non-teaching staff, approving curricula, setting instruction time and the school calendar), even if in practice it works jointly with the councils in these areas. The councils design and implement policies and decide upon and manage a large proportion of administrative and pedagogical aspects for their respective subsystem (e.g. definition of curricula, organisation of the teaching workforce and recruitment of staff in schools, maintenance of infrastructure, allocation of materials, supervision of schools and personnel appraisal through school inspection). A fourth education council, the Teacher Training Council (CFE) regulates and administers teacher education and professional development of teachers.

As seen in Chapter 1, there are two major features of the governance of schooling that distinguish Uruguay. First, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) has a relatively secondary role in the development and implementation of school education policy. MEC regulates and oversees part of private early childhood and pre-primary education. Second, the pre-tertiary education system is co-administered with teachers as they elect representatives to the administration of ANEP (CODICEN and all the education councils). Another player in the governance of pre-tertiary education is the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU), which regulates and administers the network of day schools in early childhood education and the Childcare and Family Centres (CAIF). Finally, a significant recent development in the governance of schooling in Uruguay was the establishment of the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEEd), an autonomous institution with the responsibility of evaluating the quality of education at the pre-primary, primary and secondary education levels.

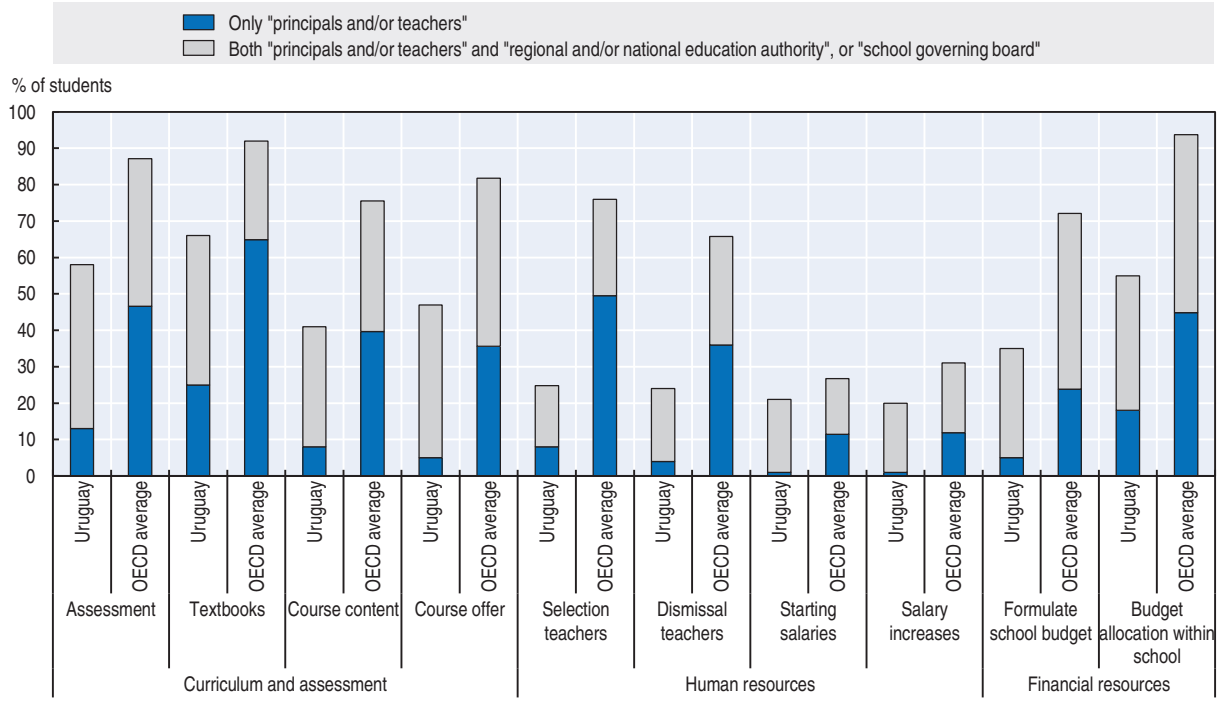
Depending on the subsystem, councils' representations at the departmental level provide some input into decisions taken by their respective council and hold some decision-making powers themselves. In pre-primary and primary education, departmental inspections have some say about the distribution of teaching positions in schools, which is ultimately determined by the technical inspection at the central level (see Chapters 1 and 4). Departmental inspections also decide about the allocation of specific targeted programmes to schools. In general secondary education, decision-making is the most centralised among the different subsystems, but the Secondary Education Council has begun a process of decentralisation through the creation of regional inspections that are based in departments outside of Montevideo, even if the regional level does not yet hold any responsibility for the education system. In technical-professional secondary education, the council has recently created five regional campuses that hold some powers for the organisation and operation of technical and agrarian schools (e.g. planning of initiatives at regional level, supervision of schools in the region, co-ordination of the curricular offer at schools in the region). In addition, Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education (*Comisiones Coordinadoras Departamentales de la Educación*) within the country's departments are responsible for convening participation councils (*Consejos de Participación*, see Chapter 1) to reflect about education as a whole in the department, but hold no decision-making powers.

Public schools have almost no autonomy to decide about aspects that govern their organisation and operation and to plan and manage their own financial, human and physical resources. They have very limited financial resources for the maintenance of the facilities at their disposal (see Chapter 3), have no discretion to develop and implement specific programmes for their school (see Chapter 4) and have no authority to select and hire their teachers (see Chapter 5) (INEEd, 2015).

Schools have very little autonomy in the management of school resources in Uruguay compared to other OECD countries (see Figure 2.1). According to PISA 2012, a small proportion of 15-year-olds attend schools whose school principal reports that only principals and/or teachers establish student assessment policies (13%), choose which textbooks are used (25%), determine course content (8%), decide which courses are offered (5%), select teachers for hire (8%), fire teachers (4%), establish teachers' starting salaries (1%) and increases (1%), formulate the school budget (5%), or decide on budget allocations within the school (18%) (OECD, 2013a). All these figures are considerably below the OECD average (see Figure 2.1). School principals are also unable to design their own organisational structure, both in terms of selecting their management team and designing functions for school staff.

Levels of autonomy are considerably greater in the private school sector. Private schools are free to select the textbooks they use, choose the courses they offer, have considerable leeway in determining course content (while they use the national curriculum, they can complement it through other activities and/or increased workload), and have significant autonomy in establishing student assessment policies. In addition, the private sector has full autonomy in teacher recruitment and dismissal, salary setting and the allocation of resources within the school (INEEd, 2015). According to the perceptions of principals of schools attended by 15-year-olds, secondary schools offering technical-professional programmes seem to have greater autonomy in deciding their course offer and in selecting the textbooks used than secondary schools offering general programmes (INEEd, 2015).

Figure 2.1. **School autonomy in Uruguay and OECD, 2012**



Note: This figure shows the percentage of students in schools whose principal reported in PISA 2012 that the following groups have a considerable responsibility for the areas of autonomy displayed above: i) only "principals and/or teachers" (indicated in dark blue); and ii) both "principals and/or teachers" and "regional and/or national education authority", or "school governing board" (indicated in light grey).
Source: OECD (2013a), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*.

Organisation of the school network

There are no regulations regarding the size of schools (number of students) or their geographical distribution within the country. The only formal decision concerns the establishment of new schools, particularly on the availability of resources for construction. There are also some guidelines for infrastructure organisation.

In 2014, the average size of primary schools was 129 students (124 for public schools and 157 for private schools). This hides considerable differences between urban and rural schools. In the public sector, while the size of an urban primary school was 256 students, it stood at 13.4 students for rural schools. Some rural primary schools have just one student. In 2014, there were more rural public primary schools (1 111) than urban public primary schools (938) (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2). The size of primary schools is greater in Montevideo (315 in the public sector and 193 in the private sector) than in the rest of the country (98 in the public sector and 121 in the private sector) (see Table 2.2). Urban schools which do not operate full-time or extended time typically use the school infrastructure in two shifts. Full-time primary schools are also, on average, smaller than common primary schools; most full-time schools were planned to accommodate an average of 200 students (INEEd, 2015).

As can be seen in Table 2.1, while the number of primary education students dropped about 13% between 2003 and 2014 (about 18.1% in public schools), the number of schools remained about the same (dropped about 1.4% in the public system). It is interesting to note that while the number of students in rural public primary schools dropped about 12% during this period, the number of rural primary schools increased by 2.3% (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. **Number of students, schools and teachers by level of education, sector of provision and location, 2003 and 2014**

	2003	2014	Percentage change
Students			
Primary education	**354 843**	**308 644**	**-13.0**
Public schools	311 141	254 686	-18.1
Montevideo	96 337	78 355	-18.7
Rest of the country	214 804	176 331	-17.9
Urban schools	294 182	239 746	-18.5
Rural schools	16 959	14 940	-11.9
Private schools	43 702	53 958	23.5
Montevideo	28 325	32 984	16.4
Rest of the country	15 377	20 974	36.4
Secondary education, general programmes	**276 600**	**265 241**	**-4.1**
Public schools	242 319	221 137	-8.7
Montevideo	91 303	70 956	-22.3
Rest of the country	151 016	150 181	-0.6
Private schools	34 281	44 104	28.7
Montevideo	26 804	29 493	10.0
Rest of the country	7 477	14 611	95.4
Schools			
Primary education	**2 396**	**2 393**	**-0.1**
Public schools	2 078	2 049	-1.4
Montevideo	257	249	-3.1
Rest of the country	1 821	1 800	-1.2
Urban schools	992	938	-5.4
Rural schools	1 086	1 111	2.3
Private schools	318	344	8.2
Montevideo	162	171	5.6
Rest of the country	156	173	10.9
Secondary education, general programmes	**483**	**626**	**29.6**
Public schools	321	436	35.8
Montevideo	84	104	23.8
Rest of the country	237	332	40.1
Private schools	162	190	17.3
Montevideo	100	107	7.0
Rest of the country	62	83	33.9
Teachers			
Primary education	**..**	**23 626**	
Public schools	13 439	15 237	13.4
Montevideo	3 962	4 178	5.5
Rest of the country	9 477	11 059	16.7
Private schools	..	8 389	..
Montevideo	..	4 984	..
Rest of the country	..	3 405	..
Secondary education, general programmes	**..**	**..**	
Public schools	25 168	23 187	-7.9
Private schools	..	..	..

..: Not available.

Note: Data on teachers for primary education refer to head counts while data on teachers for secondary education are based on the number of subjects, i.e. teachers who teach more than one subject are counted as different teachers.

Source: MEC (2003, 2014), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación* (Education Statistical Yearbook), 2003 and 2014 editions, *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

This led to a substantial decrease of the size of public schools from about 150 students to about 124 students during 2003-14 (see Table 2.2). Similarly, the student-teacher ratio in public primary education dropped from 23.2 in 2003 to 16.7 in 2014 (see Table 2.2). By contrast, both the number of students and the size of schools have increased in the private primary sector (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

Table 2.2. **School size and student-teacher ratio by level of education, sector of provision and location, 2003 and 2014**

	2003	2014	Percentage change
School size			
Primary education	**148.1**	**129.0**	**-12.9**
Public schools	149.7	124.3	-17.0
Montevideo	374.9	314.7	-16.1
Rest of the country	118.0	98.0	-17.0
Urban schools	296.6	255.6	-13.8
Rural schools	15.6	13.4	-13.9
Private schools	137.4	156.9	14.1
Montevideo	174.8	192.9	10.3
Rest of the country	98.6	121.2	23.0
Secondary education, general programmes	**572.7**	**423.7**	**-26.0**
Public schools	754.9	507.2	-32.8
Montevideo	1 086.9	682.3	-37.2
Rest of the country	637.2	452.4	-29.0
Private schools	211.6	232.1	9.7
Montevideo	268.0	275.6	2.8
Rest of the country	120.6	176.0	46.0
Student-teacher ratio			
Primary education	..	**13.1**	
Public schools	23.2	16.7	-27.8
Montevideo	24.3	18.8	-22.9
Rest of the country	22.7	15.9	-29.7
Private schools	..	6.4	..
Montevideo	..	6.6	..
Rest of the country	..	6.2	..
Secondary education, general programmes			
Public schools	9.6	9.5	-0.9
Private schools	..	..	..

..: Not available.
Note: Data on teachers for primary education refer to head counts while data on teachers for secondary education are based on the number of subjects, i.e. teachers who teach more than one subject are counted as different teachers.
Source: Ministry of Education and Culture, MEC (2003, 2014), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación* (Education Statistical Yearbook), 2003 and 2014 editions, *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

In secondary general programmes, while the number of students decreased by 4.1% between 2003 and 2014 (8.7% decrease in the public sector and a 28.7% increase in the private sector), the number of schools increased by 29.6% (35.8% increase in the public sector and a 17.3% increase in the private sector) (see Table 2.1). This has led to a substantial decrease of the size of general secondary schools in the public sector from 755 students in 2003 to 507 students in 2014. This drop was particularly strong in Montevideo, from 1 087 to 682 students in the same period. By contrast, the average size of private general secondary schools increased from 212 students in 2003 to 232 students in 2014. In secondary education, schools typically operate in two shifts.

In spite of the decrease in student numbers, particularly in primary education, there has been no policy initiative to assess the need for adjustments to the school network, including school closures. Rural primary schools remain open even if they have a single student. In secondary education, given the expected expansion of the sector, there are no policy plans to re-organise the network of schools.

Organisation of learning

Student admission, transfers, and tracking

The education system in Uruguay leaves the choice of public school for their children to families themselves (see also Chapter 1). Generally, students typically attend their neighbourhood school, which can lead to inequities as socio-spatial segregation in cities has been increasing (Peters, 2015).

Uruguay does not promote competition between schools and, as PISA 2012 indicates for secondary education, schools tend to compete with few schools for students in the same area. 43.7% of students were in a school whose principal reported that they were not competing with any other school for students in the same area (OECD average: 23.8%), and 40.6% of students were in a school whose principal reported that they were competing with two or more schools (OECD average: 60.7%). Competition for students among schools as reported by principals is also low when compared with other Latin American countries. In Argentina, for instance, 14% of students were in schools whose principal reported to compete with no other school, and 77.9% of students went to a school whose principal reported to be competing with two or more schools for their student intake. In Brazil, the proportion of students was 26.4% and 51.7% respectively; in Chile, 15.8% and 65.8% (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.4.4).

In case a school is oversubscribed, some selection criteria apply. In primary education, demand for full-time schools and extended-time schools currently exceeds supply. In these cases, students with a sibling in the same school have priority for admission, followed by students resident in the neighbourhood of the school or with parents working there at the time of enrolment. Full-time schools also take into account the child's household income and the labour market situation of the child's mother. In general secondary education, the council also considers residence as a factor for prioritising students if more students want to attend a school than places are available.

According to PISA 2012, 26.7% of 15-year-olds were in a school whose principal reported that residence in a particular area is always considered for admission (OECD average: 40.7%, 37% in public general secondary schools; 9% in technical schools; and 1% in private schools) (INEEd, 2015, Annex I). In general secondary schools this is more common than in technical secondary schools (37.4% and 9.4% respectively), and in lower secondary schools more common than in upper secondary schools (33.2% and 22.3% respectively). Student performance plays a minor role for school admission. 50.4% of students went to a school whose principal reported that a student's academic record or recommendations of a feeder school are never considered for admission (OECD average: 32%, Argentina: 47.1%, Brazil: 55.2%, Chile: 19.1%). However, there are significant differences between public and private schools: about 57% of the students in the private sector were in schools whose principals reported that they "always" considered at least one of these two criteria in school admission decisions (INEEd, 2015, Annex I). As in various other countries taking part in PISA 2012, including Argentina and Chile, upper secondary schools in Uruguay are more

selective in terms of academic performance than lower secondary schools (difference of 15.7 percentage points) (INEEd, 2015; OECD, 2013a, Tables IV.2.7 and IV.2.8).

Secondary schools typically do not transfer students to another school because of low academic achievement, behavioural problems or special learning needs. Only 3.7% of 15-year-olds were in a school whose principal reported that one of these factors would lead to the transfer of a student to another school (OECD average: 12.8%, Argentina: 11.5%, Brazil: 14.7%, Chile: 22.9%) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.2.9).

As described in Chapter 1, students in Uruguay have to select an education track for the first time at the age of 11-12, earlier than in OECD countries (average: 14 years) and in other countries in the region (Argentina and Brazil: 15 years, Chile: 16 years) (OECD, 2013a). However, it is possible for students to change tracks between general and technical-professional programmes later on in their schooling, even if this may be difficult considering differences in curricula (especially from professional training programmes to general and technical programmes). At age 11, students can choose between general and technical programmes (see Chapter 1). At age 14 or 15, students choose between general programmes, technical programmes and professional training programmes (see Chapter 1). In the second year of the upper secondary general track, students select a humanistic, scientific, biological or artistic orientation. In the second year of the technical track, students also specialise, for instance in management, computer science, or chemistry. The choice of programmes at both age 11-12 and age 14-15 is up to students and schools do not have selection criteria for the different tracks (INEEd, 2015).

Curricula and assessments

As described in Chapter 1, in Uruguay national curricula for each level and type of school education are prescribed centrally and little autonomy exists at the school level to introduce learning content more specific to respond to local needs. Schools are required to implement educational programmes as specified by the respective council in terms of number of hours assigned to each learning area and subject. Beyond the scope given to schools through the lack of specificity in the definition of content for most programmes and areas of knowledge, schools have few ways to adjust curricula to their needs and these make up only a very small proportion of the overall curriculum. In general lower secondary education, some flexibility is possible through an open curricular space, in some general upper secondary programmes through optional classes. In technical-professional secondary education, schools have some limited autonomy through elective instruction hours or specialisation in some baccalaureate programmes. For example, an agricultural baccalaureate in a dairy school will specialise in this field in terms of instruction hours as defined in the central curriculum, but the school has no autonomy to alter these central requirements. In technical-professional education, the regional campuses co-ordinate and plan the curricular offer in their region to strengthen the links between education and the local economy and labour market (INEEd, 2015).

By international comparison, secondary schools in Uruguay have relatively little autonomy in setting curricular and assessment practices. School autonomy as measured by the PISA 2012 index of school responsibility for curriculum and assessment is smaller than on average across OECD countries and smaller than in all other Latin American countries participating in the survey, except Mexico. Even for decisions about student assessment, one of the remits in which schools in Uruguay have a larger degree of autonomy, principals and teachers have less freedom than in many other countries. Only

13% of 15-year-olds were in a school whose principal reported that only principals and/or teachers have considerable responsibility for establishing student assessment policies (OECD average: 47%, Argentina: 59%, Brazil: 20%, Chile: 46%) (OECD, 2013a, Figure IV.4.3).

Learning time

In theory, the CODICEN holds responsibility for setting the school calendar, for deciding when classes begin and when they end, as well as the number of instruction days for the different levels of education and programmes. In practice, the CODICEN works together with the different councils to define these aspects of the education system (INEEd, 2015).

In pre-primary and primary education, regulations stipulate a minimum of 180 instruction days per year, but in practice students attend up to 187 days a year. According to data provided by the CEIP, the average instruction time for a student in this subsystem has been increasing over the last years. While the average student in pre-primary and primary education received 834 hours of annual instruction in 2007, this amount had increased to 862 hours in 2013, the equivalent of one week of classes. All public common schools follow the same schedule, but there are some differences across school types. Common urban schools, Practice schools and *Aprender* schools teach four hours per day, either in the morning or in the afternoon depending on the shift (*turno*) they offer. This includes 30 minutes of break time. Extended-time schools offer a longer school day of seven hours. The additional time is used to organise workshops and activities, such as extra instruction in English, music, and plastic and visual arts. Full-time schools offer 7.5 hours of instruction per day. Rural schools provide five hours of instruction per day.

In general lower secondary education, annual instruction time amounts to 1 140 hours. The curriculum specifies an instruction load of 30 hours per week distributed across 39 lessons of 45 minutes. In general upper secondary education, annual instruction time decreases to 884 hours. The curriculum specifies about 26.5 hours of instruction per week distributed across 34 lessons of 45 minutes and about 5 hours of instruction per day (INEEd, 2015).

School holidays for pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education run from mid-December to the beginning of March with two additional weeks off in July. School holidays in upper secondary education begin earlier, generally around the end of October or beginning of November, but the months of November and December are an examination period (INEEd, 2015).

Time-on-task, that is the amount of time that teachers spend on instruction as opposed to administrative duties and classroom management, is an important aspect of effective classroom teaching. Poor disciplinary climate in classrooms may result in significant reductions in learning opportunities for all students. Interruptions to classes in mathematics as reported by students for PISA 2012 are more of an issue in Uruguay than in many countries in the OECD, but less so than in other countries in the region. The PISA index of disciplinary climate for Uruguay shows more problems with disciplinary climate than is the case on average across OECD countries, but fewer problems than the index suggests for Argentina, Brazil and Chile (OECD, 2013a).

Students missing out on learning opportunities by skipping school or classes or by arriving late can also be an issue that affects learning time. Student truancy not only hurts the individual student, but when it is pervasive, it contributes to a disruptive learning environment and hurts the entire class. As principals reported for PISA 2012, student

truancy is a problem for schools in Uruguay, and especially so for technical schools. 46% of students were in a school whose principal reported that student truancy hinders learning to some extent or a lot (OECD average: 32%, Argentina: 53%, Brazil: 52%, Chile: 17%). In technical schools this proportion amounted to 62.3%, in general secondary schools to 37.9% (OECD, 2013a, Figure IV.5.5; INEEd, 2015). The share of students arriving late for school is of particular concern. 59.3% of students reported having arrived late for school at least once in the two weeks prior to the PISA assessment, compared to an OECD average of 35.3% (Argentina: 47%, Brazil: 33.7%, Chile: 53%). 79.1% of students were in a school where more than half of students had arrived late at least once in the two weeks before the PISA assessment. 23.6% of students reported having skipped a day of school at least once in the two weeks before the PISA assessment, and about the same share of students reported having skipped some classes at least once in the same period (OECD average: 14.5% and 17.8%) (OECD, 2013a, Tables IV.5.1, 5.2 and 5.3).

It is also important to consider learning time outside of formal classroom settings, such as out-of-school instruction, homework, and private tutoring. For PISA 2012, 15-year-olds in Uruguay reported to spend an average of 4.7 hours per week on homework or other study set by teachers for all subjects, around the OECD average of 4.9 hours, but more than in Argentina (3.7 hours), Brazil (3.3 hours) and Chile (3.5 hours). Students also reported to spend 66 minutes per week working with a personal tutor (OECD average: 42 minutes, Argentina: 84 minutes, Brazil: 60 minutes, Chile: 36 minutes), and the same amount of time to attend after-school classes paid for by their parents (OECD average: 36 minutes, Argentina: 66 minutes, Brazil: 90 minutes, Chile: 24 minutes) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.3.27).

Schools can organise extracurricular activities for their students. According to the PISA 2012 principal survey, 69.9% of 15-year-olds were in a school that offers students the opportunity to participate in a band, orchestra or choir and 52.1% of students were in a school that organises a school play or musical (OECD average: 62.9%, 58.5% respectively). Schools provide fewer opportunities for students to publish a school yearbook or magazine (11.9%, OECD average: 55.8%), to participate in volunteering (35.5%, OECD average: 72.6%), or to join an arts club (27.4%, OECD average: 61.7%). As in other countries, many schools offer sporting activities (92.7%, OECD average: 90.2%) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.3.30). General secondary schools are more likely to organise creative extracurricular activities than technical secondary schools (INEEd, 2015).

Compensatory programmes to improve equity in education

In Uruguay, there is a large variety of compensatory programmes to improve equity in education and support students with learning difficulties. They involve the funding of specific groups of students or schools on a targeted basis. The participation of specific schools in these programmes is decided by the administrators of the programmes (e.g. education councils, MEC), often following advice from locally-based units such as the inspection, particularly in pre-primary and primary education. Table 2.3 summarises the main features of some of the major educational programmes.

In pre-primary and primary education, the CEIP has implemented two major programmes to support students with learning difficulties and disadvantaged students. The Community Teachers Programme (*Programa Maestros Comunitarios*) allocates one to two community teachers to disadvantaged schools depending on the size of the school. This programme aims to prevent students from falling behind and having to repeat a year by supporting children who show low performance. The Teacher + Teacher (*Maestro más*

Table 2.3. **Major educational compensatory programmes in Uruguay**

Name	Supervision	Target group	Main features
Community Teachers Programme (*Programa Maestros Comunitarios*) (Since 2005)	Organised by CEIP Monitored by MIDES	Students falling behind in disadvantaged schools in primary education	Allocates one to two community teachers to disadvantaged schools depending on the size of the school (schools are identified by the inspection, typically from quintiles 1 and 2 of socio-cultural context). It involves a maximum of 20 students per school per semester. Four major components: • Educational integration (e.g. working in small groups; through games); • Interaction with families (visits if students do not attend school; raising self-esteem of families; workshops for parents); • Remedial education (e.g. if at risk of repetition); and • Literacy at home (working with families).
Teacher + Teacher Programme (*Maestro más Maestro*) (Since 2012)	Organised by CEIP	Students in primary education (Year 1 and 2) with poor performance	Seeks to reduce year repetition in the first and second year of primary education by improving students' oral and written expression. The programme offers two formats: in some schools, a teacher works with students after the end of the school day to offer additional learning opportunities in a longer school day; in other schools, two teachers work together in one classroom at the same time to provide more individualised attention to children with the greatest learning difficulties.
Tutorials Project (*Liceos con tutorías y profesor coordinador pedagógico*) (Since 2008)	Organised by CES	Students with learning difficulties in disadvantaged schools in public general lower secondary education	Provides additional and targeted support for schools with the greatest socio-economic challenges in view of improving the learning outcomes of students in these schools. Participation in this programme is compulsory for schools with more than 400 students and a year repetition rate higher than 25% for the entire general lower secondary cycle. The programme consists of: • Tutorials for students at the greatest risk of repetition or drop-out who are selected by schools; and • Additional resources for school meals, uniforms and supplies for all students in the school (schools receive a fixed amount of money depending on their enrolment numbers which they distribute across all types of materials).
Educational Commitment Programme (*Compromiso Educativo*) (Since 2011)	Managed by the CODICEN, CES, CETP, CFE, MEC, UDELAR, MIDES, INAU, and INJU	General and technical-professional upper secondary students Involves selection based on an index of critical needs of the MIDES.	Students sign an educational commitment agreement on performance and behaviour together with their family and the pedagogical facilitator teacher (*profesor articulador pedagogico*) of the school. Some students receive a small stipend of UYU 8 000 per year. Other students receive special support in school instead of the stipend. The Educational Commitment Programme also provides mentoring by tertiary education students who volunteer to work with students on a weekly basis on different projects and topics.

Table 2.3. **Major educational compensatory programmes in Uruguay** *(cont.)*

Name	Supervision	Target group	Main features
Uruguay Studies (*Uruguay Estudia*) (Since 2009)	Managed by the MEC, CES, CETP, Bank of the Republic, CND, MEF, OPP and MLSS	Students above 14 years of age at all levels of the education system	Offers scholarships for students from the end of primary to upper secondary education and tutorials to help students complete lower secondary and upper secondary education.
Scholarships to continue studies (*Becas de acceso a la continuidad educativa*) (Since 1986)	Organised by MEC	Students in lower and upper secondary education	Scholarships for students in lower and upper secondary education. The Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education are responsible for selecting students based on their performance and household income. Schools have one member of staff (*referente*) who follows students' progress, provides support, and keeps track of school and class attendance.
Community Classrooms Programme (*Programa Aulas Comunitarias*) (Since 2007)	Organised by CES and non-governmental organisations (NGOs)	Youth between 12 and 17 who have never begun or dropped out of secondary education before completing the first year of lower secondary education.	Seeks to reintegrate students in the first year of general lower secondary education, to introduce students to life at a general secondary school, and to accompany young people's transition from community classrooms to general secondary schools. While an NGO typically provides the physical space and a team of co-ordinators, social workers, educators and workshop leaders, the CES is responsible for the provision of subject teaching. The community classroom can, however, also be based in a school.

Note: CFE: Teacher Training Council; CEIP: Pre-primary and Primary Education Council; CES: Secondary Education Council; CETP: Technical and Professional Education Council; CND: National Development Corporation; CODICEN: Central Governing Council; INAU: the Child and Adolescent Institute; INJU: the National Youth Institute; MEC: Ministry of Education and Culture; MEF: Ministry of Economy and Finance; MIDES: Ministry of Social Development; MLSS: Ministry of Labour and Social Security; OPP: Office of Planning and Budget; and UDELAR: University of the Republic.

Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Maestro) Programme seeks to reduce year repetition in the first and second year of primary education by improving students' oral and written expression and by introducing new and innovative ways of teaching in schools. This programme offers two formats: in some schools, a teacher works with students after the end of the school day to offer additional learning opportunities in a longer school day; in other schools, two teachers work together in one classroom at the same time to provide more individualised attention to children with the greatest learning difficulties.

In general lower secondary education, the CES has created the Tutorials Project (*Liceos con tutorías y profesor coordinador pedagógico*) to provide additional and targeted support for schools with the greatest socio-educational challenges and to improve the learning outcomes of students in these schools. The programme consists of tutorials for students at the greatest risk of repetition or drop-out who are selected by schools and additional resources for school meals, uniforms and utensils for all students in the school. In general and technical-professional upper secondary education students can benefit from additional support through the Educational Commitment Programme (*Compromiso Educativo*). Students can sign up on line and are selected according to an index of critical needs of the MIDES. Some of the students sign an educational commitment agreement on performance and behaviour together with their family and the pedagogical facilitator teacher (*profesor articulador pedagogico*) of the school and receive a small stipend of UYU 8 000 per year. Other students sign an educational commitment agreement, but receive special support in school instead of the stipend.

The programme Uruguay Studies (*Uruguay Estudia*) aims to support students above 14 years of age at all levels of the education system to complete their studies. This programme offers scholarships for students from the end of primary to upper secondary education and tutorials to help students complete lower secondary and upper secondary education. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) provides small scholarships for students in lower secondary and upper secondary education to continue their studies (*becas de acceso a la continuidad educativa*). Also, the CES together with NGOs organises the Community Classrooms Programme targeted at children aged between 12 and 17 who have never begun or dropped out of secondary education before completing the 1st year of lower secondary education. These are special classes which are organised in settings which facilitate the integration of these students. In 2016, educational authorities announced the intention to gradually discontinue this programme.

These educational programmes complement other major equity-targeted initiatives such as full-time schools, extended-time schools and *Aprender* schools, which benefit from additional resources and are located in disadvantaged localities. Other major programmes are the Meals at School Programme (*Programa de Alimentación Escolar*), which provides free meals (breakfast, lunch and/or snack) in public primary schools, with some differentiation depending on the socio-economic quintile of the school; and the Summer School Programme (*Programa Educativo de Verano*), which extends the school year for 28 days in the summer, following projects proposed by some schools (typical activities include both extracurricular activities and support to improve language and mathematics).

Strengths

There are considerable efforts to extend the coverage of the school system

The last decade in Uruguay has been characterised by considerable efforts to extend the coverage of the school system, which has been supported by increasing levels of public

funding (see Chapter 3). Uruguay operates an extensive school network able to ensure good access to education. Especially, there is a strong emphasis on providing access to early education in rural areas. There are considerable efforts to ensure that primary education (and, to a lesser extent, pre-primary education) can be provided locally. In 2014, there were more rural primary schools (1 111) than urban primary schools (938). Some rural schools have only one student. This approach has granted universal access to primary education.

There has also been considerable progress in providing access to pre-primary education. The net attendance rate for children aged 5 reached 98% in 2012 while it stood at 89% for children aged 4 (INEEd, 2015). This resulted from a variety of initiatives including the expansion of pre-primary education services provided by ANEP, publicly funding private provision (e.g. CAIFs) and encouraging the expansion of the regulated independent private sector (see Chapter 1). Berlinski et al. (2008) studied the effect of pre-primary education on children's subsequent school outcomes in Uruguay. They found small gains from pre-primary education attendance at early ages that get magnified as children grow up. By age 15, children who attended pre-primary education have accumulated 0.8 extra years of education and are 27 percentage points more likely to be in school compared to their siblings who did not attend pre-primary education. The authors conclude that pre-primary education in Uruguay appears as a successful and cost-effective policy to prevent early failure. However, some progress is still needed regarding attendance at age 3 and below. For age 3, the net attendance rate reached only 64% in 2012 with important income-related inequities of access (see Chapter 1).

The extension of student learning time in primary education has also been a recent priority through the full-time schools programme and the extended-time schools programme (see Chapter 1). Both these programmes extend learning time relative to the typical four hours delivered by common schools and are offered in schools serving more disadvantaged student populations. However, full-time primary schooling in Uruguay remains underdeveloped as it covered only about 11% of primary education students in 2013. Cerdan-Infantes and Vermeersch (2007) assessed the impact of the full-time school programme in Uruguay on standardised test scores of Year 6 students. They show that students in very disadvantaged schools improved their performance in both mathematics and language as a result of their attendance of full-time schools. They conclude that, while the programme is expensive, it may, if well targeted, help address inequalities in education in Uruguay, at an increase in cost per student not larger than the then deficit in spending between Uruguay and the rest of the country.

Expansion has been considerably slower in secondary education. In 2013, the net attendance rate in lower secondary education was 75% while it only reached 43% in upper secondary education (INEEd, 2015). While this is not satisfactory, there have been some efforts to provide conditions for expansion at this level. In general programmes, in spite of the slight decrease in student numbers, the number of secondary schools (both public and private) has increased considerably between 2003 and 2014 (see Table 2.1), and at a higher rate outside Montevideo. This means that geographical access has improved in this period of time. In technical-professional secondary education, course offerings have expanded considerably which has led a growing share of students to select these programmes. The greater diversity of programmes allows the education system to provide better options to a greater variety of students, particularly those at a greater risk of dropping out. Technical-professional programmes are more and more a valid option for students to remain in the system at the secondary level. However, there might be some current constraints in

expanding the number of schools providing technical and professional programmes across the country. While making school attendance mandatory to the end of upper secondary education sends an important signal to families about the importance of education, its enforcement is clearly work in progress. Greater efforts in diversifying the supply of offerings at the secondary level, in supporting learning difficulties before and during secondary education and in granting better transitions between primary and secondary education are needed to attain universal attendance of secondary education.

Education policy gives good prominence to equity in education

Education policy in Uruguay is giving increasing prominence to equity in education. This is in recognition of the impact the socio-economic background of students has on their academic achievement. As explained in Chapter 1, according to the PISA 2012 survey, the Uruguayan education system is among those where the impact of the socio-economic status of parents on student performance is among the highest and the proportion of resilient students[1] is among the lowest. While the OECD average of the percentage of variance explained by socio-economic status in mathematics performance was 14.8%, in the case of Uruguay it was 22.8%, which was the fifth highest among PISA participating countries. And while the proportion of resilient students was 6.4% for the whole OECD area this percentage was only 2.1% in Uruguay (OECD, 2013b).

The recognition of equity challenges in education has led Uruguay to invest considerably in targeted programmes aimed at improving equity in education. The main approach is to provide greater resources to those students and schools with the greatest needs as a result of a given disadvantage. This is the case, in primary education, of the Community Teachers Programme and the Teacher + Teacher Programme and, in secondary education, of the Tutorials Project and Educational Commitment Programme (see Table 2.3). The focus is both on students from a disadvantaged background and with learning difficulties. This systematic support for disadvantage provides schools with greater opportunities to offer the necessary support for students with greater needs. There are also programmes targeted at individuals who have dropped out of school or are at risk of doing so, such as the Community Classrooms Programme and the "Uruguay Studies" programme (see Table 2.3).

This focus of policy on targeted programmes to improve equity in education is commendable. However, there are three aspects which require further reflection. First, most resources for equity are channelled through targeted educational programmes, especially in secondary education, while the regular funding of individual schools distributes few resources on the basis of the specific needs of schools (see Chapter 3). As explained in Chapter 3, the excessive reliance on education programmes might reduce the transparency of funding to schools while increasing the complexity of resource distribution. Second, other policy areas have not received enough attention in terms of the inequities they introduce in the system. Two examples are the high levels of student repetition in the system (highly correlated with disadvantage) and the way teachers are deployed to individual schools (which leads to an inequitable distribution of teachers across schools, see Chapter 5). Third, there is limited knowledge about educational disadvantage in the Uruguayan education system – little differential analysis is undertaken on student performance across specific groups such as students from disadvantaged families or those who live in a rural location. Also, no measures of equity in the education system have been developed so that progress towards reducing inequities can be monitored.

A number of initiatives are opening the way for a less centralised education governance system

As analysed below, the highly centralised approach to education governance in Uruguay raises concerns. In such a context, the few initiatives providing some leeway at the local level merit support. In a significant effort to decentralise educational governance, the CETP has created Regional Campuses (covering three or four departments each), which are involved in the region-level preparation of five-year budgets, the supervision of schools and the co-ordination of their offer (INEEd, 2015). The full scope of decisions which will eventually be delegated to the Regional Campuses is yet to be defined (INEEd, 2015). Also, in the CEIP school network, decentralisation has been promoted by departmental inspections which determine the allocation of specific educational programmes to schools and influence the assignment of special teaching personnel. In general secondary education, there are also plans to establish regional offices of the inspectorate (INEEd, 2015). Finally, Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education (*Comisión Coordinadora Departmental de la Educación*, CDE) bring together the main education players to discuss education priorities and co-ordinate education offerings within each department. However, they do not have decision-making powers. While incipient, these initiatives are opening the way to little by little give some autonomy to local players.

The creation of the National Institute for Educational Evaluation fills an important gap in the governance of the education system

A highly relevant development in education governance in Uruguay was the recent establishment of the National Institute for Education Evaluation (INEEd). This responded to the increasing social demand for an autonomous body to carry out reliable evaluations of the education system. INEEd performs a variety of functions: i) compiles key information for national monitoring (statistics and indicators); ii) evaluates the Uruguayan education system, producing the biennial "Report on the State of Education in Uruguay"; iii) co-ordinates and undertakes research studies in education; iv) evaluates the implementation of programmes and innovations; v) develops evaluation and assessment capacities in the system (improvement of practices and training for evaluation and assessment); and vi) contributes to the development of evaluation and assessment procedures and instruments. INEEd is also expected to provide suggestions for educational improvement.

INEEd brings an authoritative and autonomous voice to the analysis of the Uruguayan education system, highly credible for its expertise and technical capacity. It fills an important gap in the governance of the education system through its technical leadership (e.g. in developing methodologies, instruments, guidelines), its ability to develop evaluation capacity across the system (through training, disseminating best practices, and preparing evaluation materials) and its focus on building evidence to assess the impact of education policies and programmes. As such, INEEd has become a fundamental institution to improve checks and balances in an education system in which accountability at the system level remains limited (see below).

However, there are concerns of two types in the operation of INEEd. First, even if INEEd has the mandate to evaluate the Uruguayan education system, in practice the division of labour between the ANEP (through its Research, Evaluation and Statistics Division, ANEP-DIEE) and INEEd within the evaluation and assessment framework remains unclear. For instance, ANEP-DIEE develops statistics, indicators and student assessment instruments, all areas in which INEEd is also involved. While there is collaboration between ANEP-DIEE

and INEEd, it is often ambiguous how far INEEd can take its autonomy in leading educational evaluation activities in the country. Second, while INEEd has technical autonomy over its work, it remains dependent on the country educational authorities. Indeed, INEEd is supervised by a governing board with six members: two nominated by ANEP-CODICEN, two nominated by MEC, one nominated by the *Universidad de la República* and one nominated by a representative of school private providers. The reality is that any of the institutions making these nominations has a vested interest in the evaluation of the Uruguayan education system. This has the potential to greatly limit the independence of INEEd's work, including its judgments on the state of education in Uruguay.

The bases for the evaluation of the education system are being strengthened

A number of initiatives are strengthening the bases for the evaluation of the education system. First, references for the monitoring of the education system are being improved with the development of expected learning outcomes (also called "graduation profiles") at given education stages. These are now available for Year 3 and Year 6, specifying what students should know and be able to do at the end of Years 3 and 6 in four knowledge areas (languages, mathematics, natural sciences and social sciences) (see Chapter 1). Similarly, a working group formed by ANEP is developing expected learning outcomes for lower secondary education (INEEd, 2015). These more detailed reference standards for student learning are an important development in improving the ability of the education system to measure student performance.

Second, improved instruments for the national monitoring of student learning are being developed. In particular, as of 2015, INEEd is developing a national system to monitor student achievement in Year 3 to Year 9 focusing on the assessment of cognitive skills (problem solving, reading comprehension), socio-emotional skills and citizenship knowledge. These assessments are being developed in alignment with the expected learning outcomes. In addition, INEEd is contributing its technical expertise to the refinement of the education indicators framework.

Third, there is also some progress in developing data information systems. Increased attention has been placed to creating, collecting and making data available. The most significant example is the development by ANEP-CEIP of the Unified Management of Registry and Information (*Gestión Unificada de Registros e Información*, GURI), a computerised system to collect data from pre-primary and primary schools on students (e.g. enrolment, attendance, study progress), teachers (e.g. attendance, ratings by inspection) and non-teaching staff (attendance). This system simplifies the collection of data from schools, permits an easy updating, and facilitates the preparation of indicators at the school level. However, it is currently available only for pre-primary and primary schools. This is supported by the disclosure of some information about schools for the general public. A public Internet portal named "SIGANEP" (*www.sig.anep.edu.uy/siganep*), which was established by ANEP, publishes data on every pre-primary and primary school while providing schools' geographical location. Some basic information at the school level is also available from the Primary Education Monitor (*Monitor Educativo de Primaria*), established by ANEP-CEIP (*www.anep.edu.uy/monitor/servlet/inicio*).

Uruguay has benefitted from high levels of trust in education

Trust is essential for our wellbeing and the functioning of our societies, and education plays a key role in the development and maintenance of trust in our communities and

institutions (Borgonovi and Burns, 2015). As governments continue to struggle to recover from the financial crisis, the OECD has made it a priority to work on reinforcing the public's trust in government as well as understanding the key drivers of economic and social wellbeing. Trust in our education systems is an important component of this.

Historically Uruguay has benefitted from high levels of trust in education. The education system, and in particular primary education, was considered an essential pillar of the community and an important cornerstone to personal and societal development. Schools, teachers, and the system in general were highly trusted. A 2007 survey commissioned by the Inter-American Development Bank showed that not only did Uruguay have one of the highest levels of trust in education in the region, its citizens (along with those of Bolivia, Paraguay and Venezuela) reported levels of satisfaction similar to those of developed nations. Importantly, this was the case despite much lower achievement scores as measured by PISA (IDB, 2008). The explanation given for this at the time was twofold: i) that individuals with lower levels of education tended to rate the quality of education in their country more highly than those with more years of schooling; and ii) that parents appeared to focus on other elements than achievement when rating quality, such as whether the school is kept clean and well-disciplined (IDB, 2008).

The IDB report warned that without more pressure from the public to improve learning outcomes the government was unlikely to feel pressured to make essential reforms to improve education quality. Unquestioning or misplaced trust in education can thus play a negative role in pushing for improvements and creating the conditions for change, which in turn could lead to a sense of complacency. The decline in PISA scores in the 2012 test cannot, of course, be directly attributed to high levels of trust or the lack of public pressure for change, but they are suggestive.

The study of trust and satisfaction in the education system is thus an important indicator in and of itself, as well as a key element in understanding the governance and reform process (see Cerna (2014) for a fuller discussion). High trust and satisfaction in education is important on a number of dimensions, including the satisfaction and retention of teachers, relationships with the community, and support for the importance of education as a societal institution. It is on these levels that Uruguay traditionally benefitted from its historical high levels of trust.

Challenges

Education is faced with a fragmented governance structure with an ambiguous distribution of responsibilities

A major challenge in education in Uruguay concerns its institutional governance structure and the distribution of responsibilities to develop and implement school education policy. First, there is no clarity regarding who is responsible for defining education policy and who is ultimately held accountable for policy implementation and learning outcomes within the education system. This results from the ambiguity of roles between CODICEN and ANEP's education councils (CEIP, CES, CETP, CFE). While CODICEN co-ordinates the work of the four councils and is hierarchically above them, the councils are considered autonomous in their decisions (Mazzini et al., 2014). In practice, each education council operates quite autonomously *vis-à-vis* the CODICEN and the other councils; and the CODICEN maintains a collegial approach to the co-ordination with the councils. Yet the CODICEN negotiates the education budget with the government and is

held responsible for its use before the parliament. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education and Culture has a very limited role in the governance of school education as it does not have major policy instruments to be influential (except for its regulatory powers over part of private pre-primary education). Hence, the institutional governance structure is problematic because it does not clearly define the entity with the ultimate responsibility for the state of education in Uruguay. This has a number of challenges associated with it: unclear lines of responsibility, a lack of leadership for educational policy as a whole, and at times competition between the bodies for resources.

Second, the governance structure is highly fragmented as, in practice, each education council operates its subsystem (pre-primary and primary education; general secondary education; technical-professional secondary programmes; teacher training) in a rather independent manner. As a result, school education is not governed as a system, but as a number of rather isolated subsystems. Each area of policy (e.g. human resources, curriculum, budget, infrastructure, planning) is independently addressed within each education council – each council has independent units covering these policy areas while the CODICEN replicates the same units but with no oversight upon the corresponding units of the councils. This institutional design does not ensure enough co-ordination across educational levels and types (D'Avenia, 2014). The risk is the development of policies which are not coherent across the education system, duplication of efforts and resources not allocated efficiently. The fragmentation of education governance makes it difficult for subsystems to share resources and also hinders the smooth shift of resources from one subsystem to the other when needed in function of demographic changes, emerging new needs, existing inefficiencies and changing policy priorities (see also Chapter 3). Also, curricula and study plans vary across levels of education and types of programmes and there is little co-ordination between the different councils to define a curricular framework with common criteria and objectives for the education system as a whole. This lack of co-ordination can complicate students' transition through the education system and from one level to another.

Under such a governance structure, holistic "whole-system" change is difficult to implement. Although during the visit of the OECD review team the vast majority of actors were aware of the main challenges – and indeed in agreement with each other on what those main challenges were – change in education is tremendously difficult to achieve in Uruguay under the current governance structure. Ambiguity in education leadership together with accountability for education results not well targeted prevents any major reform in Uruguay's education system. Only small and incremental change is feasible under the current governance arrangements. This explains the multitude of educational programmes in operation (e.g. targeted at equity, ICT) to bypass the complex regular policy development process and the formation of a large array of committees bringing together the main actors (namely the education councils) to discuss specific policy challenges. In addition, and this is a direct result of fragmented governance and unclear lines of responsibility, there is a distinct lack of a mid-term or long-term vision for the system. In order to effect change and systemic improvement, the institutional governance structure must be addressed.

Education governance is overly centralised

As described above, schools and departments have little autonomy in Uruguay compared to OECD countries (see Figure 2.1). Both the CODICEN and the education councils strongly centralise the management of resources. Not only do central authorities manage school budgets, the recruitment of teachers and the allocation of infrastructure and

equipment but they also retain decision-making power over less fundamental aspects of school operation such as the acquisition of instructional materials, ad hoc repairs at schools and the approval of schools' special activities (e.g. educational or social meeting). According to Mancebo (2012), the Uruguayan education system has historically operated with high centralisation, both functionally and geographically and it has been characterised as "bureaucratic-hierarchical" with "excessive centralisation".

Little local and school autonomy hinders effectiveness in the use of resources as local authorities and schools are unable to match resources to their specific needs, and in consideration of their conditions and context. Also, responses from central educational authorities to an emerging school need can prove very slow, as when an emergency infrastructure situation arises at a school. In addition, limited autonomy disempowers school and local actors. For instance, school leaders are limited in their ability to address challenges and, as they lack tools and own resources, they might then not take full responsibility for school improvement. Also, to the extent that the responsibility for resource management is not decentralised, regional structures such as the Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education (CDE) do not have effective tools to operate effectively. Limited autonomy also makes it more difficult to hold local players accountable, in particular school leaders, as they do not have the responsibility to take most of the decisions (e.g. selecting teachers; use of teacher resources) that have an impact on student learning outcomes. Besides, as local actors (namely school principals) have limited leeway on the operation of schools, they have few opportunities to build their capacity to guide and lead school development. Currently, they tend to be more representatives of central education authorities who execute given national norms. Finally, limited autonomy at the local level constrains the potential for pedagogical innovation at individual schools.

In this context, there has been a growing political consensus in Uruguay of the need to give schools greater autonomy. The public discussion is on-going and focuses on the scope of decentralisation, areas of autonomy for schools, strategies to build capacity to exercise autonomy and the need to introduce a number of accountability requirements at the school level (INEEd, 2015).

The institutionalised co-administration of the school system with teachers raises concerns

A rather unique feature of school education governance in Uruguay is the institutionalised co-administration of the school system with teachers. Indeed, teachers elect representatives to CODICEN (two out of the five members) and to each individual education council (one out of the three members for each council). Therefore, in practice, teachers are directly involved in the development of school education policy, including in those decisions that directly concern the interests of individual teachers. The direct involvement of teachers in the administration of the school system is debatable as, inevitably, they do have a vested interest in the system. Clearly, such practice enables corporate interests to influence the development of education policy. The risk is that some education policies might be biased to favour the interests of the teaching workforce. As a result, the education system risks being more teacher-centred than student-centred. For example, as analysed in Chapter 5, one of the consequences of the current approach to the recruitment and deployment of teachers (based on the individual preferences of teachers and their seniority) is the inequitable distribution of teachers across schools (in terms of their qualifications).

Not surprisingly, the co-administration with teachers is a source of debate in Uruguay. A number of groups propose removing the elected representatives of teachers from education governance while others propose the redefinition of their responsibilities in the education councils (e.g. participation on an advisory role and with no vote) (INEEd, 2015).

There is a lack of strategic planning based on evidence and analysis and little accountability at the system level

In Uruguay, strategic planning and policy development in education is not sufficiently informed by research evidence and analysis. Not including the results of international assessments such as PISA, the OECD review team did not see much evidence of a systematic strategy to incorporate the results of education research, either Uruguayan or international, into the policy process. This is not unique to Uruguay. In many OECD countries the gap between educational researchers and policy makers is wide, and the role of research in shaping policy is inconsistent or weak (OECD, 2007). Also, there is no tradition in Uruguay of evaluating the impact of specific policies or programmes. While some isolated examples exist (e.g. assessing the impact of the CEIBAL Plan, see Chapter 3), impact analysis of policy interventions is not systematic. An evaluation strategy is also not typically conceived at the time of the design of an educational programme. However, some programmes such as the Community Teachers Programme, the Educational Commitment Programme and the Community Classrooms programme have monitoring mechanisms which were part of their original design. The development of pilots before full implementation is also not usual practice in Uruguay.

However, considerable progress is being made by INEEd, which is leading a research agenda which seeks to capitalise on the education research community to inform education policy making. INEEd undertakes analysis of available data on education in Uruguay, commissions specific work from education researchers and promotes the discussion of education research.

In addition, data information systems to inform educational planning remain limited. There are encouraging initiatives such as the Unified Management of Registry and Information (GURI), but it is limited to pre-primary and primary education and collects a narrow range of data on students and teachers. There are no data information systems linking resources to programmes or education results or providing information on the resources allocated to each school, even if work on this has started within the ANEP. The existing databases are not sufficiently integrated to facilitate system level analysis. Similar databases (e.g. on teachers and their working conditions) co-exist across education councils (INEEd, 2015). The integration of the distinct databases was under development at the time of the writing of this report. The objective is to integrate accounting, budget, salary information together with information on students and school staff across the education councils. As Uruguay continues to build its data collection and dissemination system, it must also take into account the capacities necessary in order to effectively use those data.

Another major challenge is the little accountability at the system level for educational results. At the time of the OECD review visit, educational authorities did not establish education targets with a given time horizon (e.g. coverage rate in upper secondary to be reached by 2020) and few instruments existed to monitor student learning outcomes overtime and assess the educational progress of cohorts of students. This has now changed as the ANEP established annual targets for the period 2016-20 in its 2015-19 Budget Plan (ANEP, 2015). This document establishes targets for 61 indicators in a range of areas

(e.g. percentage of students attending full-time schools; number of graduates from initial teacher education) (see Chapter 7 in ANEP, 2015). Sample-based national tests conducted every three years in Year 6 in language, mathematics and science are the main instrument to assess learning outcomes while INEEd is currently developing a national system to monitor student achievement in Year 3 to Year 9 assessing a greater variety of skills. Also, as elaborated in Chapter 3, the execution of public spending in education is not evaluated against educational results. This significantly reduces the accountability of elected officials in charge of education. However, INEEd's work in analysing the state of education in Uruguay, reflected in a biennial publication, is a major progress in introducing system-level accountability.

There are a range of areas in which demand is likely not to be met

Enrolment in pre-primary education is low

As illustrated earlier, enrolment in early childhood education (age three and below) is low and associated with ability to pay. For age three, the net attendance rate reached only 64% in 2012 with important income-related inequities of access. This might be related to insufficient supply, especially for the more disadvantaged families. As shown in Table 1.3, provision for children aged three and below is mostly private, 40% of which without public funding.

The provision of special needs education is inadequate

Provision of services for special needs students is underdeveloped in Uruguay. These are mostly provided in special schools, which exist only at the primary education level. In 2014, only about 3% of primary education students were identified as having special educational needs. Of these, within the public sector, only about 2% were in special classes offered at mainstream schools. The remaining 98% were placed in special schools, the great majority of which target disabilities (see Table 2.4). About two-thirds of students with special needs are in public special schools and the remaining students in private special schools. Within the last decade, provision for special education students has expanded in the private sector and contracted in the public sector (see Table 2.4). There are possibly large numbers of disabled and special needs children who are not in any school, special or mainstream, and receiving little or no useful education in their own homes. This is particularly the case at the post-primary level even if many (primary) special schools attend for older students with special needs.

Table 2.4. **Number of special schools and students with special needs, 2003 and 2014**

	2003	2014	Percentage change
Number of special schools	**144**	**148**	**2.8**
Public	80	79	-1.2
Private	64	69	7.8
Number of students with special needs	**10 652**	**9 999**	**-6.1**
Public	8 884	6 638	-25.3
Special schools	8 629	6 507	-24.6
Special classes in mainstream schools	255	131	-48.6
Private	1 768	3 361	90.1

Source: MEC (2003, 2014), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación* (Education Statistical Yearbook), 2003 and 2014 editions, *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

Clearly, services for special education students have received very little attention in Uruguay and strategies to integrate students with special needs in mainstream schools are practically non-existent. Mainstream schools in Uruguay do not appear to be making enough progress in accommodating children with special needs. In separate special schools, students might have fewer opportunities to access the full curriculum, interact with other children and develop the abilities and potential that they share with other children. The dominant trend in developed countries is to move towards more integrated education and this is accompanied by the functional transformation of special needs schools from primary service providers to special education students to providers of professional support for mainstream schools inclusively educating students with special educational needs. A meta-analysis found that including special needs students within regular classrooms had neutral to positive effects on the achievement of their classmates (Ruijs and Peetsma, 2009).

There is a low level capacity of the system to provide inclusive or integrated education. The limited capacities of schools and teachers to provide integrated education, based on innovative pedagogies supporting teaching in heterogeneous classes, and providing individualised attention create constraints that push the system to rely on special schools to respond to the needs of special education students. Mainstream schools lack skilled personnel and assistant teachers necessary to make the integration of special needs students a success. In Uruguay, teachers in mainstream schools do not seem prepared to cope with the presence of special education children in their classrooms. This is in spite of the fact that children with special needs often attend mainstream schools with no dedicated and specialised support.

Demand for full-time schooling is not met

As of 2013, only about 11% of primary education students attended a full-time or extended-time school – the great majority of students attended a school offering only four hours of classes a day. There is a clear perception that there is a higher demand for full- or extended-time schools than can currently be accommodated. At the same time, the government intends to expand full-time education services in primary education.

A range of constraints make it difficult to meet demand for secondary education

The expansion of secondary education faces a range of constraints, particularly in technical-professional programmes. These include lack or inadequate infrastructure, limited equipment (particularly in technical-professional programmes) and lack of qualified teachers. New infrastructure has included prefabricated buildings or loan of buildings which are owned by departmental governments.

An additional major constraint is the inadequacy of the diversity of offers in secondary education to accommodate the interests and characteristics of students. This is rendered more difficult by the lack of qualified teachers. For example, both the technological and the professional baccalaureate programmes provide neither education in the arts, physical education nor citizenship. Like lower secondary education, these programmes also do not offer workplace learning, although schools may organise projects with business and industry for final year students as the review team learned. Workplace learning can have many benefits, including better school to work transitions for young people (OECD, 2010).

Student career guidance services appear insufficient

Career guidance or career counselling that help students choose between different tracks and programmes is not systematically available in schools in Uruguay, but schools may organise their own guidance initiatives as the OECD review team learned during its visit. One primary school, for instance, worked together with a general secondary school to organise visits and orientation days. The National Youth Institute (*Instituto Nacional de la Juventud*, INJU) organises career guidance workshops (*talleres de orientación vocacional*) for young people aged 14-22 with a special focus on facilitating young people's choice between different programmes in secondary education. This includes the organisation of a career exhibition (*Expo Educa*) in the interior and in Montevideo and of 30 workshops in Montevideo.[2] Overall, however, student career guidance services appear insufficient to systematically assist students in making their study choices and in convincing them of the benefits of education.

There is a variety of sources of inefficiency

Year repetition is an ineffective pedagogical practice

A major source of inefficiency in the Uruguayan school system concerns the very high rates of year repetition. According to PISA 2012, the percentage of students reporting that they have repeated a year in primary, lower secondary or upper secondary education was 37.9% in Uruguay against an OECD average of 12.4% (Argentina: 36.2%; Brazil: 36.1%; Chile: 25.2%; Colombia: 40.6%; Costa Rica: 33.5%; Mexico: 15.5%; Peru: 27.5%) (OECD, 2013a). National data also reveal high levels of year repetition (Table 2.5). In primary education, year repetition rates have been decreasing in the last decade, from 10.3% in 2002 to 5.4% in 2013. Interestingly, they tend to be considerably higher in Year 1 (13.4% in 2013) and decrease for higher years to a low of 1.4% in Year 6 (in 2013, see Table 2.5). In lower secondary education, year repetition rates are very high: between 25% and 30% in Years 7 to 9 in 2013 (see Table 2.5). In the last decade, they have increased considerably, for instance in Year 7 from 22.2% in 2002 to 30.0% in 2013, which is possibly explained by the expansion of coverage. Year repetition rates are negatively associated with the socio-economic

Table 2.5. **Year repetition rates in public primary and lower secondary education, 2002, 2008 and 2013**

	2002 (%)	2008 (%)	2013 (%)
Primary education	**10.3**	**6.2**	**5.4**
Year 1	20.1	13.8	13.4
Year 2	12.8	7.9	7.2
Year 3	9.3	5.6	4.6
Year 4	7.5	4.4	3.4
Year 5	5.9	3.6	2.5
Year 6	2.7	1.7	1.4
Lower secondary education	..	..	..
Year 7	22.2	28.1	30.0
Year 8	20.8	22.4	25.0
Year 9	21.2	25.0	28.2

..: Not available.

Note: Data for lower secondary education do not include rural schools with Years 7, 8 and 9 and exclude evening schools.

Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

context of schools. For example, in public primary schools, in 2013 the repetition rate in Year 1 for schools in the lowest quintile of the socio-economic index was three times higher than the equivalent rate for schools in the highest quintile of the socio-economic index (21.1% against 7.2%). Also, the equivalent repetition rate in private primary schools was 2.6% in the same year (INEEd, 2015).

In public upper secondary education, the available data refer to "non-promotion rates" – i.e. the proportion of students who do not progress to the following year level within the same type of programme (general or technical-professional). It should be noted that, if a student is not promoted, it might move to another type of programme or drop-out of the school system. In 2013, no-promotion rates were very high: 43.2% in general programmes (34.0% in Year 10, 40.3% in Year 11 and 55.4% in Year 12); and 36.6% in technical-professional programmes (INEEd, 2015).

High rates of year repetition raise important concerns. First, they are not compatible with a student centred educational system as it extensively involves branding students a failure at different stages of schooling, including in the very early stages of learning. Second, it runs counter to the need for teachers to have the highest possible expectations of what children can achieve if they always have the possibility of retention in the back of their minds for children who do not respond well to their teaching. Third, the direct costs for school systems are very high, as these include providing an additional year of education and delaying entry to the labour market by a year. According to PISA data, in Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain the direct costs of year repetition account for more than 8% of the annual expenditure on primary and secondary education (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.1.6).

The extensive use of year repetition in Uruguay is not supported by the vast body of literature that reports that the academic benefits of year retention are slight and short-lived while the financial costs of year repetition are large for both individuals and society (OECD, 2012). Reviews of the research literature by Brophy (2006) and Xia and Kirby (2009) concluded the following about school-imposed year repetition:

- It improves academic achievement temporarily, but over time, year repeaters fall further and further behind other low achievers who were promoted.
- It is stressful to students and associated with reduced self-esteem, impairs peer relationships, increases alienation from school, and sharply increases likelihood of eventual dropout.
- It makes classes larger and harder to manage for teachers and creates budgetary and equity problems for schools and school systems.

Research in both France and the United States suggests that social background, independent of school attainment, is an important determinant of repeating. This may be due to behavioural difficulties associated with social background, or because educated parents are in a stronger position to oppose a repetition proposed by the school. Therefore year repetition may also pose risks for equity in terms of bias based on social background (Field et al., 2007), as seems to be the case in Uruguayan schools. Also, the costs of repetition for the education budget are substantial given the extra expenditure incurred in the repeated year and the opportunity costs of one year of the student's time. This is exacerbated by the fact that schools have very few incentives to take these large costs into account. In summary, year repetition is ineffective and costly; this has both efficiency and equity implications (Field et al., 2007; OECD, 2012). Nonetheless, many countries have been

trying to eliminate repetition, but in many cases the perverse effect has been that students move forward in their schooling without acquiring the expected learning (Torres, 1995; Schiefelbein and Wolff, 1992).

School completion rates are low and increasing slowly

Drop-out rates in secondary education remain high. In 2013, the net attendance rates in lower and upper secondary education were only 75% and 43% respectively (INEEd, 2015). A study conducted in Montevideo shows that, by 2014, of the students who took the PISA assessment in 2009, only 42.9% had completed upper secondary education; 42.6% had dropped out without completing lower secondary education; 12.2% were attending upper secondary education; and 2.3% were attending lower secondary education (IDB, 2015).

The rate of completion of lower secondary education stood at 53.3% and 68.1% in 2013 for individuals aged 15-17 and 18-20 respectively (see Table 2.6). More worrisome, they reflect little progress from the completion rates observed in 2006 (52.0% and 67.4% respectively). Completion rates are considerably lower in upper secondary education. In 2013, they stood at 27.8%, 39.0% and 39.3% for individuals aged 18-20, 21-23 and 24-29 respectively. They also reflect little progress *vis-à-vis* completion rates in 2006 (see Table 2.6).

Table 2.6. **Rates of completion of secondary education by age range, 2002, 2008 and 2013**

Age range	2006 (%)	2010 (%)	2013 (%)
Lower secondary education			
15-17 years	52.0	50.2	53.3
18-20 years	67.4	66.8	68.1
Upper secondary education			
18-20 years	23.9	25.3	27.8
21-23 years	35.4	35.8	39.0
24-29 years	33.8	34.9	39.3

Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

According to data from the 2012 and 2013 household survey, the main revealed reason for early school leaving is lack of interest, for all age segments surveyed (15-17, 18-20, 21-23, 24-26 and 27-29), although with age increase this reason decreases in importance and other reasons gain in importance. For people aged 24-29 the lack of interest had almost as much influence as the intention to work or situations of pregnancy (own or partner) when deciding to drop out of secondary education. Overall, this might indicate that the supply of education services at the secondary level is not adequate to match the interests and characteristics of young people (INEEd, 2015).

Little attention has been given to the organisation of the school network

Also, the monitoring and planning of the school network is limited. There are quite a number of very small schools with small classes which do not offer a rich learning experience to students. As shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, in public primary education, while the student population decreased about 18% between 2003 and 2014, the number of schools decreased only 1.4% while the number of teachers actually increased 13.4%. As a result the average size of the 1 111 public rural schools in operation in 2014 became

13.4 students (from 15.6 students in 2003). In 2013, there were about 500 schools with fewer than ten students in primary education (INEEd, 2015). A rural primary school remains open as long as it has at least one student. A good aspect to the reduction of class size in primary education is the opportunity to extend student learning time. Also, in public general secondary education, while the number of students decreased 8.7% between 2003 and 2014, the number of schools increased about 36%. While data are not available, it is likely that some secondary schools, particularly outside Montevideo, have small classes and possible a lower diversity of subjects on offer.

This situation arises because there has not been a review of the school network to assess the need for some re-organisation of local educational supply and no major school transportation strategies have been developed. A school network populated with a large number of small schools might not be the most cost-effective option to deliver education services in rural and remote areas. The preponderance of small schools is driven by the objective of granting every village the operation of a school, despite the presence of many small schools within a short distance of each other, without sufficient regard to the quality, equity and efficiency of the education services provided. Students in small schools tend to suffer from poorer learning environments. Some evidence suggests that the teaching quality in small schools might be lower and thus calls into question the benefits that could accrue from lower student-to-teacher ratios. As analysed in Chapter 5, better qualified teachers are less likely to work in disadvantaged schools. Also, initial teacher education programmes might not prepare teachers for the specific challenges that they will face in small schools, such as multi-year teaching (see Chapter 5), whilst international research shows that effective multi-year teaching requires capable teachers with a specific preparation to teach in these environments and additional resources, such as different types of instructional materials (Mariano and Kirby, 2009; Veenman, 1995; Burns and Mason, 2002). The availability and quality of instructional materials and equipment in small schools might also be more limited. Overall, there is a lack of clear strategic vision to improve education service delivery in rural and remote areas which might hinder the overall performance of the education system.

Transitions between education levels are ineffective

To a great extent as a result of the segmented nature of education governance (with different education councils administrating independently the different levels and types of school education), there is little co-ordination of education provision across education levels and types. Curricula are not articulated across educational levels and types, which does not facilitate student transitions between primary and lower secondary education; lower and upper secondary education; and general and technical-professional programmes. This is undesirable, especially in a country with high drop-out rates. However, the government which took office in 2015 intends to promote the development of a common curriculum framework for all levels of education between pre-primary and lower secondary education. At the upper secondary level, in order to improve completion rates, pressing issues include offering a greater diversity of courses, giving the curriculum more flexibility, and promoting greater mobility between general and technical-professional programmes.

A range of other sources of inefficiency exist

Other areas in which efficiencies can be produced are the management of human resources (with the need for more autonomy at the local level, the concerns that the allocation of teachers resources to schools raise, and teacher absenteeism) (see Chapter 5),

the completion rates in initial teacher education (see Chapter 5), the lack of co-ordination across education levels and types (see above) and the little use of evaluation results to generate improvement of practices at the school level (see Chapter 4).

Local capacity for reform implementation is limited

As education systems must increasingly respond to new societal, economic and individual needs, it is arguably the local level that is most challenged by these developments. It is at this level that education policies must be implemented, and it is here that they either succeed or fail. A key element of successful policy reform implementation is ensuring that local stakeholders such as policy makers, school leaders, teachers and parents have sufficient capacity to carry out their tasks. In particular, they need adequate knowledge of educational policy goals and of the consequences that implementing these policy goals will have for their respective environments, and they need the tools to implement them as planned. Without these, the best policy reform risks being derailed at the level where it counts most: in the classroom.

Although Uruguay has started to take some steps to provide more local autonomy in some areas, for example through departmental inspections for CEIP, regional campuses for CETP and the creation of Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education (see Chapter 1), these steps are still very limited. There is a need to give more autonomy to local actors, both departments and schools (see above). As this progress continues, Uruguay would benefit from an explicit focus on capacity building on all levels of the system, and for all major actors, including policy makers themselves. One key point: while capacity building measures are frequently used to intervene where implementation has been unsuccessful, their impact is greatest when they are integrated into the policy planning phase from the start (Hopfenbeck et al., 2013).

An interesting example of proactive system-wide capacity building comes from the certification programme in Colombia (see Box 2.1).

Box 2.1. **Explicit capacity building in Colombia: the certification of municipalities**

In Colombia a certification system was established in 1991 as an *ex ante* approach to assessing public sector capacity to deliver services. A government-wide initiative, each sector (education, health, and water and sanitation) had its own requirements, with municipal certification determined jointly by the departmental planning offices and the relevant sector ministries.

Due to the success of the programme Law 715 was passed in 2001 to further refine the process. Certification is extended by the department except for municipalities with over 100 000 population, which are now certified automatically (World Bank, 2005). Certified municipalities can:

- manage their own education funding, received directly from the national level
- appoint teachers (as long as the cost is covered by the funding received) and
- enter into contracts with accredited private providers as long as the cost per student is not greater than that of public providers (if the cost is higher the municipality can still contract the private providers but cannot use the funds from the central government transfer) (World Bank, 2005).

Box 2.1. **Explicit capacity building in Colombia: the certification of municipalities** *(cont.)*

Although initially meant to be a proactive way of certifying capacity at the local level, over time the process has resulted in most municipalities being certified. The main role of the process now is to allow for the decertification of municipalities with obvious capacity problems (Bird, 2012, p. 20).

This is an interesting example for Uruguay as it demonstrates how explicitly capacity building might be introduced into the system to allow for greater flexibility and local autonomy, without radically changing the governance structure. Education in Colombia is still monitored and steered on the national level by the Ministry of National Education, through funding provided by the Ministry of Finance. Further analysis is available in a review of the Colombian education system (OECD, 2016).

Source: OECD (2016), *Education in Colombia*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264250604-en*.

So what does building local capacity mean, concretely? What skills are required? Local policy makers often need to serve as mediators between other local level actors as well as those at regional and central levels. One of their main tasks is to provide upper levels of government with knowledge of what is actually happening on the local level, and what the needs and challenges are of day-to-day education. In Uruguay, inspectors constitute an example of a group at the local level feeding back the national education authorities with information about local practices and circumstances. In order to do this, they use different sources of knowledge, including the experiences of local actors in defining and solving problems in schools and classrooms. It is important to facilitate and strengthen the ways in which local educational policy makers gather and transmit this feedback and knowledge to other levels of government. The source of the knowledge (e.g. practitioner expertise, programme evaluation, parent committee reports, etc.) is also key. Without strong knowledge gathering and transmission on the part of local policy makers, emerging policies and their implementation will be lacking an essential element of feedback.

Being able to do this is a nuanced skill and process which requires local policy makers to have the requisite connections to relevant stakeholders, the forums and capacities to gather this information, and the ability to formalise and make explicit what is often tacit or procedural knowledge. While this is often overlooked, some countries have put considerable resources into facilitating such forums of exchange and capacity building for local policy makers. Germany, for example, launched a federal programme called "*Lernen vor Ort*" (Learning on the Local Level) in 2009. This programme brings together 46 operating foundations in education which help 40 model communes to manage their education programmes and build networks for knowledge transfers across regions (Busemeyer and Vossiek, 2015). Although a relatively recent initiative, this is one of a set of promising programmes across OECD countries that explicitly try and build capacity in this area (see Box 2.2).

There is not enough attention to implementation aspects of education policy

A further challenge is that there is a strong legalistic administrative tradition in Uruguay. This tradition is characterised by an overemphasis on the role of legal instruments in policy-making and a relative neglect of implementation aspects. This was illustrated during the interviews of the OECD review team. When talking about specific education problems and possible solutions to these problems the interlocutors of the OECD

Box 2.2. **Reforming education governance through local capacity building in Germany**

Against a background of promoting national policy priorities at the local level, the German federal government enacted the "*Lernen vor Ort*" [LvO – "Learning Locally"] programme. The programme supported local governments in building capacities for education monitoring and management as well as creating sustainable networks between local administrations and civil society actors. The LvO programme ran from September 2009 until August 2014 and provided a total sum of EUR 100 million to support local districts and municipalities in setting up network structures and developing capacities. Districts and municipalities had to compete for funding and their participation was entirely voluntary.

One innovative element is that LvO required participating localities to co-operate intensely with philanthropic foundations by involving them in local governance structures of the programme. Furthermore, LvO aimed at mobilising the political support of the heads of local government by allowing only local governments to submit proposals (and not other local institutions) with the aim of ensuring the sustainability of programme elements beyond the end of the official funding period.

The LvO programme is a good example of a specific policy tool that central governments can use to build capacity at the local level. In particular, when formal decision-making power is limited as it is in the case of the German federal government in education policy, the central government can set up competitive funding schemes on a model or experimental basis, which can be taken up by local governments voluntarily. The study provides insights into the effectiveness of this voluntary approach to supporting local governments in improving steering capacities.

Source: Busemeyer, M. and J. Vossiek (2015), "Reforming Education Governance through Local Capacity-building: A Case Study of the "Learning Locally" Programme in Germany", *OECD Education Working Papers*, No. 113, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5js6bhl2mxjg-en*.

review team typically referred to education laws and very rarely mentioned "soft" policy instruments. References to instruments such as incentives, development interventions, and the use of feedback mechanisms or capacity building were seldom made.

A legalistic approach might be inadequate when the nature of the policy problem requires solutions applied gradually in function of the development of capacities or other contextual features. For example inclusive education of children with special needs in mainstream schools can be successful only when a critical mass of teachers possesses the adequate competences which can be acquired only through professional learning. These are complex professional competences, learning them requires time, they spread across schools and among teachers only gradually and they cannot be mandated. An implication of this is that the spreading of inclusive education can be made only gradually, and this happens only if there is a sustained strong policy support for this process. A legalistic approach, which often forces teachers and schools to provide inclusive education from one day to another following the adoption of relevant legal rules and which does not provide strong and sustained professional support in the implementation phase cannot be successful in this and similar policy areas.

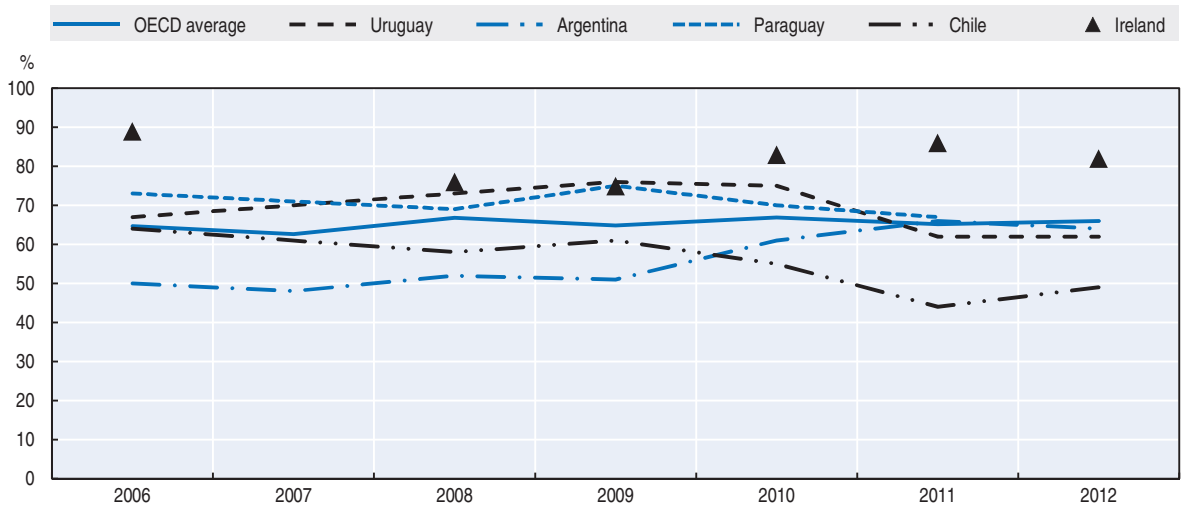
Levels of trust in education are decreasing

In world surveys, trust levels vary widely across countries and across time. Ireland, for example, consistently has had high levels of confidence in education, with over 82% of

respondents reporting themselves satisfied in 2012. Finland and Iceland also have consistently high levels of trust in education. In contrast, Brazil, Chile, Greece and the Russian Federation have some of the lowest levels.

Figure 2.2 graphs the level of trust in education in Uruguay along with selected regional comparisons such as Argentina, Chile and Paraguay. Of special interest is the change across time, with Uruguay consistently at or above the OECD average from 2006 to 2010. In 2011 the proportion responding satisfied dropped from 75% to 62%, a reduction that continued the following year. This is a rather dramatic change, all the more so as it took place at the same time as levels of trust were remaining steady across the OECD and indeed were increasing in neighbouring countries such as Argentina.

Figure 2.2. **Trust in education, Uruguay and selected comparison countries, 2006-12**



Source: Gallup (n.d), Gallup World Survey Data, Confidence in Education 2006-12, *www.gallup.com*.

What does this mean? In the OECD review team's interviews, a lack of trust in education was identified by a number of stakeholders as one of the central challenges facing the system. Although trust in education was still considered relatively high for primary schools, the secondary level was most often identified as the one suffering from the lowest levels of trust. This was argued to have an impact on the public's willingness to support changes and reforms to the system, as well as the functioning of the system itself. Indeed, there is a large body of research that supports this argument (see Cerna, 2014, p. 28 for full discussion and original citations):

- High levels of trust among education stakeholders (i.e. between teachers themselves, teachers and students, teachers and parents and all of these and the school principals) have a positive effect on school reform, collaboration, leadership and achievement including student performance and schooling;
- In schools with high levels of trust parents are more likely to be included in school-level decision-making and teachers are more likely to collaborate with one another on classroom-level decisions, peer and collaborative learning, and professional development (for one example, see Box 2.3).

Because of this, improving public trust in education and trust within the education system itself is a high priority in many OECD countries. A number of interesting initiatives

Box 2.3. **Trust, communication and professional learning communities in Alberta (Canada)**

The Alberta Initiative for School Improvement (AISI) was implemented from 1999 to 2013 to produce system-wide educational change through innovation and improvement at the local level. Alberta allocated 2% of its education budget to AISI. Through this initiative, teachers in 95% of the province's schools were engaged in designing and then evaluating their own innovations in teaching and learning. The provincial government and the teacher union (Alberta Teachers' Association) supported and initiated this project. As a condition of involvement, teachers were required to share what they had learned with other local and national schools.

Many schools used the AISI budget to purchase teachers' time to spend with other teachers inquiring into practice together. In the later years of AISI, many of the projects focused specifically on building professional learning communities. The time and expectation for teachers to collaborate on improving professional practice was resourced on a continuous basis so that it became a major part of the work of teaching and of the definition of what it meant to be a professional. The initiative invested high trust in the professional judgments of teachers and principals.

The school improvement initiative became a success, due to a degree of mutual trust within schools between principals and teachers, in communities between schools and parents, and in the province between districts and the provincial government. The AISI partnership resulted in the building of trust, collaboration, and teamwork among the education partners.

Source: Cerna, L. (2014), "Trust: What it is and Why it Matters for Governance and Education", *OECD Education Working Papers*, No. 108, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jxswcg0t6wl-en*; Hargreaves, A. et al. (2009), *The Learning Mosaic: A Multiple Perspectives Review of the Alberta Initiative for School Improvement (AISI)*, Alberta Education, Edmonton.

have been developed to build and maintain trust in education over time, and to restore it if it is lost. Work on country examples of rebuilding trust is ongoing as part of the OECD Governing Complex Education Systems project.[3] A synthesis and mapping of country experiences currently includes examples from Belgium (Flemish Community), Finland, Japan, Korea, Israel, Mexico, the Netherlands, Portugal and the Slovak Republic.

Policy recommendations

Clarify responsibilities for education and integrate policy across education levels

There is a need to clarify responsibilities in the school education sector and define who is ultimately held accountable for policy implementation and learning outcomes. Two major difficulties need to be overcome: i) the ambiguity of roles between the CODICEN and the education councils; and ii) the fragmentation of school education governance by education levels and types (as defined by each education council). The objective is to clarify responsibilities, strengthen system leadership and ensure a holistic approach to education policy development (whole-system approach). A first step is to concentrate ultimate responsibility and accountability in a single body which would lead the development of school education policy. The most natural such body in Uruguay is the CODICEN, which should have its responsibilities reinforced *vis-à-vis* the individual education councils. This would involve making each education council subordinate to the CODICEN. Each education council could become a department below the CODICEN or, rather, the education councils

could be discontinued and its units integrated in the equivalent CODICEN units (e.g. budget and planning; human resources management; infrastructure). This approach would define the entity to be held accountable for the state of education in Uruguay; reduce unnecessary duplication; provide the potential for better co-ordination across education levels and types; establish closer linkages between funding, resource allocation and accountability; facilitate the alignment between education strategic objectives and school-level management; reduce ambiguities in defining who is responsible for what; and assist with medium- and long-term planning in education.

Another priority to improve school education governance in Uruguay is to review the pertinence of the institutionalised co-administration with teachers. It is conceptually debatable that an education governance system has, among its administrators, representatives of a group which clearly has a vested interest in the system. Given the high risks this approach poses for the neutrality of education policy development, the OECD review team recommends its discontinuation. Teachers have respected organisations which represent them – teacher unions and professional associations – and these should be part of consultation processes as education policies are developed and implemented. The key fundamental aspect which needs to be respected is that the views and perspectives of teachers are taken into account in education reform processes, a principle that is valid for other groups such as students, parents, employers or school leaders. However, there is no valid rationale to involve teachers as decision-makers when decisions have a direct impact on their interests. An education system should be student-centred and the risk of the co-administration with teachers is that, instead, it becomes teacher-centred.

Another pending task in shaping school education governance in Uruguay is defining the complementarity of the role of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). While it is not clear why the MEC should retain its regulatory role in private early childhood and pre-primary education (functions that could be integrated within ANEP to reinforce a more holistic public policy at these levels), it could have its co-ordination/consultation role reinforced. A possibility would be for MEC to become the main body organising consultations among the main education agencies and relevant stakeholders to discuss and agree long-term strategies for education in Uruguay. The MEC could use the analyses of INEEd, secondary analysis of education indicators, results from education research and position papers by relevant education stakeholders to foster the internal debate among education players about major challenges in Uruguayan education, areas for further education investment, adjustments to education policy and long-term ambitions for education in Uruguay. The objective would be to build a range of consensuses among education players and offer these as recommendations for ANEP to include in education policy development. MEC could become the main forum for policy consultation on the basis of the evidence generated by the system and offer the generated consensuses as feedback for policy development by ANEP.

One of the best examples of the successful implementation of whole system reform can be found in Hong Kong. Jensen et al. (2012) studied the intensive process, which first involved the identification of the main challenges for the system through an intensive consultation process. A system-wide plan was then developed, goals were laid out clearly and exhaustively before implementation and detailed timelines given to all stakeholders. 42 measures were created to support teachers, schools and administrators with each measure being explicitly described and clearly explained as part of a single comprehensive

overhaul. All stakeholders were made aware of what would take place and when, and, most importantly, they were told why a given approach was being taken.

The reforms were not always popular, but strong leaders from multiple sectors – politics, business, and academia – joined to put forward a coherent vision of where Hong Kong was and where it needed to go (Snyder, 2013). Implementation of the programme began in 2000 and is scheduled to conclude in 2016. Despite this long timeline, the Hong Kong authorities have adhered faithfully to the plans developed during the initial consultation and development phases. This long-term view, often absent from reform approaches, is a key element for successful system development. It takes into account the complexity of the system by allowing time for rich feedback to accrue and for the system to evolve in response (Snyder, 2013). It can also reduce "reform fatigue" amongst actors and lead to greater stability within a system (Hopfenbeck et al., 2013).

While this radical a change may not be very feasible in the Uruguayan system as it is currently constructed, it is useful to isolate some of the key elements necessary for effective strategic planning, such as (adapted from OECD, 2009):

- clear responsibilities and governance structures
- strong leadership
- agreement on the necessity for change and developing a sense of urgency for that change
- engagement with a broad variety of actors, including parents and community members
- strong mechanisms for ongoing evaluation and monitoring of reform efforts, including feedback mechanisms that guide and refine implementation
- a clear timeline for change with clearly established goals and mechanisms for communicating both the goals and the progress towards those goals on an on-going basis.

Reforms taken without these conditions being met will run the risk of poor implementation, or worse, active resistance on the part of teachers and schools, or parents and the community. Effective modern governance incorporates these strategic planning techniques into normal operations. However it is important to get the strategy right, as both inaction and the wrong action can lead to costly mistakes. In this sense there is a rich opportunity to learn from a dramatic reform process in Sweden, which did not yield the intended results over the long-term (see Box 2.4).

Box 2.4. **Strategic vision and 20 years of education devolution in Sweden**

Starting in the 1990s, the Swedish Education Ministry rolled out a reform in which the responsibility of running public schools and educational attainment was decentralised to the municipalities. At the same time, school choice was introduced, which together with the decentralisation reform aimed at increasing local autonomy and enabling the education system to adapt to heterogonous local contexts. National goals were to be set at the national level, with the responsibility to accomplish these goals entirely left to municipalities.

The reform was introduced suddenly, superseding a then highly centralised system. Municipalities had to adapt quickly to their new responsibilities. Rather than supporting the local level in the implementation of the reform, the central level deliberately adopted a policy of non-intervention guided by the philosophy that the "local authorities knew best".

Blanchenay et al. (2014) found that the lack of a systemic vision prevented municipalities from developing sustainable strategies for managing their new responsibilities. The central

Box 2.4. **Strategic vision and 20 years of education devolution in Sweden** *(cont.)*

government, steering education at arm's length, had few tools to incentivise compliance with national goals. At the municipal level, financial resources were often allocated based on tradition and local politics rather than actual needs. This is in part due to misuse of available data and of expert knowledge by local level decision-makers.

Currently Sweden is addressing these issues by working on strengthening accountability, building local capacity, and developing a systemic strategic vision. This last element includes reintroducing earmarked grants as part of the general allocation budget for municipalities to protect the education budgets and developing an education-specific forum for municipalities to discuss and share best practices, including a platform for innovative initiatives, such as experimentation or cost pooling (e.g. IT systems).

Source: Blanchenay, P., T. Burns and F. Köster (2014), "Shifting Responsibilities – 20 Years of Education Devolution in Sweden: A Governing Complex Education Systems Case Study", *OECD Education Working Papers*, No. 104, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jz2jg1rqrd7-en*.

Part of the success of policy implementation involves the establishment of a comprehensive and strategic plan for the mid- and long-term development of the Uruguayan education system, involving a rich and extensive consultation process. It is important to develop a strategic vision for the development of the education system with clearly defined objectives and education targets to be achieved at given points in time (e.g. in 10 or 20 years' time). Ideally, education policy would need to be based upon informed policy diagnosis, drawn on best practice, backed up by adequate research evidence, and consistent – both intrinsically and with other education policies. Of equal importance is consensus-building among the various stakeholders involved – or with an interest – in education policy. This should go alongside the involvement of practitioners such as school leaders and teachers in the design, management and analysis of education policies.

In order to build consensus, it is important that all stakeholders see proposed education policies within the broader policy framework and strategy. Indeed, individuals and groups are more likely to accept changes that are not necessarily in their own best interests if they understand the rationale for these changes and can see the role they should play within the broad education strategy. There is therefore much scope for government authorities to foster the chances of successful policy implementation, by improving communication on the long-term vision of what is to be accomplished for education as the rationale for proposed reform packages. In this context a priority should be the involvement of a broad set of stakeholders in consultation processes, a main mechanisms for modern accountability and participation in the system (see Box 2.5).

Box 2.5. **Three lessons for increasing stakeholder participation from existing models in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom**

1. Identify the key stakeholders among communities, parents, students and other actors. This is more difficult than it sounds, and schools/local authorities must make efforts to involve less powerful or inactive voices.
2. Build capacity for new roles. Some stakeholders might not have the knowledge and language needed and may inadvertently be excluded from accountability processes. Providing

Box 2.5. **Three lessons for increasing stakeholder participation from existing models in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom** *(cont.)*

them with the tools to interpret and analyse benchmarking data and other evaluation processes (e.g. value-added measures) is an important part of giving them the expertise they need to take part.

3. Schools need to be ready and open to assess their quality and processes. School leaders play a key role in empowering staff to be involved and open to parents and members of the local community.

Source: Hooge, E., T. Burns and H. Wilkoszewski (2012), "Looking beyond the Numbers: Stakeholders and Multiple School Accountability", *OECD Education Working Papers*, No. 85, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k91dl7ct6q6-en*.

Strengthen evidence-based strategic planning and reinforce accountability at the system level

Uruguay needs to develop a culture of using evidence from research, programme evaluation and performance audits as the basis for future reform initiatives, both in the design – to identify what policies would be more cost-effective – and in the implementation – to make change happen in schools. This involves a strategic approach to research, analysis and evaluation, and information management activities in view of supporting the development of evidence-based policies. Disseminating the evidence basis underlying the policy diagnosis, research findings on alternative policy options and their likely impact, as well as information on the costs and benefits of reforms is also instrumental in gaining the support of key stakeholder groups. Linking research to policy-making requires the development of fora that bring together researchers and local policy makers to share relevant research and discuss applicability to policy needs, training policy makers to interpret research, and providing structures (e.g. agencies tasked with linking research and policy) that help to strengthen the connections to policy, assess the legitimacy and rigour of the research, and build co-operation and trust (OECD, 2007). The creation of INEEd is a potential opportunity to systematise this process, but would require extending the mission beyond evaluation to be fully successful. INEEd could act as a knowledge broker in the Uruguayan education system and the MEC could bring together the relevant stakeholders to discuss the implications of the existing evidence for the development of an education strategy in Uruguay.

The improvement of data collection systems and practices is also needed. To build a robust external independent monitoring system, data collection systems and practices should be strengthened to allow for in-depth analysis of student-level and school-level data. In particular, there is a need to integrate the range of existing databases, expand the information collected, better link resource allocation to programmes and education results, and provide explicit capacity building tools and training for a better analysis of the data.

Also, there is ample room to improve the external and independent monitoring systems of Uruguay's education system in order for accountability at the system level to be reinforced. Designing well-functioning monitoring systems can be overwhelming difficult for any country. However, once systems are established, widespread benefits emerge from proper monitoring mechanisms: benchmarking and monitoring indicators of education system performance allow any country to rapidly assess its education system, setting the stage for improving policy planning and implementation. Key elements for establishing a

strong education system monitoring framework include, clearly defining student learning objectives and education targets, developing a national education indicators framework, designing a national strategy to monitor student learning objectives, ensuring the collection of qualitative information on the education system, assuring the monitoring of changes over time and progress of particular student cohorts, ensuring collection of adequate contextual information to effectively monitor equity, strengthening analysis of education system evaluation results for planning and policy development and communicating key results of education system evaluation to stakeholders (see OECD, 2013c, for an in-depth analysis). A step in the right direction has been the recent setting of educational targets by ANEP for the period 2016-20 (ANEP, 2015).

Also, a needed key adjustment to strengthen national education monitoring in Uruguay is the considerable expansion of the autonomy of INEEd so it can take the leadership in evaluation and assessment activities in the country and provide an independent judgment on the state of education in Uruguay. This would be in a context where the ANEP retains the leadership in setting educational strategy and developing educational policy and maintains a role in the implementation of all the components of the evaluation and assessment framework (e.g. student assessment, school evaluation, teacher appraisal). The further independence of INEEd would imply being politically and financially independent from the ANEP and the government, reinforcing the presence of evaluation experts, researchers and specialists in its decision-making bodies and being led by a governing board not nominated by existing educational authorities. INEEd's governing board could be formed by personalities with high credibility in the country for their career achievements (not necessarily in education), possibly suggested by parties represented in the parliament and with confirmation by the parliament. Preferably, the duration of the mandate of the governing board should not coincide with the political cycle. The main role of the governing board should be at the strategic level, including the selection of the executive board which would lead INEEd in its daily activities. The objective would be to establish INEEd as the authoritative voice in evaluation and assessment in Uruguay, highly credible for its expertise and technical capacity, issuing directions for the implementation of evaluation and assessment procedures in the country, and providing analysis on the education system feeding into the process of education policy development. In terms of functions, INEEd should emphasise its technical leadership (e.g. in developing evaluation instruments, guidelines), the monitoring of the education system, the introduction of innovations on the basis of research results, the development of capacity for evaluation and assessment across the system, and its technical support for educational authorities to implement evaluation and assessment procedures around the country.

Gradually increase local and school autonomy as capacity to support local implementation is strengthened

School autonomy has been the subject of heated debates in the international education and research community in the last 50 years. The relationship between autonomy, performance and equity is a complex one. Since the 1980s, school reforms in several OECD countries have increasingly given schools greater autonomy, in an effort to increase performance. Wößmann (2003) finds that school autonomy in setting standards and the size of the school budget are negatively related to student performance, while school autonomy in personnel management and process decisions are positively related to performance. This may suggest that school systems should ensure external control of

resource levels and performance standards, but give schools autonomy in process areas where school-level knowledge is more relevant, such as managing their personnel. In PISA 2012, students tend to perform better in countries where schools have greater autonomy over what is taught and how students are assessed (OECD, 2013a). However, school autonomy has been negatively associated with student achievement in developing and low-performing countries (Hanushek et al., 2013).

The consequences for Uruguay from this accumulated research need to be carefully analysed, using local experts and a better understanding of how schools operate in the country, but three lessons seem clear. First, the levels of local and school autonomy are so low in Uruguay that there is surely some room to expand autonomy at both local and school levels. Second, when thinking about local autonomy Uruguay reformers need to carefully analyse which spheres of autonomy should be entrusted to schools and to their principals, which spheres should be entrusted to departments, and which spheres should remain with central level authorities. Third, granting of autonomy must always be associated with relevant and focused monitoring, especially monitoring of outcomes.

Uruguay could explore ways to gradually provide more autonomy to schools and lower levels of government (departments) in order to enable them to foster improvements in education. Certain decisions are best left to local authorities and school principals, who best know their schools' needs, to ensure a more optimal allocation of resources. Schools, for example, as suggested in Chapter 3, could be allowed to manage a budget for operational expenses for materials, equipment, teacher professional development and school development projects. Also, as suggested in Chapter 5, teacher recruitment and selection could include input from school principals (e.g. being part of the commissions making the final selection of the candidates). Similarly, departmental governments could be directly involved in infrastructure development and maintenance, including with a dedicated budget, and the provision of logistical support (e.g. transportation services, dormitories, school meals). As school leaders and departments' officials learn to exercise their new responsibilities and as monitoring systems gather more experience, central educational authorities can proceed with stronger deregulation and increased autonomy. In other words, increasing autonomy must be associated with the process of mutual learning of school principals and departments' officials and of monitoring experts. A possibility would be to develop a certification process, possibly led by the inspectorates, to grant some schools the possibility to exercise autonomy in a range of areas.

More school and local autonomy might exacerbate the existing differences between schools and between departmental governments in different parts of the country, including the urban-rural divide. Therefore some mechanisms to disseminate best practices, to identify risks and support those local managers whose performance is not improving should be introduced. In this regard, it will be necessary to strengthen the improvement function of school evaluation (see Chapter 4) and inspectorates could take the role of identifying and disseminating best practices by schools in the exercise of their autonomy.

Gradually providing further autonomy to the local and school level requires policies to strengthen capacity at the local level. Indeed, the lack of capacity at the local level may lead to greater inequalities and ineffectiveness. Capacity building is a complex enterprise and takes time. Local governance actors and school leaders require training and support to facilitate change at the local level. They need knowledge about the content of the change process, what works and what is expected to be achieved. These processes develop over

years, and devolution of responsibilities therefore needs to be planned strategically. As the education system moves to provide further autonomy to local actors, Uruguay would benefit from an explicit focus on capacity building on all levels of the system. This includes:

- Building capacity on a large scale.
- In order to facilitate system-wide change the capacity building element of reforms must be thought out and elaborated in order to ensure their appropriate implementation. The certification programme of Colombia is one interesting example of this (see Box 2.1).
- Developing a sustainable strategy.
- Too often capacity-building exercises are of short duration and do not take into account the time required to change behaviours and learn new skills. Capacity building must be planned as a sustainable systemic feature, one that is available as needed and not just in the initial phases of a policy programme.
- Taking context into account, especially important given differences in rural and urban areas in Uruguay.
- More remote and smaller municipalities often report being overextended by policy changes and struggling to prioritise activities (Hopfenbeck et al., 2013). Some examples of how this could be done in a practical fashion include providing a framework to facilitate inter-localities projects, for example through networks between successful schools and localities and those that struggle with change, in order to overcome implementation issues.

The gradual increase of autonomy at the school and local levels would build on the current initiatives to decentralise decision-making in education in Uruguay (e.g. regional campuses of CETP) and the OECD review team formed the impression that it is widely supported by school principals and local actors. However, there is the perception that, in addition to reinforcing the management skills of local actors and school principals, there is a need to review the organisation of school leadership in Uruguayan schools (distributing school leadership across a larger school leadership team, see Chapter 4), ensure a greater stability of teaching bodies within schools, rethink school leader appraisal and improve school leaders' working conditions (see Chapter 4).

Improve the supply of a range of education services

Expand the provision of early childhood education

A growing body of research recognises that early childhood education brings a wide range of benefits, including social and economic benefits; better child wellbeing and learning outcomes; more equitable outcomes and reduction of poverty; increased intergenerational social mobility; higher female labour market participation and gender equality; increased fertility rates; and better social and economic development for society at large (OECD, 2011). Hence, priority should be given to meeting demand for early childhood education services for younger children (aged three and younger) as there are indications of shortfalls in provision for this age range. A possibility is to enlarge the scope for the public funding of private provision, including with voucher schemes. Also, efforts should continue to strengthen the quality of services at all pre-primary schools.

Develop a comprehensive education strategy for students with special educational needs

Students with special educational needs have been a neglected group within the Uruguayan education system. As a result, there is an urgent need to establish a comprehensive education strategy for students with special needs, which can raise their aspirations at all

levels of the education system. A range of aspects need to be considered. First, there needs to be a reflection about the type of special needs that should be considered in an overall strategy. Types of special needs typically include students with disabilities, gifted children and students with more severe learning difficulties. Second, approaches and structures to identify and diagnose special needs need to be developed. This is not an easy task and requires the contribution of a range of specialists (e.g. teachers, doctors, psychologists) and good communication with parents. Third, there needs to be a reflection about the roles of special schools and the extent to which mainstream schools can contribute to the education of special needs students. Fourth, resourcing strategies need to be developed with the adequate assessment of the extra resources needed to educate a student with special needs. One priority is the establishment of special schools at the secondary education level. There is no reason to assume that students with special needs cannot aspire to reach secondary education.

The major trend regarding special education in developed countries is the progressive integration of special needs students in mainstream schools (and, preferably, in regular classes of mainstream schools). This practice is almost non-existent in Uruguay, or at least with the necessary extra resources to attend to the particular circumstances faced by students with special needs. Effective inclusive education typically requires a well elaborated strategy with two key interrelated components. One is encouraging special education schools to develop a new function of supporting both students with special needs being educated inclusively in mainstream schools and teachers providing inclusive education in these schools. Turning special schools into methodological centres providing support to mainstream schools is a highly complex process of institutional change, which requires serious adaptive capacities from special schools (and their professionals) and it can be implemented only slowly and gradually through pilot development projects based on voluntary participation and through the spreading of successful practices.

The second key component of a strategy for inclusive education is enabling mainstream schools to provide effective inclusive education. This is also a slow and gradual process which, however, can be significantly accelerated by massive and effective capacity building. The practice of inclusive education requires major changes both in the professional competences and the attitudes of mainstream teachers. Only teachers capable to use a rich repertoire of innovative teaching methods and capable to create learning environments that support personalised teaching and learning can achieve successful inclusive education. This requires a supportive institutional context characterised by an organisational culture which supports diversity and pedagogical innovations. Institutions responsible for initial and continuous teacher education, including those providing specialised forms of training linked with specific development interventions should be strongly involved in this process.

Continue efforts to expand full-day schooling

There is a need to increase instructional hours, particularly for students in primary education. Having a relatively short school day, in terms of hours of instruction, may place children, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds and those who may be struggling, at risk of failure. Lengthening the school day has been found to benefit learners. For example, in the United States, a large longitudinal study compared reading and mathematics learning outcomes for children who attended “full-day” pre-primary schools (31.5 hours per week) with those who attended “half-day” pre-primary schools (15.8 hours per week). The researchers found that children who had attended the “full-day”

programme learned more than those who had attended the "half-day" programme, and that the learning advantage persisted through Year 3 for students whose home language was not English (Lee et al., 2005; Walston et al., 2005). In addition, increasing instructional time by lengthening the school day, adding Saturday classes, and shortening breaks between classes was one element of a package of interventions that significantly boosted math performance of low performing schools (Fryer, 2014). Hence, expanding programmes such as full-time schools and extended-time schools should remain a priority in Uruguay.

Further diversify and make more relevant the provision of secondary education

In order to improve the attractiveness of secondary education and retain students at this level, there is a need to further diversify and make more relevant the provision of secondary education. The objective is to improve the matching of educational offerings in secondary education to both the interests of the students and the needs of the labour market and society. Part of the solution is to make technical-professional programmes a more attractive option for students. This involves ensuring the labour market relevance of technical-professional programmes, which requires a close collaboration of labour market actors; greater responsiveness of schools to the identified needs in the labour market; creating more opportunities for work-based learning and apprenticeships, which requires maintaining partnerships between schools and employers; greater partnerships between general and technical-professional programmes; and student career guidance which is informed by labour market outcomes of graduates from technical-professional programmes.

In addition, it is important to keep the curriculum of general programmes relevant for the continuation of studies at a higher level while increasing the flexibility of its delivery to take into account the increasing diversity of student achievement as students make progress within the education system. However, it is important to ensure that curricula in both general and technical-professional programmes do not become too fragmented as too many different course options could lead to the operation of many small classes in secondary education, which would risk increasing the cost of provision considerably. Finally, the expansion of relevant provision in secondary education will also require efforts in building new infrastructure and in devising strategies to attract new qualified teachers.

Strengthen student career guidance and counselling

Uruguay needs to consider expanding mentoring and career guidance services in order to build student confidence and encourage students to aim higher. Lack of mentoring and career guidance means that students might be confined with their own personal experiences and life expectations. Developing a strategy for student career guidance and counselling is particularly important in a country with such high drop-out rates. As resources are limited, priority should be given to disadvantaged and at-risk students as research shows that it can have the greatest impact on them (OECD, 2012). One option that the government could consider is to involve higher education institutions in activities to raise the expectations of disadvantaged students.

Address inefficiencies in the education system

Reinforce early intervention and co-ordinate strategies for equity

Among measures that improve the effectiveness of resource use in the Uruguayan school system are the decrease of drop-out rates in secondary education and the reduction of repetition rates at all educational levels. Studies, such as by Heckman (2008), have

concluded that early intervention is more productive than late intervention. To compress socio-cultural differences in achievement requires structured programmes in early childhood care and education, extending upwards into primary school. Ensuring that schools provide their students with adequate and timely support is essential to enable struggling students not only to stay at school but to get the most of their schooling years. Schools should be encouraged to use early warning systems to identify students at risk and support them as early as possible. Timeliness matters because later interventions are less cost-effective. Recent rigorous research from the United States demonstrates the efficacy of introducing five "best practices" of public charter schools into low-performing public primary and lower secondary schools (Fryer, 2014). The five practices were: increased instructional time through lengthening the school day and school year; better teachers and administrators; high-dose tutoring in very small groups; frequent use of data from monthly classroom assessments to inform instruction; and a culture of high expectations. After three years of programme implementation, students' scores on standardised tests of mathematics increased by 21% of a standard deviation and the gap between low performers and high performers diminished significantly. Moreover, the most costly aspect of the programme - tutoring for students – was estimated to have a rate of return of approximately 14%, significantly above the 10% typically used in education, and – for secondary students – the impact was a stunning gain of 60% of a standard deviation in mathematics. This suggests reinforcing educational programmes targeted at early intervention such as the Community Teachers Programme, the Teacher + Teacher Programme (*Maestro más Maestro*) and *Aprender* schools.

At the same time, targeted interventions at the secondary level to prevent dropouts and to raise the awareness about the benefits of education should receive further resources. Students from socially-disadvantaged backgrounds should be supported by a maintenance grant to cover some of the expenses of attending school, such as meals, equipment and foregone earnings. This would be contingent on regular school attendance and satisfactory progress.

Progressively reduce the use of year repetition

An important priority for Uruguay is to reduce the high rates of year repetition. There are alternative ways of supporting those with learning difficulties in the classroom. One way is to provide extra teaching time for students who fall behind and adapt teaching to their needs. There can also be short-term, intensive interventions of one-on-one lessons for underperforming students. This can be organised with extra staff such as recovery teachers. The objective of recovery lessons or remediation is to promote accelerated learning so that students catch up to their peers, close the achievement gap as quickly as possible, and continue to learn independently. This can build on the remedial classes that already exist in Uruguay secondary schools. Another example of intervention is the presence of teaching assistants in the classroom to support the students who fell behind. Approaches also include school prevention with the early identification of learning difficulties and programmes designed in partnership with parents (see Field et al., 2007). In Uruguay, programmes such as Community Teachers, Teacher + Teacher, Tutorials are already operating with these objectives.

The review team does not recommend an abrupt abolition of year repetition in the system but rather its gradual elimination as alternative measures to support students with learning difficulties are strengthened. The rationale for reducing the application of year

repetition as a pedagogical measure to address learning difficulties will need to be clearly communicated to school actors, in particular teachers and parents, as year repetition is deeply entrenched in the traditions of the Uruguayan education system. The sharp reduction of year repetition has the potential to be a far-reaching reform but one which inevitably needs time to gain support among school actors and work effectively. Its effectiveness will depend on the alternative ways to support those students who fall behind, the preparation of teachers and the ability of the system to cultivate and promote novel pedagogical approaches. The strategy also requires continuing supporting teaching professionals so that they develop their in-classroom techniques to help those who are falling behind.

Review the organisation of the school network in view of ensuring quality education in rural areas

Another area of inefficiency concerns the existence of many small schools. A strategic vision is required at the national level on how best to deliver education in rural and remote areas. Smaller schools often have higher operating costs, but also may serve more isolated or remote communities and their existence and quality need to be seen in the context of wider regional development policies. It is important to keep in mind that the organisation of the school network must be about ensuring quality education for all children. Students' access to high quality education should not be affected adversely by their place of residence. In some cases, closing the school may not be the best solution – the distance to travel may simply not be practicable. However, in others consolidating educational provision on fewer sites will present wider opportunities for both students and teachers (e.g. closing small schools, sharing of resources between nearby schools, clustering of schools under the same school leadership) (Ares Abalde, 2014). Investment in effective transportation solutions, after-school facilities, the use of ICT, and the creation of rural school networks can also be part of an overall strategy to provide education in rural and remote areas (Ares Abalde, 2014). The strategy to deliver education in rural areas should have four main pillars: i) reorganisation of the school network; ii) flexibility for more efficient resource management; iii) ensuring equity and fairness of resource provision; and iv) proper monitoring of education quality in rural schools.

Co-ordinate provision across education levels to facilitate transitions while offering relevant options for secondary students

Improving completion rates in the Uruguayan education system also requires improving the supply of educational services at the secondary level to make them more relevant for the interests and characteristics of students and also to better align them with the needs of society and the labour market. This calls for strategies to improve student transitions across education levels, namely the development of a common curriculum framework for all levels of school education. This could go alongside bringing together lower and upper secondary education under the same roof as these are typically provided in distinct schools. At the upper secondary level, a more diverse supply of courses, more extensive and relevant vocational options, as well as a greater mobility between general and technical-professional programmes might prove effective.

Place more emphasis on the implementation aspects of education policy

There is a clear need in Uruguay to widen the repertoire of policy instruments and to go beyond legal regulations and mandatory solutions whenever possible. There are many policy goals that require the use of more sophisticated, often "soft" policy instruments. For example

a curricular reform will not automatically make schools capable of implementing it nor will it automatically make teachers ready to teach according to the revised curricula. This not only requires strong support mechanisms and capacity building but also the acceptance that some schools will become capable of implementing the new curricula quicker than other schools. This requires greater flexibility in regulations allowing some schools to develop faster than others while targeting support to those that are still lacking the appropriate capacities. In general there is a need to shift the focus of education policy making from the adoption of legal texts to the implementation processes and to strengthen the "implementation intelligence" of the education policy system. Strengthening the role of *ex ante* and *ex post* impact assessment is one possible way to do this.

The implementation of education policy requires the recognition of a range of important aspects. First, reaching agreements on the design of education reforms requires time for discussions and consultations with all stakeholders. Second, developing expertise in the system, including training school leaders is expensive and requires time. Third, implementing education initiatives induces additional workload for school agents and requires more educational resources. A range of strategies to consolidate the implementation of education policies are available. The policy development process is more likely to yield consensus and compromise among parties if policies are developed through co-operation of different stakeholders towards a common goal. Other strategies include engaging stakeholders and practitioners in the design and implementation of policies, communicating the rationale for reform, using pilots before full implementation, periodically reviewing implementation and ensuring adequate capacity and resources.

Increase trust in education through effective change in educational policy

Uruguay could benefit by improving trust in education, particularly in secondary education. This is a difficult and complex topic and most if not all countries in the OECD struggle with this issue. A recent analysis of PIAAC[4] data on trust and its relationship to education suggested the following concrete steps that countries could use in order to improve trust in their system and also reinforce the system's ability to educate and strengthen trust among individuals. They are (adapted from Borgonovi and Burns, 2015):

- Continue to work to improve the quality of education including lifelong learning. This provides the cognitive abilities necessary for the development of trust, supplies greater knowledge of how communities operate, and exposes students to socially agreed norms and cultural identity.
- Improve pathways and access to tertiary education as each extra qualification is associated with higher reported levels of trust. Tertiary graduates reported the highest levels of interpersonal trust, even when literacy and numeracy was controlled for.
- Work to strengthen social and emotional skills underlying collaboration, teamwork, and co-operation. Individuals who work in environments that require more interaction with colleagues report on average higher levels of interpersonal trust.
- Actively seek options to break the systemic elements that contribute to inequality. While education is a major pathway for increasing upward mobility across generations, the intergenerational transmission of advantage is still very much alive. Education can and should play a greater role in reducing inequalities and access to opportunity.

In addition, within the education system itself it is important to have a strategic vision to adequately balance accountability mechanisms, important for ensuring quality and

efficiency in the system, and trust, necessary for teachers to do their work. School leaders must involve the teachers in the process of developing school cultures for effective teaching and learning. And governments must continue to manage the process of reform so that priorities are clear and aligned. This is deceptively difficult: in many countries teachers have not developed a common understanding of how to transform the theory underlying a specific education reform into high quality teaching practices (Hopfenbeck et al., 2013). Successful education reform works through trust, clear communication, and the possibility to prioritise competing claims on times and resources.

It is important to clarify that high levels of trust in the system must be justified, that is, the system must earn them. The drop in levels of trust in the Uruguayan education system is perhaps merited by poorer performance. It may also play an important role in driving public perception and also government initiatives on the need for change. Improving levels of trust, therefore, should go hand in hand with improving system performance and effectiveness.

Notes

1. Resilient students are those who are achieving significantly higher than expected given their socio-economic background.
2. For further details, *www.inju.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/7417/5/innova.front/talleres_de_orientacion_vocacional_ocupacional*.
3. For further details, see *www.oecd.org/edu/ceri/gces*.
4. The OECD Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC), which took place from August 2011 to March 2012, assesses the proficiency of adults aged 16-65 in literacy, numeracy and problem solving in technology-rich environments. Around 166 000 adults were surveyed in 24 countries and sub-national regions, including 22 OECD member countries. Further information is available at *www.oecd.org/site/piaac*.

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Chapter 3

Funding of school education in Uruguay

This chapter is about the funding of school education. It deals with the level of resources available for school education and revenue sources. Furthermore, it discusses budget planning, the monitoring of funds' use as well as incentives for the effective use of school funding. The chapter places particular emphasis on areas of priority for Uruguay such as the low levels of public expenditure on education, the little transparency of mechanisms to fund individual schools, equity implications of funding approaches, and the limited autonomy of individual schools to manage resources. The chapter also reviews the limitations of funds' use accountability and the concerns regarding the funding for school infrastructure.

The statistical data for Israel are supplied by and under the responsibility of the relevant Israeli authorities. The use of such data by the OECD is without prejudice to the status of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and Israeli settlements in the West Bank under the terms of international law.

This chapter is about the funding of school education. It deals with the level of resources available for school education and revenue sources. Furthermore, it discusses the planning of resource use (e.g. definition of priorities and targets, distribution of responsibilities for resource use); the monitoring of resource use (e.g. audit systems); transparency and reporting; as well as incentives for the effective use of resources. In addition, it analyses the distribution of funding between the different educational levels and between individual schools.

Context and features

The main features of the funding of school education in Uruguay are that the level of expenditure is relatively low by OECD standards (but growing) and there is a high degree of centralisation in managing financial resources for school education. The government's budget is the main source of funding and there is little autonomy at the school level to manage financial resources.

Expenditure on education

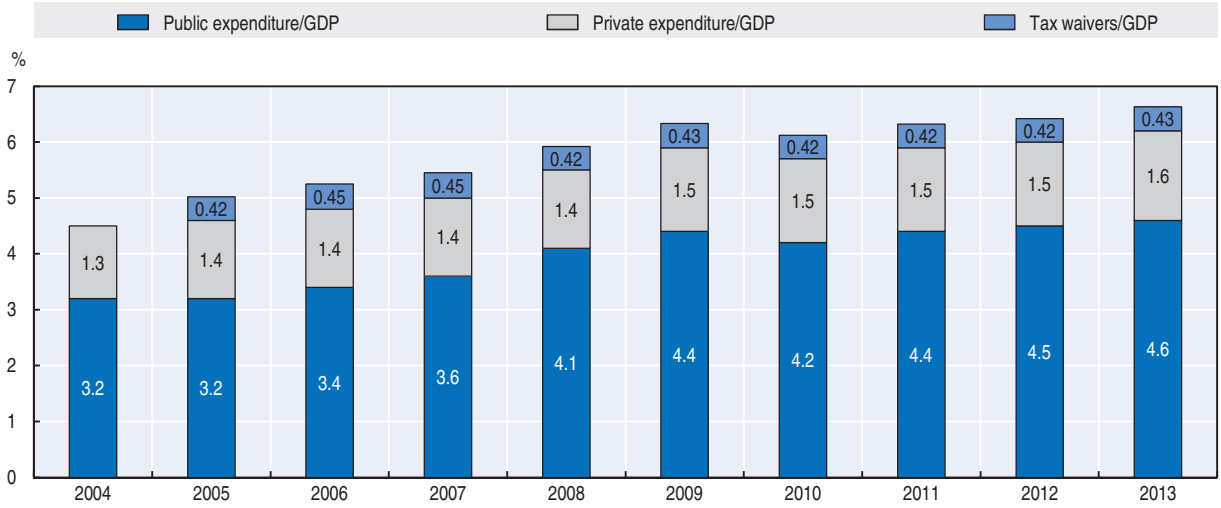
Between 2005 and 2013, total expenditure on education in Uruguay grew from 5.0% to 6.6% of GDP. This reflects, in part, considerable growth in public spending in education. During this period, public expenditure on education rose from 3.2% to 4.6% of GDP (see Figure 3.1). This growth was sustained over time, except with a decrease in 2010. In spite of the recent efforts, public expenditure on education remains considerably below the OECD average and below the equivalent expenditure in other Latin American countries. In 2011, public expenditure on education in Uruguay reached 4.4% of GDP, against an OECD average of 5.6% and equivalent expenditure of 5.0%, 5.7%, 4.5% and 5.1% in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico respectively (see Figure 3.2).

In recent years, the share of total expenditure by the central government going to education has also grown. While in 2004 public expenditure on education as a percentage of central government expenditure was 18.6%, by 2013 it had grown to 28.2% (see Figure 3.3). All educational levels contributed to this growth. In real terms, public spending on education grew at an annual rate of 10% between 2004 and 2013. Public spending on early childhood and pre-primary education had the greatest increase during this period (average annual growth rate of 12%), followed by secondary education (9.7%), primary education (8.5%) and tertiary education (8.5%) (INEEd, 2015).

Sources of funding

In 2013, 76% of total resources spent on education were funded by the public sector while the remainder was privately funded from households, non-profit organisations and companies (see Figure 3.4). The vast majority of public resources are executed by public institutions (about 68% of total expenditure) while the remainder (about 8%) are executed by private institutions (CAIFs and tax waivers associated to private provision of education services). Public expenditure in education is managed mainly by the ANEP and the

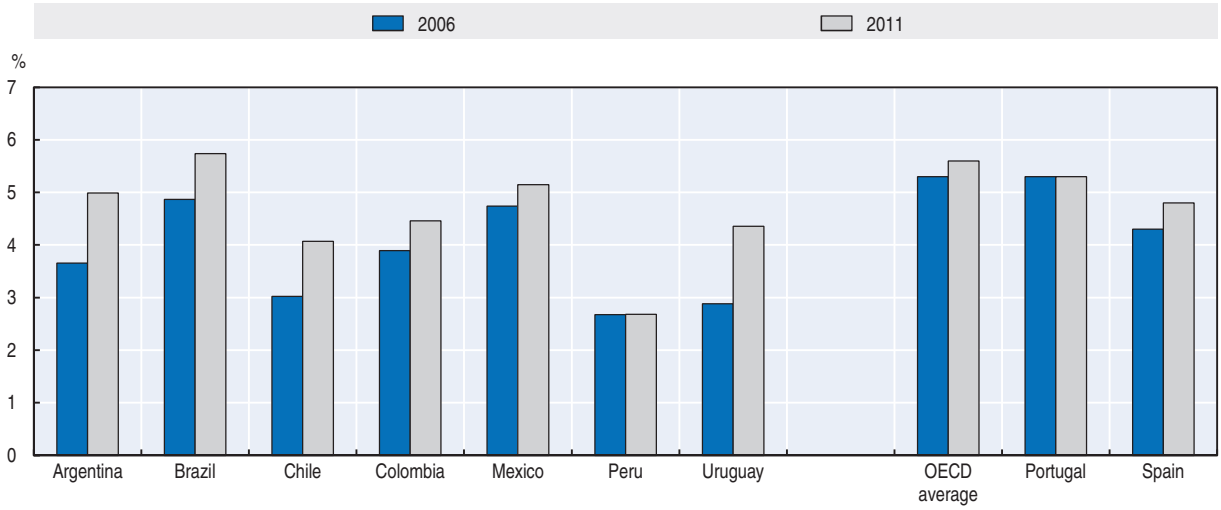
Figure 3.1. **Total expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP by source, 2004-13**



Note: Tax waivers refer to taxes or contributions waived in favour of the development of (typically private) institutions that operate in the education sector. Private expenditure includes household expenditure, expenditures by non-profit institutions and donations from companies. Information on tax waivers is not available for 2004.

Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

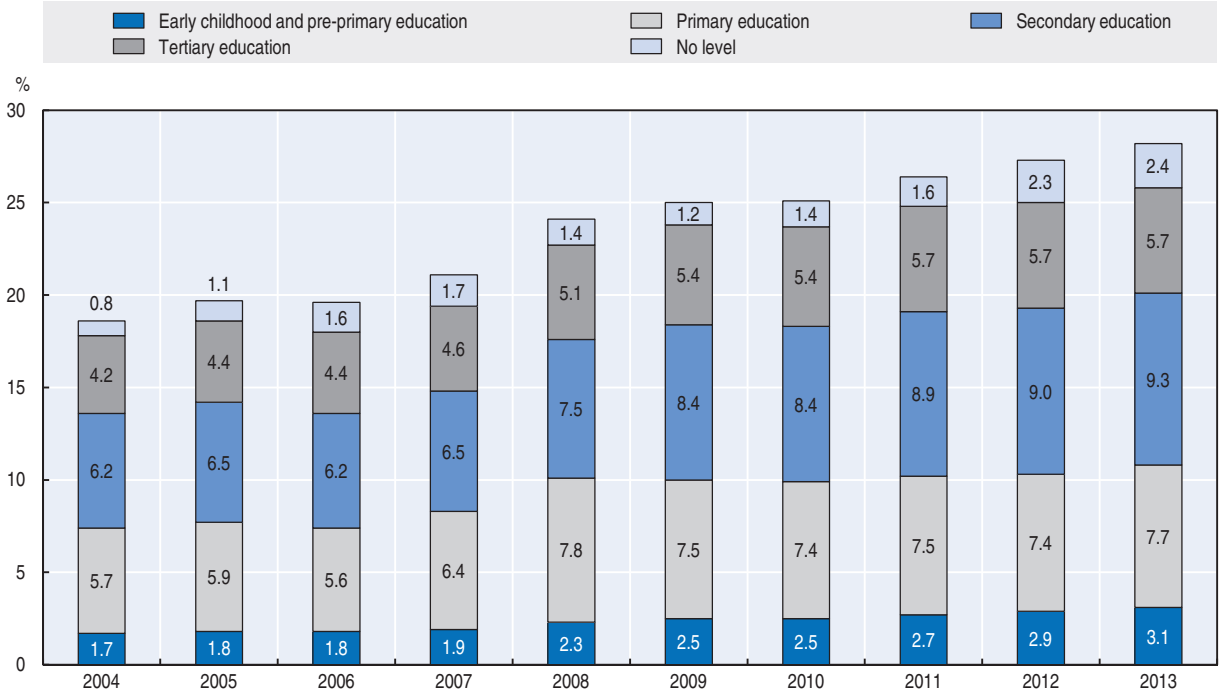
Figure 3.2. **Public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP, selected countries, 2006 and 2011**



Source: UNESCO (n.d.), UIS.Stat Database, *http://data.uis.unesco.org*, for Latin American countries; OECD (2014), *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en*; OECD (2009), *Education at a Glance 2009: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2009-en*, for OECD average, Portugal and Spain.

Universidad de la República (UDELAR) (Figure 3.4). However, other institutions such as the MEC (regulatory functions and provision of certain services), INAU (for the operation of CAIFs), the Technological University (UTEC), the Ministry of Defence (military education) and the Ministry of Interior (policy education) also execute part of the public education budget. Furthermore, the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES) also manages funds for public education through the operation of a range of social programmes. The almost totality of private resources to education comes from household payments to private

Figure 3.3. **Public expenditure on education as a percentage of central government expenditure by education level, 2004-13**



Note: Secondary education includes general programmes (under the Secondary Education Council, CES) and technical-professional programmes (under the Technical and Professional Education Council, CETP). Expenditure by CETP at the tertiary level is included under "secondary education" (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).

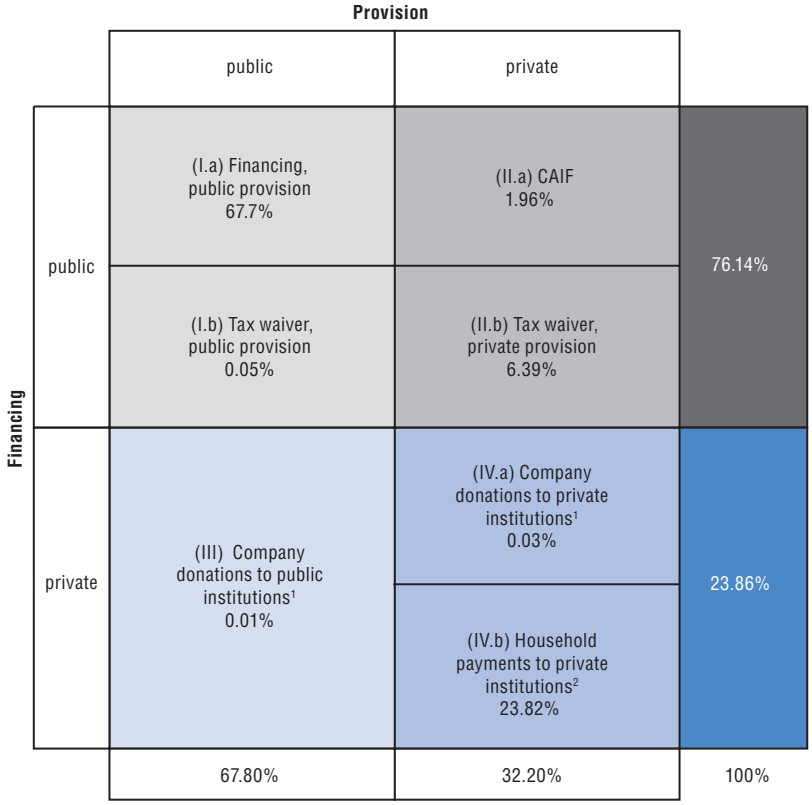
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

institutions (e.g. tuition fees charged by private schools and tertiary education institutions). Private expenditure is more significant in secondary education (in 2013, 38% of total private expenditure), followed by primary education (29%), tertiary education (19%) and early childhood and pre-primary education (13%) (INEEd, 2015).

In international comparison, the proportion of resources coming from the public sector – about 75% in 2012 when all educational levels are considered – appears to be low (see Figure 3.5): the OECD average is around 84% and the equivalent proportions in Argentina and Mexico are 87% and 80% respectively (see Figure 3.5). This is quite typical of other countries in Latin America as Chile and Colombia (Morduchowicz and Duro, 2009).

The main source for the public funding of education is the national budget. There is also some funding from the departmental governments, mostly associated with land transfers, infrastructure for schools or some support for specific projects. Data on the financial contribution of departments to education are not available but there is the perception that it represents a very small fraction of total resources allocated to education. Another source on which there is no actual data refers to voluntary parental monetary and non-monetary donations to schools, typically organised through parental associations. Given the tight budget restrictions on which individual schools operate, parental donations are common and more so in primary education. Finally, public schools can also be financed through the sale of products and services by individual schools. This occurs, in particular, in schools providing technical-professional programmes.

Figure 3.4. **Total expenditure in education by type of financing and provision, 2013**



1. Only donations executed by Law No. 18 834 are considered;
2. Household payments to private institutions consider expenditure in tuition fees in pre-primary, secondary and tertiary education institutions, and extracurricular education.

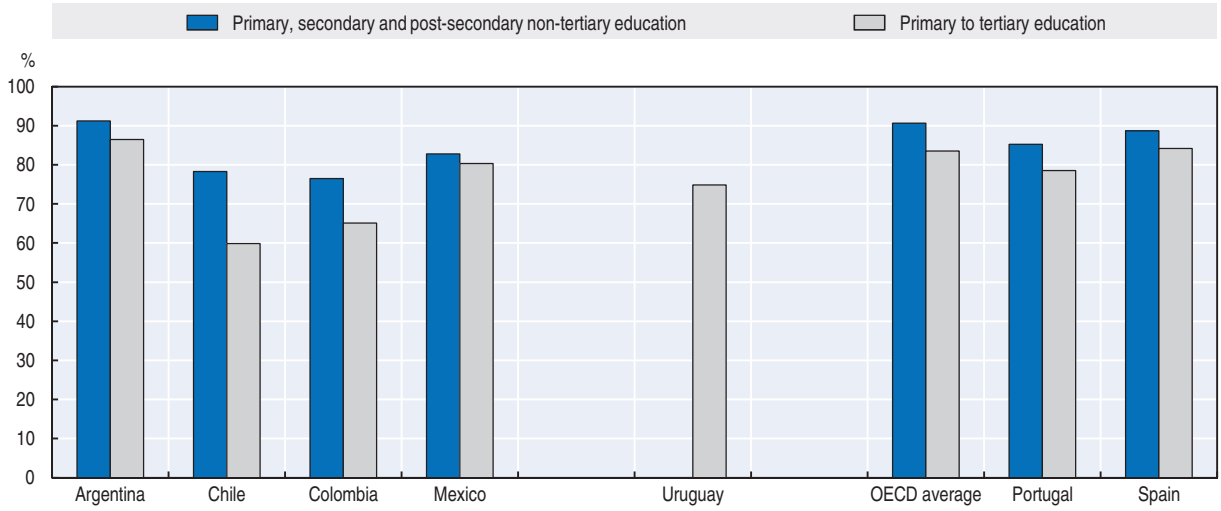
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Funding across education levels

Figure 3.6 shows public expenditure on education as a share of GDP by level of education between 2004 and 2013 while Figure 3.7 compares Uruguay's 2011 public expenditure on pre-tertiary education as a share of GDP with that of other countries. Between 2004 and 2013, public expenditure as a share of GDP grew for each educational level. For pre-tertiary education as a whole, it went from 2.4% in 2004 to 3.3% in 2013 (see Figure 3.6). However, in 2011, public spending in pre-tertiary education as a share of GDP was considerably below the OECD average and below that of other Latin American countries. For that year, while in Uruguay public expenditure on pre-tertiary education as a share of GDP stood at 3.0%, it was 4.2% on average across OECD countries and reached 4.0%, 4.8%, 3.1%, 3.5% and 3.9% in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico respectively (see Figure 3.7). Comparably low public spending levels (as a share of GDP) are prevalent at each educational level (pre-primary education, primary education and secondary education).

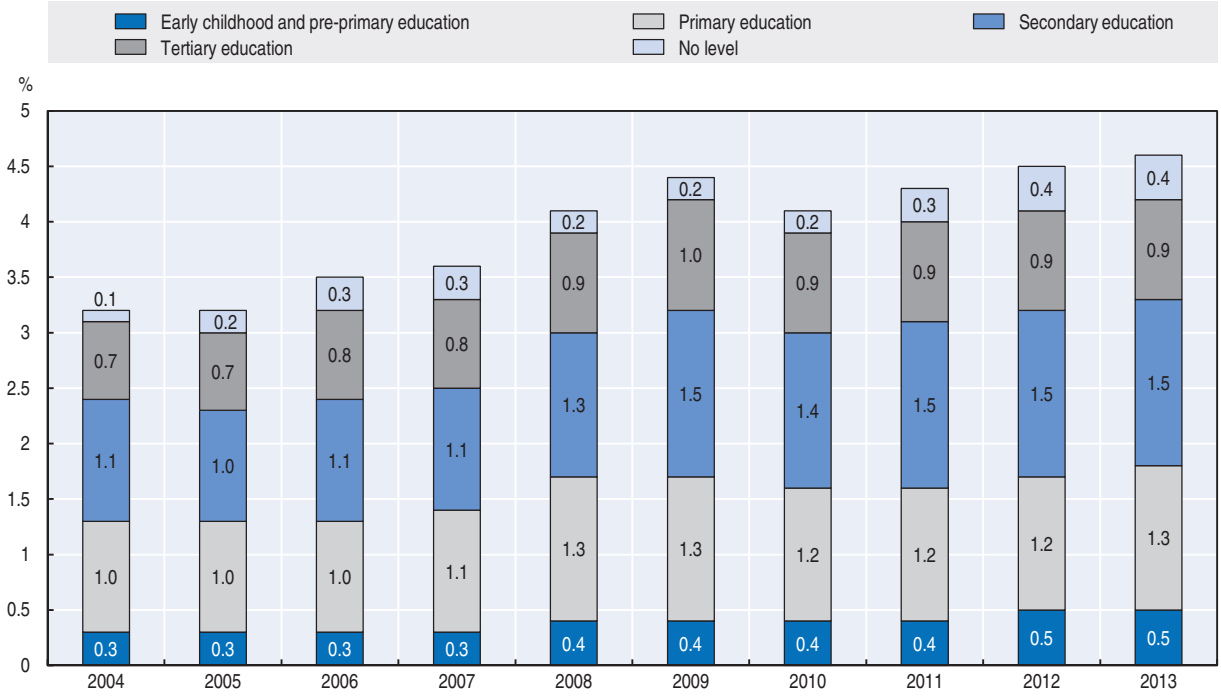
The distribution of public expenditure on education has been relatively stable across education levels, as shown in Figure 3.8. Between 2004 and 2013, relative public expenditure increased in pre-primary education and in spending across education levels; remained rather stable in secondary education; and decreased in primary and tertiary education.

Figure 3.5. **Proportion of public expenditure on educational institutions by level of education, 2012**



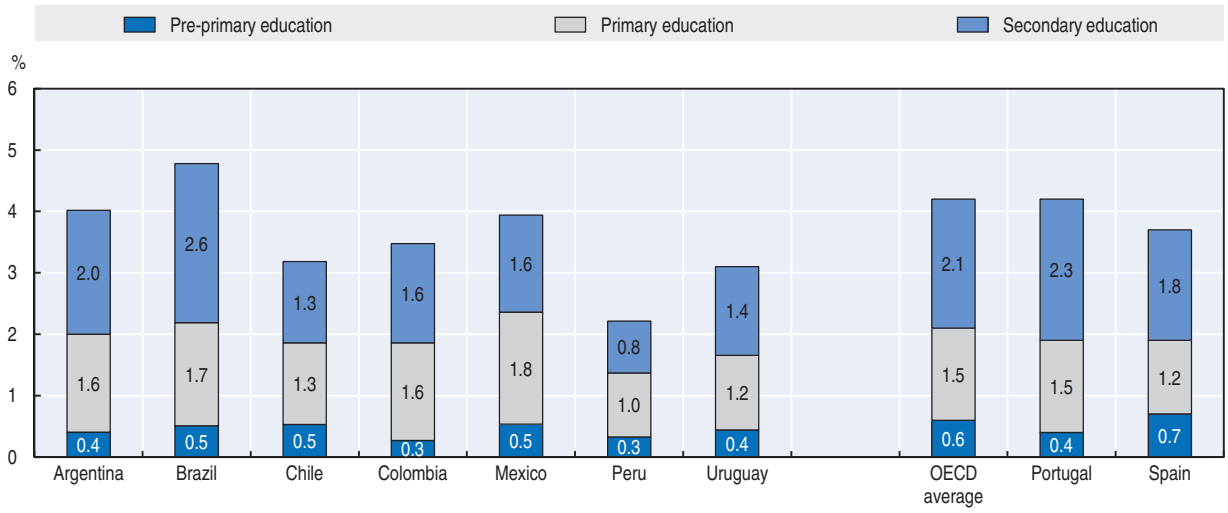
Note: Data for Uruguay include household expenditure, expenditures by non-profit institutions and donations by companies as well as expenditure on early childhood and pre-primary education.
Source: OECD (2015), *Education at a Glance 2015: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2015-en* for all data points except Chile, Colombia and Uruguay; OECD (2014), *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en* for Chile and Colombia; INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*, for Uruguay.

Figure 3.6. **Public expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP by education level, 2004-13**



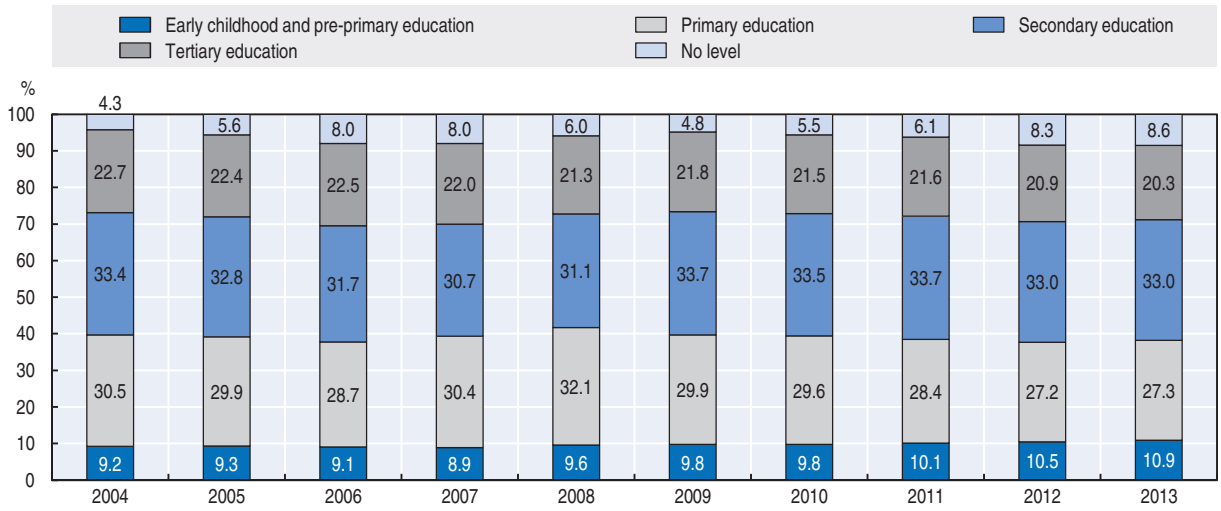
Note: Secondary education includes general programmes (under the Secondary Education Council, CES) and technical-professional programmes (under the Technical and Professional Education Council, CETP). Expenditure by CETP at the tertiary level is included under "secondary education" (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Figure 3.7. **Public expenditure on pre-tertiary education as a percentage of GDP by education level, selected countries, 2011**



Note: Data for pre-primary education refers to children 3 years and older.
Source: UNESCO (n.d.), UIS.Stat Database, *http://data.uis.unesco.org* for Latin American countries; OECD (2014), *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en* for OECD average, Portugal and Spain.

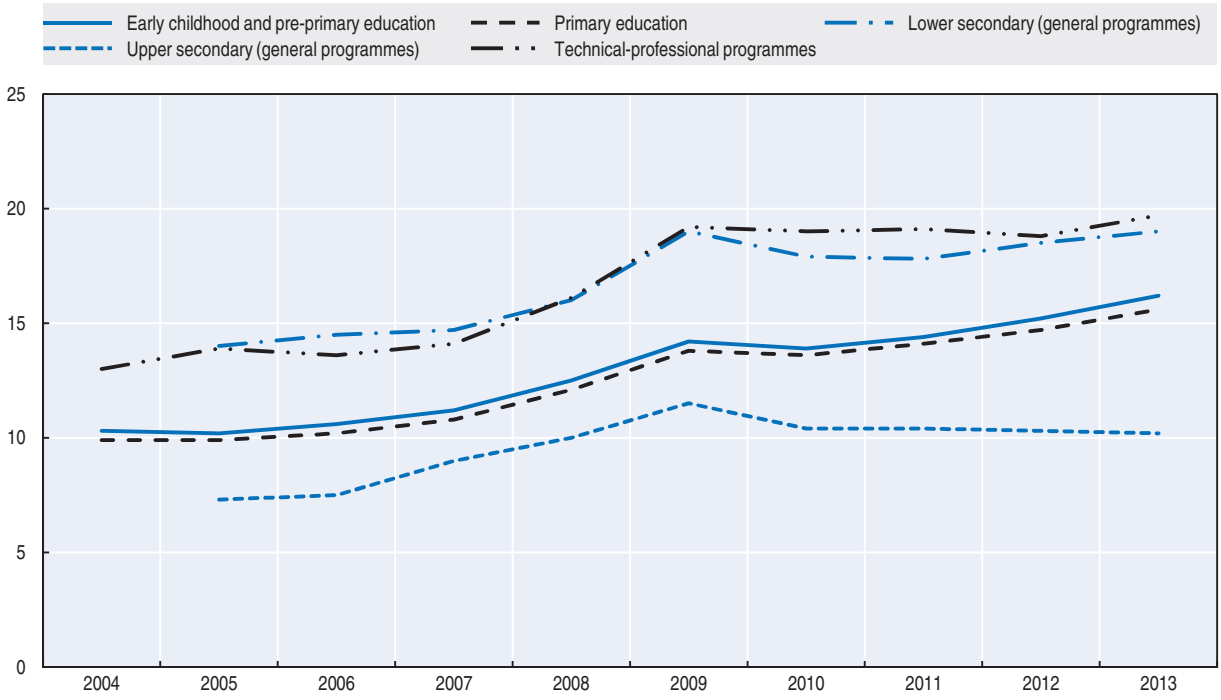
Figure 3.8. **Distribution of public expenditure on education across education levels, 2004-13**



Note: Secondary education includes general programmes (under the Secondary Education Council, CES) and technical-professional programmes (under the Technical and Professional Education Council, CETP). Expenditure by CETP at the tertiary level is included under "secondary education" (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).
Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

In terms of public expenditure per student relative to GDP per capita, as displayed in Figure 3.9, technical-professional programmes and general programmes in lower secondary education receive the greatest level of resources, followed by early childhood and pre-primary education, and primary education. The lowest level of public expenditure per student (relative to GDP per capita) is that for general programmes in upper secondary education. As a proportion of GDP per capita, public expenditure per student has grown between 2004 and 2013, even if so at a higher rate between 2004 and 2009. Between 2009

Figure 3.9. **Annual public expenditure per student relative to GDP per capita by education level and type, 2004-13**



Note: Data refer to spending by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP). As a result, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include public funds managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include expenditure by the Technical and Professional Council (CETP) at the tertiary level (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).
Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

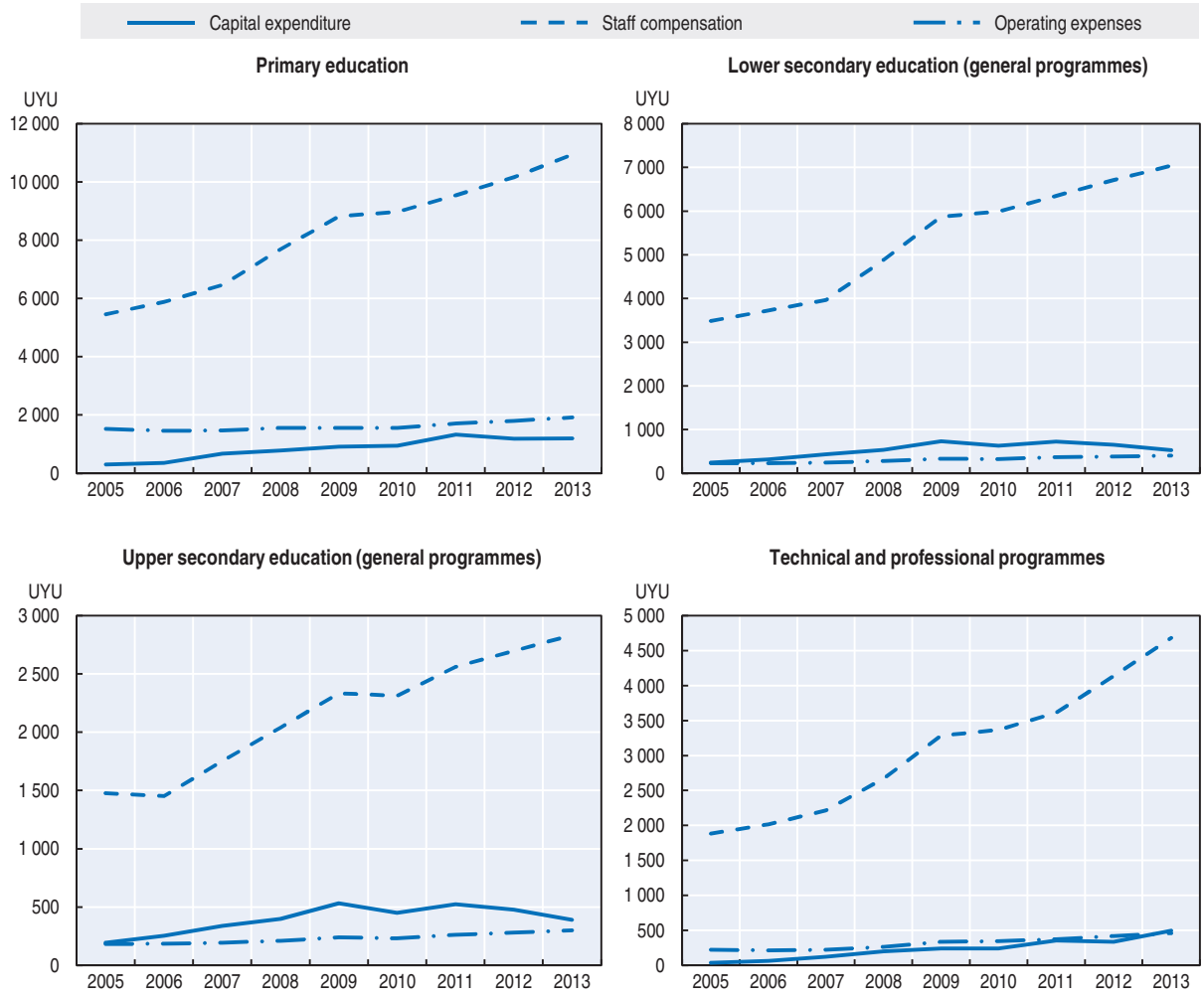
and 2013, growth has been slower and, in upper secondary general programmes, public expenditure per student has decreased as a proportion of GDP per capita.

Considering only public expenditure executed by ANEP, in 2013, technical-professional programmes had the highest level of expenditure per student (USD 3 074 per student per year), followed by early childhood and pre-primary education (USD 2 527), primary education (USD 2 438), and general programmes in secondary education (USD 2 364) (INEEd, 2015). ANEP spending on technical-professional programmes grew 179% in real terms between 2004 and 2013. ANEP resources devoted to pre-primary, primary and secondary education grew at lower rates but also in a significant way: 124%, 97% and 100% respectively (INEEd, 2015). Real public expenditure per student (executed by ANEP) also grew significantly between 2004 and 2013 – it practically doubled at all pre-tertiary educational levels (INEEd, 2015).

Funding across resource categories

Figure 3.10 displays annual public expenditure by resource category by education level and type between 2005 and 2013. It shows that for the different education levels and types, growth in staff compensation has been considerably more significant than that for capital expenditure and operating expenses. Considering all pre-tertiary education levels together, in 2013, 81% of the expenditure executed by ANEP went to staff compensation, while 10% went to operating expenses (e.g. materials, supplies) and 9% went to capital expenditure (infrastructure and educational equipment) (INEEd, 2015). Between 2004 and 2013, real

Figure 3.10. **Annual public expenditure by resource category, by education level and type, 2005-13**

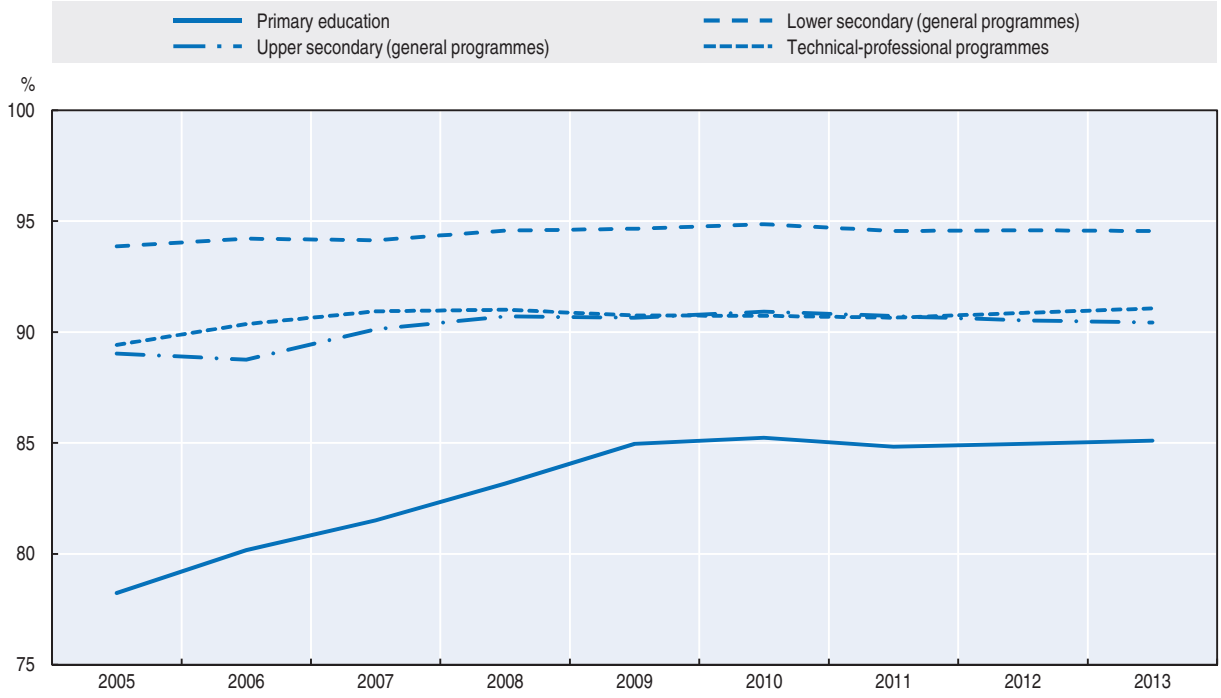


Note: Figures are in UYU million (2013 constant prices). Data refer to spending by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP). Data on technical-professional programmes include not only lower and upper secondary programmes but also expenditure by the Technical and Professional Council (CETP) at the tertiary level (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).
Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

expenditure on staff compensation grew about 125%, while such growth stood at about 75% for capital expenditure and about 50% for operating expenses (INEEd, 2015).

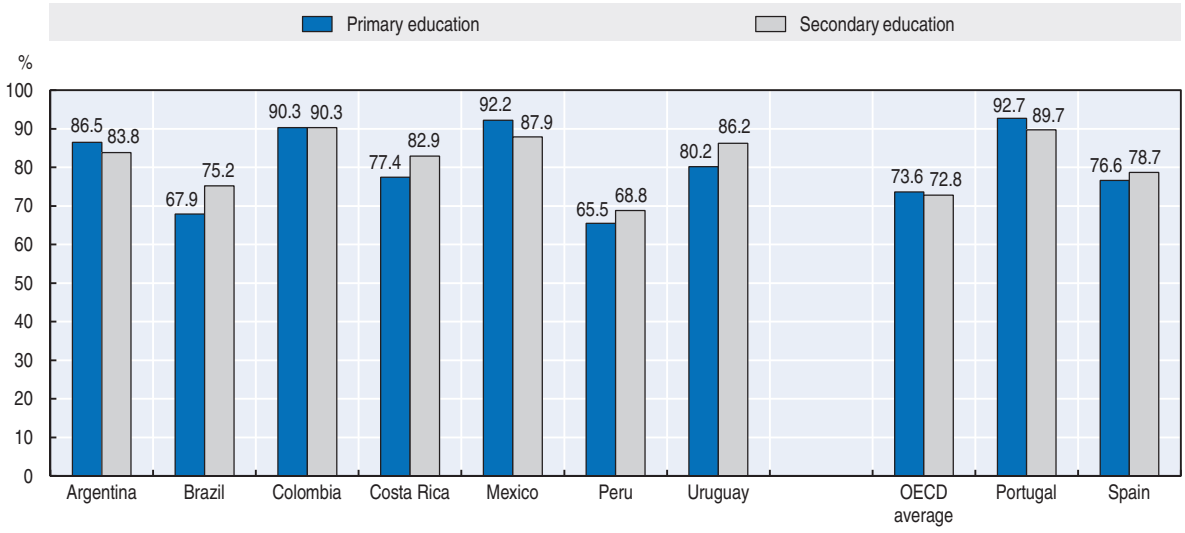
As shown in Figure 3.11, public expenditure on staff compensation as a proportion of current public expenditure is particularly high in general programmes in lower secondary education (about 95%) while it is slightly above 90% in technical-professional programmes and in general programmes in upper secondary education. In primary education, such proportion grew from about 78% in 2005 to about 85% in 2013 (see Figure 3.11). As displayed in Figure 3.12, expenditure on staff compensation as a proportion of total expenditure in public institutions is relatively high in Uruguay. In 2011, this proportion was about 80% in primary education and 86% in secondary education, above the OECD averages of around 74% and 73% respectively. However, other Latin American countries such as Argentina, Colombia and Mexico exhibited even higher proportions of expenditure on staff compensation (see Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.11. **Public expenditure on staff compensation as a proportion of current public expenditure, 2005-13**



Note: Current expenditure includes both expenditure on staff compensation and operating expenses. Data refer to spending by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP). Data on technical-professional programmes include not only lower and upper secondary programmes but also expenditure by the Technical and Professional Council (CETP) at the tertiary level (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).
Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

Figure 3.12. **Expenditure on all staff compensation as a proportion of total expenditure in public institutions by level of education, selected countries, 2011**



Note: Data for "OECD average" refer to expenditure by educational institutions from both public and private sources.
Source: UNESCO (n.d.), UIS.Stat Database, *http://data.uis.unesco.org* for Latin American countries; OECD (2014), *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en* for OECD average, Portugal and Spain.

Budget planning and execution in education

The planning and execution of the public school education budget is performed in an interaction between institutions which execute the education budget (mostly ANEP but also MEC, INAU and MIDES) and institutions which grant the school education budget and monitor its execution (the Uruguayan government through the Ministry of Economy and Finance, MEF). Considering only the budget executed by the ANEP (responsible for the vast majority of public expenditure in school education), the CODICEN is responsible for establishing a five-year draft budget for negotiations with MEF. The different education councils (CEIP, CES, CETP and CFE) are invited to submit their proposals based on guidelines established by the CODICEN. The CODICEN negotiates with MEF until a five-year budget is agreed for ANEP's activities. Typically, only part of the budget requested by ANEP is granted by the MEF. Once the five-year budget is established, the CODICEN reviews expenditure plans for CEIP, CES, CETP and CFE and assesses resource availability to finance the actions proposed by the education councils (Nollenberger, 2013).

The MEF transfers the education budget to the ANEP according to three expenditure items: staff compensation, operating expenses and capital expenditure. However, the ANEP can transfer funds from "staff compensation" to "operating expenses" and up to 10% of funds from "capital expenditure" to "operating expenses". The budget allocation within the ANEP is undertaken by the CODICEN following discussions with the education councils. In 2013, 89.6% of the budget was executed by individual education councils while 10.4% was directly executed by the CODICEN (INEEd, 2015). Most of the expenditure under "staff compensation" and "operating expenses" is executed by education councils while capital expenditure is mostly executed by CODICEN (in 2013, 88% of it against the 12% executed by education councils, INEEd, 2015).

The distribution of public resources for school education is conducted entirely at the central level, either by the CODICEN or education councils. There is no transfer of public education funds to regional authorities (departments) for local redistribution (but departments might incur in some spending in their schools from their own resources, mostly through infrastructure investments).

The budget allocation from the CODICEN to the education councils has a strong inertial component. Allocation tends to be historical which creates difficulties in shifting resources to new and more pressing spending priorities. The re-allocation experience so far relates to *ex post* transfers when a budget "surplus" from a given education council is transferred (via CODICEN) to another education council with a budget "deficit". An example of this was the transfer, in recent years, of some CEIP resources to the CETP as a result of the decline in primary education enrolment and the growth of technical-professional programmes. This *ex post* re-allocation does not generally become permanent (INEEd, 2015).

Funding the operation of individual schools

Each council (CEIP, CES, CETP) decides on the distribution of resources to individual schools within its subsystem. The CODICEN, however, also transfers resources to individual schools on a targeted basis through specific programmes (this is also the case for MIDES, see below). While no formal funding formula exists, and while no distribution criteria are publicly available, the OECD review team was informed that the funding for staff compensation is typically distributed on the following basis across individual schools:

- student enrolment level

- modality of school (common, full-time, extended-time, practice, *Aprender*), in pre-primary and primary education
- education cycle (pre-primary; primary; lower secondary; upper secondary), type of programme (general or technical-professional); and type of course (within technical-professional education)
- eligibility for extra staff (e.g. support teachers; CEIBAL teachers; community teachers; pedagogical counsellor teachers; bibliographic counsellor teachers; psychologists; social workers).

The estimation of enrolment levels together with the modality of the school and the type of programme/course allow education authorities to compute the number of student groups (classes) the individual school should operate (per education cycle, programme and course), therefore defining the teaching resources the school is allocated. The number of extra staff for each school is discretionary and depends strongly on the assessment of needs undertaken by inspections. These are also funded from targeted programmes, most of which seek to improve equity in education (see below). In secondary education, the number of some support staff (teacher leaders, pedagogical counsellor teachers; bibliographic counsellor teachers) is determined according to rules based on the number of student groups (e.g. one teacher leader per three or four student groups) (INEEd, 2015). Funding for special schools (which exist only in primary education) is processed separately and takes into account the severity of the disabilities individual schools attend.

Operating expenses, in turn, involve discretionary decisions by individual education councils as they centrally distribute materials and equipment to individual schools and directly pay their utilities' bills (e.g. water, heating, electricity). Within the CEIP, the allocation of education materials to individual schools is decided annually based on historical parameters weighted by the number of students and the modality of the school (e.g. full-time). Schools belonging to the most unfavourable contexts (mainly *Aprender* schools), are generally allocated more education materials. What materials should be purchased and distributed to schools is decided by a commission organised by the CEIP with the participation of the technical inspection and school leaders. Procedures are similar within CES and CETP (INEEd, 2015).

Finally, education councils also transfer some funds for individual schools to manage. These are typically very small amounts (often called "petty cash"), distributed monthly or bimonthly, and are typically earmarked for given operating expenses. The amount depends on the educational level, the modality of the school, student enrolment and the socio-economic context of the school. Examples of expenses managed by individual schools with these funds include cleaning supplies, meals for students (full-time and *Aprender* schools), supplies for repairs (*Aprender* schools), teaching materials (Practice schools and technical and agrarian schools) and school trips (agrarian schools). In primary education and especially in general secondary education, these funds are very small and barely cover cleaning supplies and minor repairs. For example, a general secondary school with 800 students is given about USD 107 per month as "petty cash" while a general secondary school with 1 500 students is given about USD 280 per month. In technical and agrarian schools the amount transferred is typically higher (INEEd, 2015).

Public funding of private provision

In general, private schools receive no public funding and operate on the basis of the fees charged to students for their attendance. Exceptions to this only exist in early childhood and pre-primary education through the public funding of privately-run CAIFs (regulated by INAU), the "Our Children" programme (regulated by MEC) and the voucher system embedded in the project "Care and Socio-Educational Inclusion for Early Childhood" (CISEPI, replaced, as of 2016, by a new programme, Scholarships for Socio-educational Inclusion, BIS). CAIFs provide early childhood education for children below three years of age and are run by an NGO which goes through a selection process in order to manage the respective CAIF. Public funding per student attending a CAIF corresponds, on average, to about 80% of the expenditure per student in early childhood schools run by ANEP. For the CISEPI project, families receive a voucher for an amount equivalent to the attendance fee capped according to the service hours provided (its replacement, the BIS programme, provides scholarships for children of vulnerable families to attend early childhood private provision in areas in which there is insufficient public provision). Also it should be mentioned that private schools benefit from tax exemptions (value-added tax, employer's contribution to social security) and corporate donations to them are not taxable.

School autonomy in managing budgets

Schools have very limited financial resources which they manage autonomously. Teacher resources for each school are determined centrally alongside the selection and deployment of teachers to schools (see Chapter 5). Central authorities also establish the compensation system for school staff and operate the remuneration system (see Chapter 5). In addition, as described above, the major components of operating expenses (instructional materials, repairs) are under the direct control of the education councils. The councils provide the materials and services directly to the schools which have no say on the corresponding budget. Schools only manage a very small budget ("petty cash") for small operating expenses (e.g. cleaning supplies, minor repairs) provided to them by the education councils. This small budget is earmarked and schools need to provide an account to central authorities on how it is spent. Given the tight budget constraints in which they operate, often schools rely on voluntary monetary and non-monetary parental assistance. For example, a common practice in schools is the organisation of raffles by parents as a fund-raising activity for schools.

Targeted funding and support to specific groups of students

As described in Chapter 2, there are over 130 programmes targeted at improving equity in education which involve the funding of specific groups of students or schools on a targeted basis. Some of these are described in Table 2.3. Examples of programmes which involve extra resources for schools to target at disadvantaged students or students with learning difficulties include the Community Teachers Programme, the Teacher + Teacher Programme (both in primary education) and the Tutorials Project (in secondary education). Some programmes involve direct financial transfers to students as with the scholarships to continue studies, the "Uruguay Studies" scholarship programme and the Educational Commitment Programme.

Extra funding for school education also includes the Meals at School Programme (*Programa de Alimentación Escolar*), which provides free meals in public primary schools; the Summer School Programme (*Programa Educativo de Verano*), which extends the school year

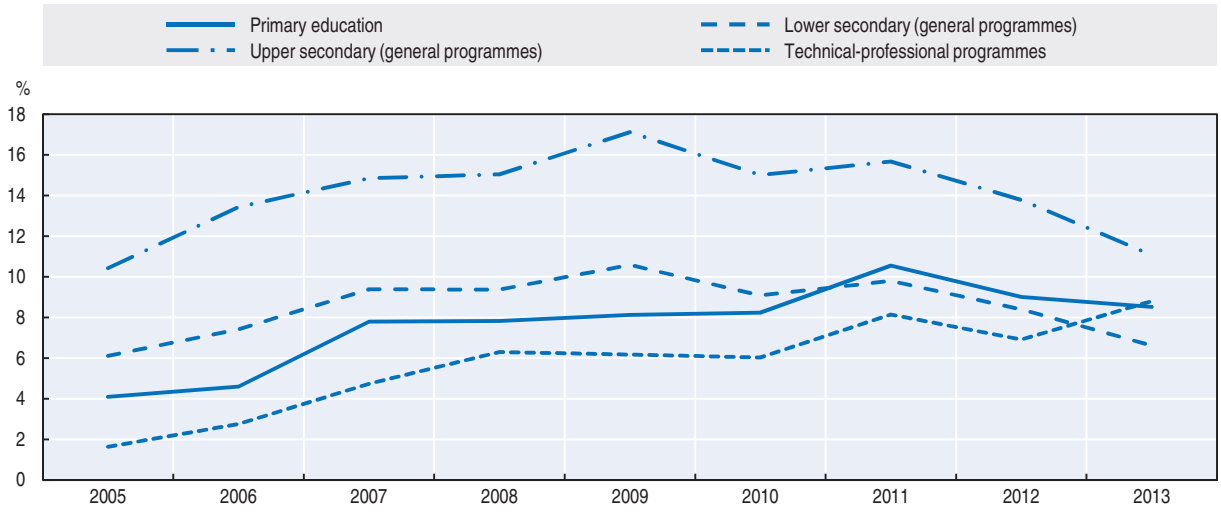
for 28 days in the summer for selected schools; and free transportation for all primary school students, free bus tickets for public secondary students and subsidised bus tickets for private secondary students.

Funding of school infrastructure

Trends in capital expenditure

Capital expenditure as a proportion of annual public expenditure on education fluctuates considerably, as shown in Figure 3.13. In the last few years, capital expenditure represents the greatest proportion of annual public expenditure in general programmes of upper secondary education (fluctuating between 10% and 18%). In the 2005-13 period, the proportion of capital expenditure has grown considerably in technical-professional programmes (from less than 2% to more than 8%) and less son in primary education (from about 4% to about 8%). Also, as depicted in Figure 3.14, in 2011, capital expenditure as a proportion of total expenditure in public institutions was lower in Uruguay (4.5% in primary education, 3.5% in secondary education) than in the average OECD country (7.7% in primary education, 7.1% in secondary education). For the same year, capital investment in school education was more significant in Argentina, Brazil and Peru than in Uruguay.

Figure 3.13. **Public capital expenditure as a proportion of annual public expenditure on education, 2005-13**

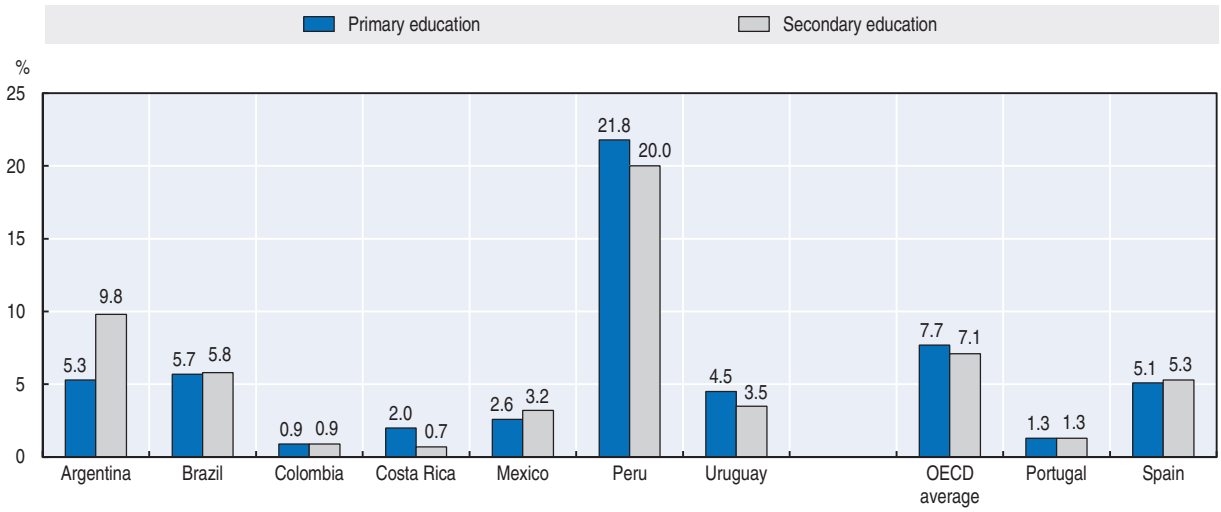


Note: Data refer to spending by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP). Data on technical-professional programmes include not only lower and upper secondary programmes but also expenditure by the Technical and Professional Council (CETP) at the tertiary level (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).
Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

Mechanisms to fund infrastructure investment

Major investments in the education infrastructure (new buildings and major renovations) are the responsibility of the CODICEN through its Sectorial Infrastructure Directorate (*Dirección Sectorial de Infraestructura*). The CODICEN assesses infrastructure needs with input from each education council, sets investment priorities and exercises discretion on infrastructure interventions within the available budget. Each education council assesses needs within its subsystem on the basis of the priorities identified by departmental education infrastructure committees. The latter exist in every department

Figure 3.14. **Capital expenditure as a proportion of total expenditure in public institutions by level of education, selected countries, 2011**



Note: Data for "OECD average" refer to expenditure by educational institutions from both public and private sources.
Source: UNESCO (n.d.), UIS.Stat Database, *http://data.uis.unesco.org* for Latin American countries; OECD (2014), *Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2014-en*, for OECD average, Portugal and Spain.

and include representatives from each education subsystem. They cannot make decisions on infrastructure resource allocation but establish infrastructure priorities in the respective department. The CODICEN establishes a construction/renovation criticality index based on a survey of the conditions of school buildings in the education system while new infrastructure is informed by current education supply and projections for regional/local student enrolment. Most of the investment in infrastructure is channelled through the National Corporation for Development (*Corporación Nacional para el Desarrollo*), which carries out the infrastructure works at the request of ANEP (INEEd, 2015).

Each education council also manages a budget for small repairs and maintenance and for works of small and medium size. Within each subsystem, the infrastructure unit of the respective education council determines the priorities for intervention from the existing set of school requests. These decisions are informed by the views of inspectors who supervise the concerned schools. In general secondary education, the facility maintenance system is highly centralised, and any repairs must be requested from the infrastructure unit of the CES, which establishes a list of priorities. For example, a broken glass in a classroom requires three quotes and the selection of the best quote before the repair is undertaken. In pre-primary and primary education, these processes are organised at the department level which provides greater flexibility (INEEd, 2015).

In addition to infrastructure investment by ANEP, there are two specific programmes that allocate funds for capital expenditure: i) Support Programme for Public Primary Education (*Programa de Apoyo a la Enseñanza Primaria Pública*, PAEPU); and ii) Support Programme for Secondary Education and Training in Education (*Programa de Apoyo a la Educación Media y Formación en Educación*, PAEMFE). The PAEPU, funded by the World Bank, specifically supports infrastructure and equipment for full-time schools. The PAEMFE, funded by the Inter-American Development Bank, supports infrastructure and equipment in secondary education and teacher training institutions (INEEd, 2015).

Funding of equipment

With respect to the provision and use of ICT, the major initiative in Uruguay is the "CEIBAL Plan", which was created in 2007. Its main component is the free distribution of laptops to students and teachers of public schools (at the primary and lower secondary levels). It is administered by an autonomous organisation (the CEIBAL Centre) and aims to "promote digital inclusion for greater and better access to education and culture". In 2013, on a pilot initiative, tablets with education content were distributed to pre-primary and Year 1 students as well as teachers (INEEd, 2015).

The CEIBAL Plan also involves providing Internet connectivity to public schools as well as a variety of programmes to support students and teachers. The latter include training support teachers for the implementation of the Plan (CEIBAL teachers, deployed to individual schools), Internet platforms with educational content, the CEIBAL library, the CEIBAL English programme (videoconferencing classes for students in Years 4, 5 and 6) and the "*Aprender Tod@s*" Programme to promote digital inclusion through school projects. In addition, the CEIBAL Plan also allows online formative assessments to be organised nationwide (in Years 3 to 6). CEIBAL initiatives are targeted at public schools but private schools can access them through an individual agreement (INEEd, 2015).

With respect to the provision of textbooks, they are provided for free in pre-primary and primary education. Until recently, books for Years 1 to 6 were purchased from a publisher. However, books for Year 5 and 6 are now developed by the CEIP. In secondary education, there is no free distribution of textbooks. Students often borrow them from the school's library (whose resources depend on local initiatives) or access the digital versions of some of them at the Internet-based CEIBAL library (INEEd, 2015).

Monitoring, transparency and reporting

The ANEP is required to annually present the execution of its budget to parliament. The presentation essentially involves the reporting of the executed expenditure according to major items and in specific programmes to assess compliance with planned expenditure. This reporting does not involve an assessment by ANEP on whether or not budget execution led to the achievement of given education targets. The description of the implemented actions is not supported by evidence of their impact on educational outcomes. In some instances, education indicators (e.g. enrolment rates, completion rates) are presented but with no established link to the implemented actions. Documents presented by ANEP to the parliament are publicly available (INEEd, 2015).

Control and monitoring of the executed expenditure is performed by ANEP's internal audit, which reports to the CODICEN. It has jurisdiction over all the education councils and programmes operating within ANEP. Its tasks include monitoring the use of resources within the school system, assessing compliance with laws and regulations, analysing information systems to assess their reliability, and providing advice to ANEP in the fulfilment of its objectives. It can "propose corrective measures deemed appropriate in order to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness in the use of resources, both human and material" (INEEd, 2015). ANEP's internal audit has free access to all offices managed by ANEP, including individual schools. In practice, given resource constraints and the limited funds managed by individual schools, lead ANEP's internal audit to concentrate its actions in the central units of the educational administration. The internal audit comprises one Internal General Auditor, three Central Internal Auditors, and Delegated Internal Auditors (INEEd, 2015).

The ANEP is controlled externally by the Court of Auditors (*Tribunal de Cuentas*), which is the entity that holds the treasury of all public finances. The Court of Auditors performs preventive controls of expenses and payments, control of administrative responsibility in financial and accounting tasks and "efficiency control". In practice, it reviews the budgetary and financial balances of all ANEP councils and makes observations which can result in sanctions (INEEd, 2015).

The monitoring of the equitable distribution of education resources across student groups, individual schools and regions is not undertaken as current information systems do not readily allow expenditure per student to be disaggregated to the desirable level. Also, there is no tradition of programme and policy evaluation. An exception to this is the evaluation and monitoring of the CEIBAL Plan, which has an internal department dedicated to these tasks. Some programme evaluations are also carried out by CODICEN's Division for Research, Evaluation and Statistics (INEEd, 2015).

Finally, individual schools are required to report to the respective education council on the uses of the small budget they manage ("petty cash"). Some controls are performed to ensure this budget is spent on the items allowed (INEEd, 2015).

Strengths

There are considerable efforts in improving resourcing in education

As analysed earlier, the public funding of education has increased significantly in recent years both as a proportion of the GDP (3.2% to 4.6% between 2004 and 2013) and as a proportion of total public spending (18.6% to 28.2%, for the same period). In real terms, public spending on education grew at an average annual rate of 10% between 2004 and 2013. This reflects the growing importance of education as an area of public investment and a clear commitment of national authorities to improve resourcing in education. Indeed, the government which took office in 2015 set the ambitious target of converging to a public spending on education of 6% of GDP by the end of its term (INEEd, 2015). This political context offers favourable conditions to agree a medium-term plan for education policy with the objective of expanding education services and improving their quality.

The multiannual budget process potentially allows medium-term planning of education policy

Public spending in education is executed according to a five-year budget agreed between the ANEP and the Ministry of Economy and Finance. In theory, this provides an opportunity for medium-term planning in education whereby public spending in education is associated with medium-term goals and a set of policy measures to achieve them. The stability of education funding, the clarity of goals for education beyond the short-term and linking policy objectives to resourcing strategies, all of which benefit from a budget established on a longer horizon, are key elements for ensuring an effective use of school resources. In addition, as five-year budgets involve planning spending in given areas within education (e.g. staff compensation), there is greater room for stability in industrial relations with teacher unions to the potential benefit of the daily operation of schools. In fact, in this context, teacher remuneration would not need to be negotiated every year. Nonetheless, conflicts with teachers over salaries and working conditions are somewhat common (INEEd, 2015).

Another positive feature is the fact that five-year budgets provide enough flexibility for adjustments in annual education budgets. This involves the reassignment of funds

across spending items or additions to the budget as dictated by emergencies and the reassessment of priorities. For example, as referred to earlier, in recent years, enrolment trends have led some surpluses in CEIP's budget to be transferred to CETP's budget.

Funding distribution mechanisms have some positive features

The mechanisms to allocate resources to individual schools are well-established and, in general, accepted by the main stakeholders. There are no stakeholders voicing major criticisms about the approach followed by education councils to distribute resources across schools. While the distribution criteria are not made public and information on the amount of public resources each school receives is not disclosed, there is the perception that education councils distribute resources so as to ensure some horizontal equity across individual schools (i.e. similar resources are given to schools with similar type of provision). This involves distributing resources on the basis of the number of students, the modality of the school (e.g. common, full-time), the education cycle, the type of programme and the type of course. As a result, the allocation mechanism seeks to ensure that, in each school, a basic level of resources is made available that enables students, regardless of their socio-economic background, to benefit from a similar schooling experience (Morduchowicz et al., 2011).

While individual schools have no autonomy to manage financial resources, they receive a monthly small amount of money ("petty cash") to give them some minimal ability to respond to the most pressing maintenance needs. While this is certainly not an instrument giving individual schools enough resources to respond to their specific needs, it gives them some means to address emergency situations. These limited resources are also seemingly associated with a distribution mechanism which takes account of the type of school, its size and socio-economic context. Technical and agrarian schools receive more resources to take into account greater maintenance and more specific costs. As opposed to other schools, they receive funds for teaching materials, school trips, ICT equipment, and student boarding costs (e.g. meals at dormitories).

The funding of individual schools seems to be providing extra resources to disadvantaged students

While clear distribution criteria are not communicated publicly, individual schools receive extra resources to account for the additional learning needs of their students (i.e. vertical equity – more resources allocated to schools identified as having greater needs). This takes place in three major forms:

- The type of school attended.
- Some school modalities receive extra resources such as full-time schools, extended-time schools and *Aprender* schools while they tend to serve a more disadvantaged student population.
- Extra staff as part of the regular distribution of resources to individual schools by each education council.
- Some schools are eligible for extra staff such as support teachers, teacher leaders and social workers whose discretionary allocation by the education councils (with input from inspectors) tends to favour disadvantaged socio-economic contexts.
- Extra resources as part of specific educational programmes.

- Some schools are eligible for extra staff through their participation in specific equity-related educational programmes such as the Community Teachers Programme, the Teacher + Teacher Programme, the Tutorials Project and the Educational Community programme (see Chapter 2). Extra staff includes community teachers, teachers for the programme Teacher + Teacher, pedagogical facilitator teachers and tutor teachers.

There is evidence that these approaches are providing greater resources to schools facing the most challenging socio-economic contexts. In 2012, the teacher salary cost per student in urban common schools, full-time schools and *Aprender* schools was UYU 16 009, UYU 31 253 and UYU 19 146 respectively (considers regular teachers, support teachers and community teachers). And, as can be seen in Table 3.1, both full-time schools and *Aprender* schools tend to serve a more disadvantaged population than urban common schools which means that there is a bias towards allocating greater resources to schools attended by the most disadvantaged students.

Table 3.1. **Distribution of public urban schools according to modality and socio-economic and cultural context, primary education, 2012**

Modality	Socio-economic and cultural quintile						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	n/a	
Common urban (%)	0.8	1.4	35.2	35.8	26.8		100
Number of schools	3	5	129	131	98		336
Aprender (%)	50.2	49.1	0.4			0.4	100
Number of schools	136	133	1			1	271
Full-time (%)	20.6	28.2	23.5	12.9	9.4	5.3	100
Number of schools	35	48	40	22	16	9	170
Practice (%)		5.5	15.7	22.8	55.9		100
Number of schools		7	20	29	71		127

n/a: Not available.
Note: The distribution is based on an index formed by the ANEP on the basis of variables associated with the socio-economic and cultural context of urban common schools (covering 94% of enrolment in primary education). Quintile 1 refers to the 20% of the schools with the most disadvantaged contexts, Quintile 2 the 20% of schools that follow in the socio-economic and cultural index and so on up to Quintile 5, which refers to the 20% of the schools with the most advantaged contexts.
Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

Table 3.2 displays the distribution of selected resources (support teachers, teacher leaders or deputy-principals, social workers, and number of teachers relative to students) according to the socio-economic and cultural quintile of schools for public urban primary schools, for both 2003 and 2013. It is clear that resources such as support teachers and social workers are more prevalent in more disadvantaged schools while the overall level of such resources increased from 2003 to 2013. Regarding the overall amount of teacher resources *vis-à-vis* the number of students, there is no particular advantage for schools facing the most difficult socio-economic contexts but the most advantaged schools have the least favourable student-teacher ratios (while in 2003 student-teacher ratios were similar across the school's socio-economic context). By contrast, the most disadvantaged schools seemed to be receiving fewer resources in terms of teacher leaders or deputy-principals than the most advantaged schools, even if this resource gap decreased from 2003 to 2013.

Table 3.2. **Distribution of selected resources according to the socio-economic and cultural quintile of schools, public primary education, 2003 and 2013**

Quintile	Schools with support teacher (%)		Schools with teacher leader or deputy-principal (%)		Schools with social worker (%)		Student-teacher ratio	
	2003	2013	2003	2013	2003	2013	2003	2013
1	30.2	41.2	56.0	75.3	18.8	21.0	28.9	23.2
2	34.6	35.9	53.9	76.0	12.4	19.0	28.8	22.5
3	22.3	33.1	44.5	64.0	9.5	10.4	29.0	22.9
4	15.4	26.8	55.1	73.6	6.0	13.7	28.8	22.7
5	9.3	26.1	66.3	81.3	2.1	12.2	28.9	24.6
Total	22.3	32.6	54.7	74.0	12.0	15.2		
Difference Quintile 5 - Quintile 1	**-20.9**	**-15.2**	**10.4**	**6.0**	**-16.7**	**-8.9**		

Note: The distribution is based on an index formed by the ANEP on the basis of variables associated with the socio-economic and cultural context of public urban common schools (covering 94% of enrolment in primary education). Quintile 1 refers to the 20% of the schools with the most disadvantaged contexts, Quintile 2 the 20% of schools that follow in the socio-economic and cultural index and so on up to Quintile 5, which refers to the 20% of the schools with the most advantaged contexts.
Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

Targeted funding conveys clear policy objectives and responds to important needs in the education system

As explained in Chapter 2, given that adjustments to educational policy are difficult to accomplish through the current institutional framework for education governance, a number of emerging policy objectives have been supported through the design and implementation of dedicated educational programmes. While the proliferation of education programmes is problematic in terms of the potential complexity of policy implementation, potential inefficiencies (e.g. duplication), and potential inconsistency of objectives, it has had the advantage of sending clear signals about policy priorities. A clear message had been the need for the education system to address existing inequities across student groups. This is demonstrated by the wide range of compensatory programmes available in the Uruguayan education system (see Chapter 2). As seen above, these have had an impact on the vertical equity of the system, with the provision of greater resources to student groups in greater need.

Another priority has been digital literacy for all students, mostly implemented through the large-scale CEIBAL Plan. The CEIBAL Plan is an ambitious initiative to bring Internet access and modern information technology to schools and promote the use of ICT in the learning process. Studies find that laptops are used in schools and that ICT has a positive impact on families and the school community. However, there is also evidence showing that laptops are not used to their full potential in the learning process (Pérez Gomar and Ravela, 2012; Winocur and Sánchez, 2012). Secondary schools, by contrast, might benefit from fewer resources for ICT. According to reports by school principals for PISA 2012, while the proportion of computers connected to the Internet in schools attended by 15-year-olds in Uruguay was 0.96 against an OECD average of 0.97 (Argentina: 0.71; Brazil: 0.92; Chile: 0.95; Colombia: 0.71; Costa Rica: 0.83; Mexico: 0.73; Peru: 0.65), the number of computers for educational purposes per student in the school was 0.40, against an OECD average of 0.68 (Argentina: 0.36; Brazil: 0.20; Chile: 0.49; Colombia: 0.48; Costa Rica: 0.53; Mexico: 0.28; Peru: 0.40) (OECD, 2013a).

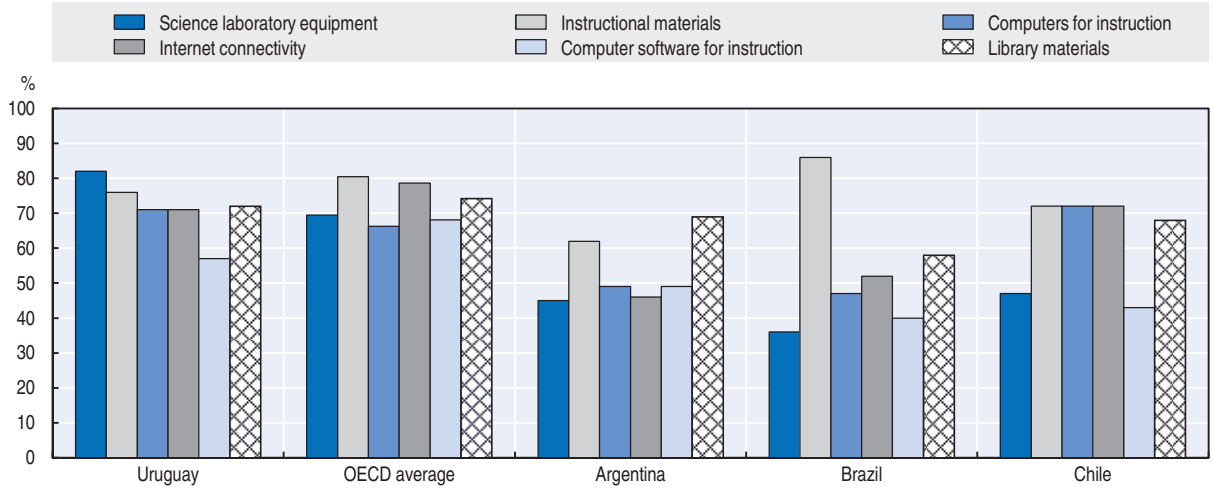
Programmes such as PAEPU and PAEMFE have also sent important signals about the need to improve educational infrastructure as a result of the expansion of education services (e.g. full-time schools in primary education; expansion of secondary education). Also, the provision of free textbooks in primary education ensures the availability of study resources is not dependent on the ability of families to acquire them. The distribution of textbooks to pre-primary and primary schools seems to be working well. In addition, the CEIBAL Plan developed an online platform where students can access a large variety of textbooks in e-format (over 300).

There is the perception that resourcing for some educational materials is adequate

In secondary education, school principals convey the perception that resourcing for some educational materials is adequate. For PISA 2012, school principals reported their perceptions about the state of educational resources available for their school. Figure 3.15 displays the results for Uruguay compared to those for the OECD average, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. It shows that, according to the perceptions of school principals, Uruguay fares well, especially when compared to other Latin American countries, in terms of science laboratory equipment, instructional materials, computers for instruction, Internet connectivity, computer software for instruction and library materials. Comparing perceptions by school principals in PISA 2003 and PISA 2012, the index of quality of schools' educational resources exhibits considerable improvement in Uruguay from 2003 to 2012 (one of the largest improvements among countries participating in PISA in both these years) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.3.40). This seems to indicate that, in the last few years, resourcing arrangements for educational materials have had a positive impact in secondary schools. However, in 2012, the index of quality of schools' educational resources was significantly more favourable in private schools (in comparison to public schools), advantaged schools (especially in comparison with schools in the bottom quarter of the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status) and schools located in a large city (Montevideo) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.3.15).

Figure 3.15. **School principals' perceptions of adequacy of educational resources, secondary education, 2012**

Proportion of 15-year-old students in a school whose principal reported that student learning was not hindered at all or hindered very little by a shortage or inadequacy of the following education resources:



Source: OECD (2013), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*.

There is some flexibility of public funding to respond to critical situations of unmet demand

There are situations in Uruguay in which public funding is flexible enough to subsidise private provision of education services as a result of the inability of public provision to fully meet demand. This has been the case in early childhood and pre-primary education, through the public funding of privately-run CAIFs, the "Our Children" programme and the voucher system embedded in the project "Care and Socio-Educational Inclusion for Early Childhood". This is a clear case where private provision brings considerable social benefits and introduces the principle of publicly funding education services regardless of the nature of the provider as long as their quality is guaranteed. This is an important means to expand the provision of education services in situations where it might prove challenging to develop public provision.

There are some provisions to monitor the use of public resources in education

Mechanisms to monitor the use of public resources in education concentrate on the management of financial resources at the central level, namely the execution of the budget by CODICEN and the education councils. This is understandable in light of the fact that very little public funding is managed at the school and departmental levels. Audit regulations are in place. Both ANEP's internal audit and the external control by the Court of Auditors (*Tribunal de Cuentas*) have standardised procedures to periodically assess ANEP's compliance with existing laws and regulations. Both bodies control the costs incurred by the different units of the ANEP. The Court of Auditors also makes comments on the budget and financial statements of all education councils. This is then expected to lead to specific actions for improvement on the part of the ANEP. Also, individual schools have very limited possibilities for the misuse of funds as they manage extremely limited budgets. Nonetheless, they are required to provide an account of how these limited budgets are used.

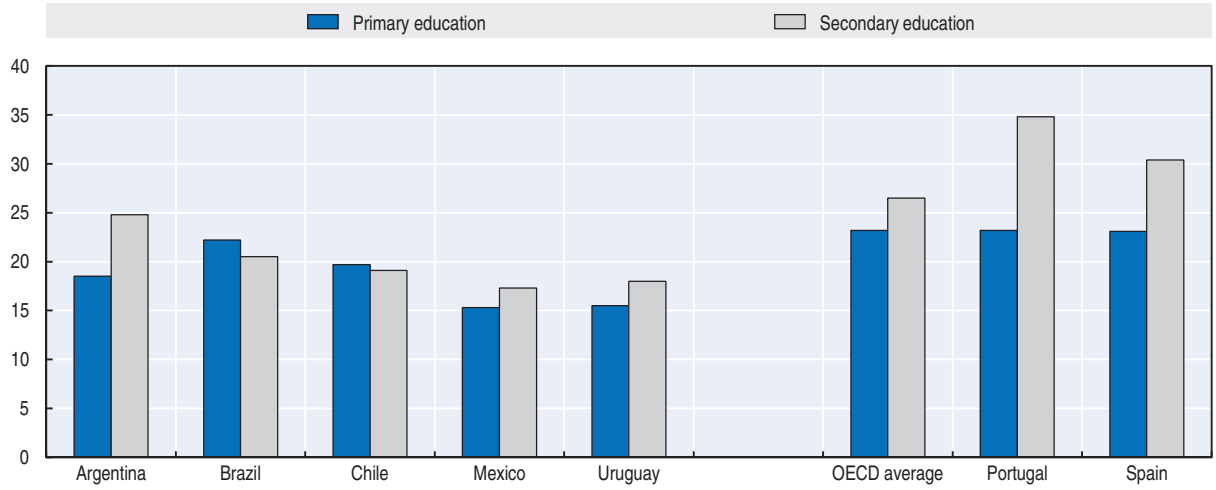
Challenges

Expenditure on education remains low particularly in the public sector

The relatively low level of expenditure on education has already been noted. A particularly good indicator of a country's relative effort in resourcing education is the amount spent per student as a percentage of GDP per capita compared with other countries, since this takes account of differences in per capita GDP. From Figure 3.16 it can be seen that, in 2010, Uruguay spent 7.4 and 8.5 points less as a proportion of GDP per capita than the OECD average on primary and secondary education respectively. Uruguay's figures for 2010 were also lower than those for Argentina, Brazil and Chile. As seen in Figure 3.9, public expenditure per student relative to GDP per capita appears to be particularly low in public general upper secondary programmes, clearly below international standards when compared to expenditure in secondary education in other countries (as displayed in Figure 3.16). This relatively low level of spending translates into inadequate spending on teacher and school leader salaries (see Chapters 4 and 5) and on learning materials, and challenges to meet the demand for pre-primary education places.

As analysed in Chapter 5, while there have been considerable efforts to increase the salaries of public teachers in recent years (real salaries of teachers in public schools have grown at higher rates that real salaries in the general economy within the last decade), the relative salaries of public teachers remain low. International research evidence indicates that teacher salaries have a positive impact on student performance (Dolton and

Figure 3.16. **Annual expenditure per student by educational institutions relative to GDP per capita, by education level, selected countries, 2010**



Note: Data for Argentina, Brazil and Portugal include public institutions only. Data for Uruguay include household expenditure and expenditures by non-profit institutions; and expenditure by the Technical and Professional Education Council (CETP) at the tertiary level is included under "Secondary education" (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).
Source: OECD (2013b), *Education at a Glance 2013: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2013-en*, for all data points except Chile and Uruguay; OECD (2012b), *Education at a Glance 2012: OECD Indicators*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2012-en*, for Chile; and INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/* for Uruguay.

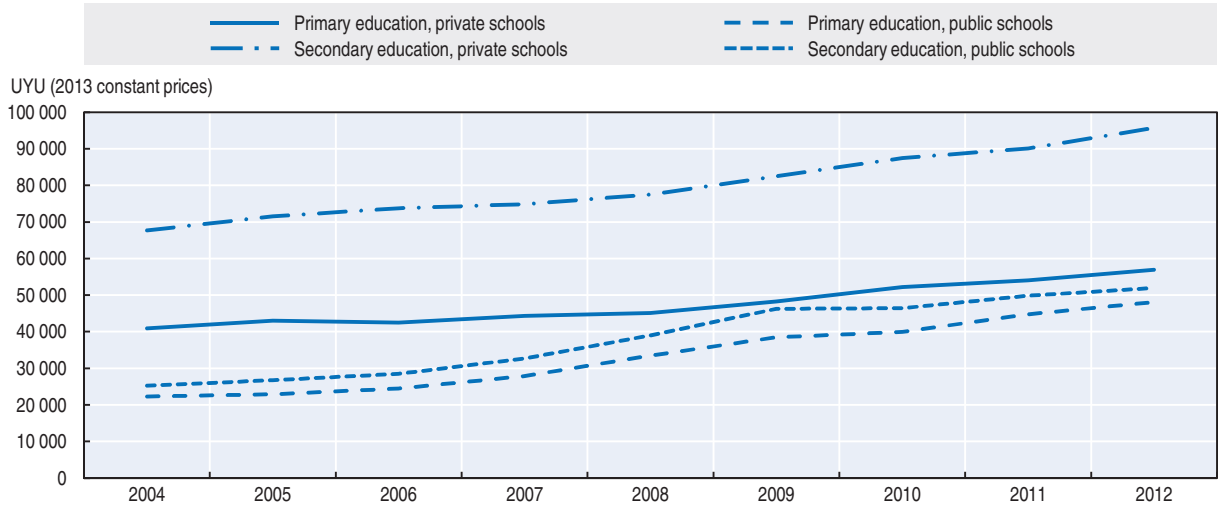
Marcenaro-Gutierrez, 2011). According to this research and in the context of the countries analysed (mostly OECD countries), a 15% increase in teacher pay would give rise to around a 6%-8% increase in student performance. Likewise, a 5% increase in the relative position of teachers in the salary distribution would increase student performance by around 6%-8%. In Uruguay the low pay of teachers impacts negatively on the quality of entrants into teaching, on public perceptions of the teaching profession and on the motivation of those already in the profession (see also Chapter 5).

The current low expenditure on education comes in a context in which there is a variety of pressures for further public spending on education. The expansion of coverage, particularly in secondary education and in early childhood and pre-primary education, should remain an education priority. This will come alongside the expansion of tertiary education. In addition, there is still considerable room to expand learning time across the different education levels, particularly in primary education. Full-time schools still cover a small share of primary education students (about 10% in 2013, see Table 1.4). And, as mentioned above, continued efforts to raise the salaries of public teachers are expected.

Expenditure per student in the public school sector is considerably lower than in the private sector

Expenditure per student in both primary and secondary education has been consistently lower in the public sector than in the private sector, as shown in Figure 3.17. Spending differences across sectors have shrunk in both primary and secondary education during the period 2004-12, even if more significantly so in primary education. In primary education, while in 2004 expenditure per student in public schools corresponded to about 54% of expenditure per student in private schools, this proportion rose to 84% in 2012. In secondary education, the equivalent proportions were 37% in 2004 and 54% in 2012 (see Figure 3.17).

Figure 3.17. **Annual expenditure per student by education level and sector of provision, 2004-12**



Note: Public secondary education includes general programmes (under the Secondary Education Council, CES) and technical-professional programmes (under the Technical and Professional Education Council, CETP). Expenditure by CETP at the tertiary level is included under "Secondary education, Public" (this expenditure is a minor part of the total expenditure by CETP).
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

The lack of adequate funding might be hampering student achievement

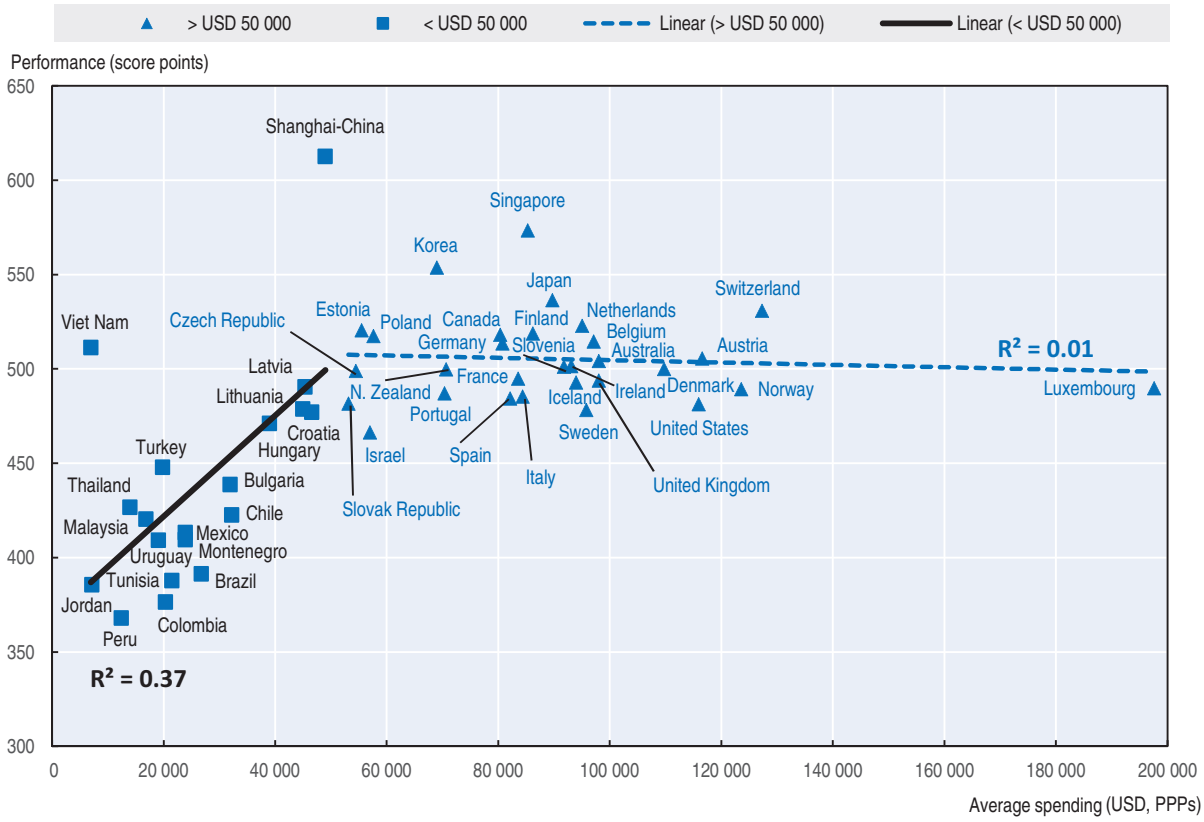
Among the 65 economies participating in the 2012 round of PISA, Uruguay finds itself in the bottom 15 both in terms of average mathematics performance and cumulative spending per student. Although the relationship between the learning achievement of 15-year-olds and the amount spent on their schooling is not purely causal, research has shown that a minimum level of financing is required to ensure that students have access to materials and resources necessary for learning (World Bank, 2013). Moreover, countries that fall below the cumulative spending per student threshold of roughly USD 50 000 in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms are more likely to see a correlation between cumulative spending per student and PISA performance (OECD, 2013a) (see Figure 3.18). Uruguay finds itself within this range, suggesting that increases in spending on education may contribute to learning gains.

There is scope to increase public expenditure on education in Uruguay. Countries with similar or lower levels of GDP invest proportionally more in the education sector, as is the case of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico, see Figures 3.2 and 3.7). The lack of adequate resources in schools can hamper the quality of learning environments. While larger education budgets are no guarantee of better education quality, a minimum level of spending is necessary for ensuring good quality education provision. A school system that lacks quality teachers and adequate infrastructure will almost certainly fail to promote quality education.

Budget planning is not strategic

At the national level, five-year budgeting processes are embedded in a strong legal framework. However, the budget documents do not typically provide clearly defined educational objectives, actions, goals and target results. The budget requests submitted by ANEP to the MEF are typically not presented with a vision of the school system as a whole

Figure 3.18. **Spending per student from the age of 6 to 15 and mathematics performance in PISA 2012**



Note: Only countries and economies with available data are shown. A significant relationship ($p < 0.10$, at 10% significance level) is shown by the solid line. A non-significant relationship ($p > 0.10$, at 10% significance level) is shown by the dotted line.
Source: OECD (2013), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*, Figure IV.1.8.

and do not clearly establish priorities for public spending. This results in the development of five-year education budgets that only weakly link to medium- and long-term strategies for the education sector. Linkages between strategic and budget frameworks typically help to provide governments with a clearer picture of where public finances are being spent, to allocate resources to policy priorities, and to make it easier to track spending against the achievement of policy outcomes. However, subsequently to the visit by the OECD review team, ANEP established annual targets for the period 2016-20 in its 2015-19 Budget Plan covering 61 indicators in a range of areas (e.g. percentage of students attending full-time schools; number of graduates from initial teacher education) (see Chapter 7 in ANEP, 2015).

A reflection of the lack of alignment between funding strategies and education policy objectives (through a strategic preparation of the education budget) is the inertial allocation of budgetary funds from the CODICEN to the education councils. As elaborated in Chapter 2, the execution of the budget follows the same separation logic as the governance of education across the individual education councils. This makes it difficult to follow a whole-of-education system approach to education policy, including adequately allocating public resources to areas of priority (e.g. education levels or types of programmes). As explained earlier, the current approach makes it difficult to shift resources across education councils for new and more pressing spending priorities.

Mechanisms to fund individual schools lack transparency and do not adequately respond to school needs

The funding of individual schools lacks transparency

While each education council seems to have an established algorithm to distribute public resources to individual schools, the parameters defining the basis for the distribution are not made public. As a result, the distribution of resources across schools lacks transparency. Schools are not provided with clear information on the bases used to differentiate the distribution of resources between them. Hence, there might be instances in which one school does not understand why it receives more or less resources than another school with similar characteristics. It is known that the level of staff resources are based on enrolment levels, the modality of the school, the education level and the type of programme/course but the relative weights applied (e.g. teacher resources in general versus technical-professional programmes) are not publicly disclosed. The lack of transparency might be partly explained by the absence of a rationale for the algorithms used by each of the education councils (and their likely historical basis) as well as the possible lack of articulation between the algorithms independently developed by each education council. In addition, the extra staff allocated to individual schools depends on the subjective advice of inspectors and discretion on whether or not one specific school is eligible for a given educational programme (e.g. Community Teachers Programme). These decisions seem to not always involve objective criteria.

Similarly, the distribution of resources for the operating expenses of schools does not follow a transparent process with objective criteria publicly disclosed. The allocation of education materials to individual schools seems to have an historical basis weighted by the number of students and the modality of the school. It might also follow arbitrary decisions based on perceptions of school needs formed by school inspectors.

The lack of transparency extends to the fact that there is no public information available on the education resources allocated to each school. The information systems do not allow measuring ANEP expenditure per student according to individual schools. This makes it difficult to evaluate whether resources are being allocated to where they are most needed.

School-level funding provides little flexibility to respond to local needs

As explained earlier, the distribution of staff resources on the basis of the specific needs of individual schools relies on subjective judgments of the education councils (often following the advice of school inspectors) for the allocation of extra staff (such as support teachers) and on whether or not a school is eligible for a given education programme (e.g. Community Teachers Programme). The algorithms used to distribute most staff resources to individual schools do not take systematic account of indicators reflecting the socio-economic characteristics of the school and its population (e.g. level of education of parents, income level of families). This implies that school-level funding is not directly related to the socio-economic characteristics of the school's student population which reduces the ability of funding mechanisms to respond to school needs. The same conclusion applies to resources for operating expenses. These are also not distributed on the basis of the socio-economic characteristics of individual schools.

A critical situation of the inability of the funding system to account for the specific needs of schools concerns the funding of special needs students who are educated in mainstream schools. While special schools have their own dedicated funding mechanism

(which accounts for the type of disabilities attended by schools), there are no systematic provisions for giving extra resources to mainstream schools to integrate students with special needs. Potential extra resources result from ad hoc subjective assessments of need by individual education councils (often following inspectors' recommendations) but it is not guaranteed that extra resources for special needs are available in every mainstream school that receives students with special needs.

There is a multitude of educational programmes which reduces the transparency of funding to schools

The proliferation of a multitude of educational programmes, as explained in Chapter 2, to a great extent reflects the need to circumvent an institutional governance framework which does not facilitate education reform and renders difficult the implementation of education policies to address specific challenges. An example of this has been the inability of educational authorities to develop a transparent formula to fund individual schools, covering all pre-tertiary education levels and accounting for the socio-economic characteristics of schools. As a result, the response to different learning needs and the support to disadvantaged and low performing students is mostly channelled through specific support programmes which target individual schools (e.g. Community Teachers Programme, Educational Commitment Programme) and through direct support to students (e.g. "Uruguay Studies" scholarships). In Uruguay, except for some discretionary allocation of extra staff (e.g. support teachers) by the education councils (driven, to a great extent, on the subjective views of school inspectors), there is no distribution of resources to individual schools involving an objective funding formula with a needs-based group of variables. This considerably limits the ability of the education system to target education resources according to individual schools' needs.

Also, the multitude of educational programmes makes the distribution of resources to schools considerably more complex and potentially leads to some inefficiency of resource use. An excessive reliance on supplementary educational programmes may generate overlap, difficulties in co-ordinating allocations, excessive bureaucracy and lack of long term sustainability for schools (OECD, 2012a). For instance, there is some duplication between the Community Teachers Programme and the Teacher + Teacher Programme in primary education and between these two programmes and the support teachers allocated directly by the education councils. Similarly, there are a range of scholarship programmes in secondary education with similar objectives. The lack of co-ordination between education programmes raises concerns about whether needs-based resources are effectively distributed across schools.

The autonomy of individual schools to manage resources is very limited

Schools in Uruguay have little autonomy in managing resources compared to OECD countries and other countries in Latin America. According to PISA 2012, the percentage of 15-year-old students in schools whose principals reported that only principals and/or teachers have a considerable responsibility for formulating the school budget and for deciding on budget allocations within the school were 5% and 18% respectively in Uruguay against OECD averages of 24% and 45% (Argentina: 10% and 18%; Brazil: 15% and 14%; Chile: 20% and 25%; Colombia: 25% and 27%; Costa Rica: 18% and 20%; Mexico: 31% and 44%; Peru: 41% and 41%) (OECD, 2013a).

In Uruguay, schools only manage a very small budget for essential maintenance activities ("petty cash" provided by education councils) and the small amounts of money they are able to raise through parental initiatives (such as the organisation of raffles) and, in rare situations, the sale of services (mostly in schools offering technical-professional programmes). Schools do not manage a budget for operating expenses such as educational materials and equipment or the professional development of teachers. As a result, it is challenging for schools to have their specific needs addressed and their ability to implement institutional projects that fit their socio-economic context is highly limited. During its visit, the OECD review team heard several references to the unsuitability of materials centrally delivered by the education councils. Schools often receive materials they do not need while they lack material that does not reach them through the central planning of the education councils. In addition, schools cannot organise the teacher resources they receive to fit their needs. Teachers are assigned specific subjects for a given number of hours while the functions of learning support staff (e.g. teacher leaders) are strictly regulated centrally (see Chapter 5). The little autonomy of schools in managing resources and administering budgets is possibly explained by fears of corruption at the school level as well as the lack of capacity for school leaders in Uruguay to engage in resource management.

The lack of autonomy in managing school resources extends to the local and regional level. Departments do not receive central resources for education. They are limited to the use of their own resources – mostly through infrastructure investment – in case they decide to contribute to educational development. Overall, little local and school autonomy hinders effectiveness in the use of resources as local authorities and schools are unable to march resources to their specific needs, and in consideration of their conditions and context. In addition, innovation is highly constrained by the unavailability of resources at the local and school levels.

There are limitations in monitoring the use of public funds for education

A number of challenges arise in monitoring and making transparent the use of financial resources. First, the analysis of the impact of financial resources on educational achievement (or education objectives) is not common with audits mostly concentrating on compliance with existing laws and regulations. The emphasis is on the analysis of financial balances of ANEP and checking if the budget was executed as originally planned. No analysis is undertaken of the impact of financial resources on educational outcomes and of whether given education targets were achieved. Also, the impact and effectiveness of resources for equal opportunities are not sufficiently monitored.

Second, auditing procedures are not given enough resources. For example, there is a lack of audit capacity within the ANEP, as the internal audit unit only has around five staff, clearly insufficient to cover all ANEP's activities including the implementation of educational programmes, the functioning of the inspections, the execution of infrastructure expenditure, etc. Also, according to impressions collected by the OECD review team from education stakeholders, the results of external oversight and control do not always produce concrete and visible adjustments in the governance and functioning of educational authorities. In particular, it is unclear what sanctions the Court of Auditors can apply when the ANEP fails to implement the Court's recommendations for the execution of the budget.

Third, the absence of reporting on budgets at the school level is a concern. There is no disclosure of the budget at the school level and no reporting on how the budget was spent. As a result, it is not possible to assess whether education resources are distributed according

to schools' individual needs. In addition, there is no available information on parental donations and other revenues raised by schools. Hence, schools' own resources are not sufficiently transparent with respect to the items they fund and how they are recorded. This might raise some equity concerns given distinct school abilities to raise their own resources.

Finally, there is a general lack of cost-benefit analyses of different educational policies and programmes, meaning that educational authorities in Uruguay often make decisions with minimal attention to the efficiency or effectiveness of their likely education outcomes.

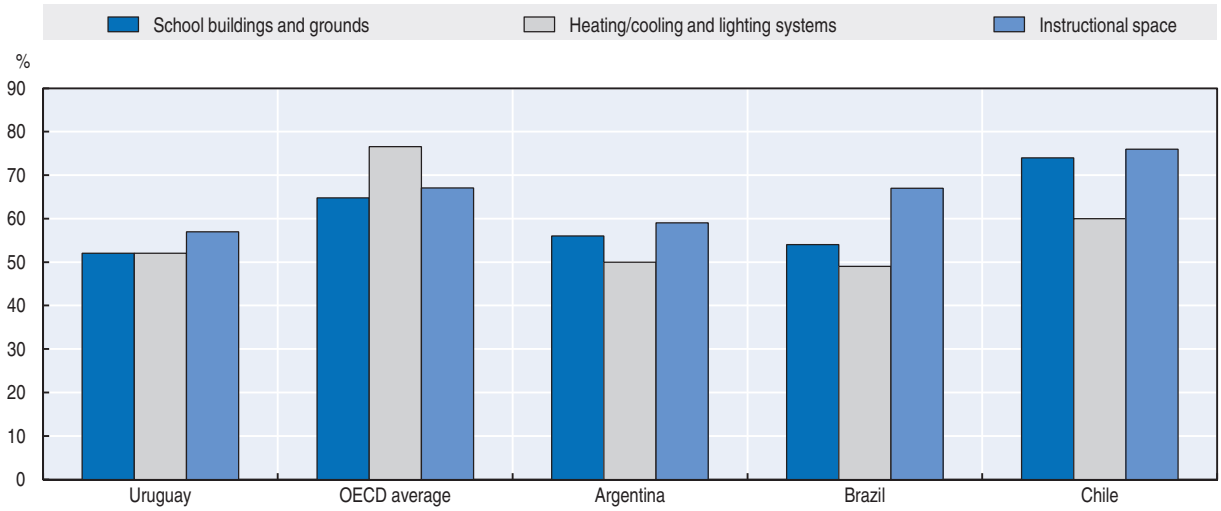
There are a range of concerns regarding infrastructure development

There are concerns about the quality of the education infrastructure

In spite of the efforts in raising capital expenditure in recent years, chronic underinvestment in maintenance and upgrading of schools has left many buildings in need of modernisation in Uruguay. In PISA 2012, school principals were asked whether the quality of their schools' physical resources hindered student learning (see Figure 3.19) (OECD, 2013a). In 2012, about half of 15-year-olds were in schools whose principals reported that shortages or inadequacy of school buildings and grounds; heating/cooling and lighting systems; or instructional space hindered student learning at the school. This reflected a more critical situation than in OECD countries and in other Latin American countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Chile (see Figure 3.19). An additional source of concern is that the PISA index of quality of physical infrastructure is significantly more favourable in private schools (in comparison to public schools), advantaged schools (especially in comparison with schools in the bottom quarter of the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status) and schools located in a large city (Montevideo) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.3.15). However, comparing perceptions by school leaders in PISA 2003 and PISA 2012, the index of quality of physical infrastructure exhibits considerable improvement in Uruguay from 2003 to 2012 (the 4th largest improvement among countries participating in PISA in both these years) (OECD,

Figure 3.19. **School principals' perceptions of adequacy of physical infrastructure, secondary education, 2012**

Proportion of 15-year-old students in a school whose principal reported that student learning was not hindered at all or hindered very little by a shortage or inadequacy of the following physical infrastructure:



Source: OECD (2013), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*

2013a, Table IV.3.40). There is also similar evidence for public primary schools provided by an index of the adequacy of infrastructure developed by ANEP's Primary Education Monitor on the basis of views expressed by school principals. While the index reveals across-the-board improvements on the quality of the infrastructure between 2003 and 2013, it also shows that the quality of the infrastructure is perceived as more problematic in more disadvantaged schools (INEEd, 2015).

International research findings suggest that physical resources matter below minimum standards. Evidence consistently suggests that the absence of essential facilities is detrimental to learning, although research shows a weak association between school-based inputs, including infrastructure, and education outcomes (Murillo and Roman, 2011; OECD, 2013a). In other words, adequate physical infrastructure and up-to-date textbooks do not guarantee good learning outcomes, but the absence of such resources is likely to have a negative effect. Murillo and Roman's study of 15 Latin American countries found that, with the exception of Cuba, basic infrastructure and services (water, electricity, sewage), didactic facilities (sport facilities, laboratories, libraries) and the number of books in libraries and computers in the school affects student performance. This finding holds even after controlling for the family's socio-economic and cultural characteristics, the socio-economic characteristics of the area and the country's level of development (Murillo and Roman, 2011). Poorly designed and maintained schools (i.e. those with inadequate acoustics, temperature, light and air quality), often found where educational achievement is low, can have a detrimental effect on teacher and student engagement and adversely affect student outcomes and can pose risks to student and staff health and safety (Higgins et al., 2005). Moreover, the condition of schools can indicate to the community the value of schooling as schools shape the appearance and atmosphere of the surrounding environment.

Mechanisms to fund infrastructure have a range of limitations

While, in theory, prioritisation of major investments in the education infrastructure is based on a criticality index (constructed on the basis of a survey of the conditions of school buildings), the OECD review team formed the impression that the actual criteria to establish priorities are unclear and non-transparent to education stakeholders. At the same time, it was clear that the highly centralised decision-making limits the ability of the education system to swiftly respond to more critical situations. The OECD review team visited a primary school (with pre-primary education classes) which lacked surrounding walls and, as a result, placed children at risk given the proximity to roads and the inability to impede the entrance of undesired visitors. In spite of the numerous requests for surrounding walls to be built, the school had been facing this situation for a couple of years already. This highlights the potential for the current system to introduce geographical inequities in addressing infrastructure emergencies. Since the administration of infrastructure is centralised in Montevideo, schools in the capital city benefit from greater and quicker responsiveness to their infrastructure needs.

Also, there seems to be little development of dormitories and transportation arrangements for students. The lack of dormitories and school transportation policies are an obstacle to improve the use of school resources as these would allow, for example, closing some schools with low enrolment while enrolling the respective students in nearby schools with greater capacity (INEEd, 2015).

Policy recommendations

Increase overall public spending on education, while addressing key efficiency concerns

Continue efforts to increase public investment in education and identify priority areas for further spending

The Uruguayan government should continue efforts to increase the amount spent on education in real terms and as a percentage of GDP as can be afforded, given general economic conditions and government fiscal policy. The government should be determined in its ambition of gradually increasing public investment in education to its target of 6% of GDP. An underinvestment in one generation of students can have long-lasting effects on the country's economic and social prospects. The gradual expansion of public spending on education needs to be accompanied by a reflection about the specific areas that should receive priority for further investment. This is a complex decision which requires comprehensive analysis in the system and wide consultation among stakeholder groups. This analysis would allow the government to develop a strategy for how to use additional funds, once they become available in the years to come. The present report provides some suggestions for this debate but does not seek to point to definite directions for further spending.

The expansion of education services is likely to absorb a considerable proportion of new public resources for education. These include the extension of learning time in primary education (as a greater proportion of schools will offer full-time schooling), the expansion of secondary education (as completion rates are improved in secondary education) and growth in early childhood and pre-primary education (as coverage rates increase). Expansion of education services will involve the construction of new school infrastructure and possibly the recruitment of additional school staff. In addition, extending coverage at the secondary level is likely to require stronger investment in tackling low achievement at the earlier stages of education. Odden (1999) describes the rationale for this emphasis as based on the argument that early and sustained intervention raises a strong cognitive platform which will support the more demanding work of secondary school. The level of resources per student in general upper secondary education might also require improvement.

Also, the expansion of early childhood and pre-primary education should be part of further investment in strategies to support disadvantaged students. Evidence from the United States (Cunha et al., 2006) and Europe (Wößmann, 2008) shows that investing as early as possible in high quality education for all, and particularly in supporting students from disadvantaged backgrounds, yields larger returns because early cognitive development makes it easier to acquire skills and knowledge later in life. The substantial long-lasting effects of early education on economic and social outcomes are particularly high for children from disadvantaged backgrounds, whose home environments may not provide them with the foundational skills necessary to prosper at later educational stages.

Another priority for the use of additional public resources in education is increasing the salaries of teachers and school leaders. As elaborated in Chapters 4 and 5, there is a need to raise the status of teaching and school leadership as professions, to attract better candidates to teaching and to ensure teacher education candidates complete their studies. A related pressing priority for spending in the teaching workforce relates to the resources needed in the move towards a workload system (e.g. 40 hours of work a week distributed across a range of tasks beyond teaching) from employment under a teaching load, which does not recognise the whole professionalism of teachers and is detrimental to their engagement in schools (see Chapter 5).

Address inefficiencies in the school system

Increasing public investment in education needs to go alongside improving the efficiency of public funds' use. As suggested in Chapter 2, there is a need to develop policies to raise school completion rates and reduce year repetition rates. This involves investing in early childhood and pre-primary education, policies to support learning difficulties at all educational levels, greater co-ordination across educational levels to facilitate student transition, more relevant offerings at the secondary level and greater mobility between general and technical-professional programmes. In addition, there is also a need to review the organisation of the school network with the objective of improving the educational experience of all children in a cost-effective manner.

Develop a strategic approach to budget planning

An important aspect of aligning funding strategies with policy objectives is the integration of education budgeting processes into strategic frameworks for education. In Uruguay, there is a need to strengthen the links between the five-year budgeting process to strategic documents and medium-term expenditure frameworks that connect spending decisions to education priorities. This requires developing medium-term and long-term strategies for the development of the education system which encompass the views and perspectives of a variety of stakeholder groups. A well thought-out and inclusive strategic vision for the education sector is necessary to design long term legal and institutional changes, to plan effectively the human and financial resources needed in different areas of the system, and to adopt a clear implementation path. An education strategy which informs budget planning needs clear objectives, established targets to be achieved, an indicators framework, and clear structures for reporting on progress and performance. The recent establishment by ANEP of annual targets for the period 2016-20 in its 2015-19 Budget Plan is a step in the right direction (ANEP, 2015).

A strategic approach to budget planning requires the consideration of the education system as a whole and not the establishment of separate budget processes per institution involved in the governance of education (e.g. ANEP, INAU, MEC, *Universidad de la República*) and per education council in the case of the ANEP budget process. A funding model that promotes equity and efficiency across the whole education system is not compatible with the separation of budget processes across levels and types of education, especially when the latter tend to have an historical basis. Hence, the practice of elaborating separate budgets for each of the education councils on an historical basis and funding the respective schools with distinct funding methodologies should be eliminated.

Introduce funding formulas to distribute resources to individual schools

In order to bring greater transparency to the distribution of public resources to schools, the introduction of a funding formula is recommended. The distribution through a formula is more likely to lead to a more efficient and equitable allocation than other methods, including discretionary and incremental funding models (see Box 3.1). A per student funding scheme implies that resources are calculated per each student and that a specific formulation is drawn, often in the form of a mathematical equation. A well designed funding formula can, under certain conditions, be the most efficient, equitable, stable and transparent method of funding schools (Levačić, 2008). Formula funding can be designed to combine both horizontal equity – schools of the same type (for example, primary schools) are funded at the same level – and vertical equity – schools of different types (for example,

Box 3.1. **Approaches to school funding**

There are three main methods to determine the annual allocation of resources that schools receive:

- Administrative discretion, which is based on an individual assessment of each school. Although it can serve schools' needs more accurately, it requires extensive knowledge of each school and measures to prevent misuse of resources. While it might involve the use of indicators, it differs from formula funding because the final allocation might not necessarily correspond to the calculations.
- Incremental costs is another type of school funding scheme, which takes into consideration the historical expenditure to calculate the allocation for the following year with minor modifications to take into account specific changes (e.g. student numbers, school facilities, input prices). Administrative discretion and incremental costs are often combined, and usually these are used in centralised systems.
- Formula funding relies on a mathematical formula which contains a number of variables, each of which has a coefficient attached to it to determine school budgets (Levačić, 2008). Formulas typically contain four main groups of variables: i) basic: student number and year level-based, ii) needs-based, iii) curriculum or educational programme-based, iv) school characteristics-based. It is common to combine a per student formula funding for some expenditures and other approaches for others (e.g. incremental costs, administrative decisions); for example, capital costs are rarely included in a per student formula.

Source: OECD (2012), *Equity and Quality in Education: Supporting Disadvantaged Students and Schools*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264130852-en*.

general programmes and technical-professional programmes) are financed according to their differing needs. A number of objectives can be used to evaluate a funding formula, in particular efficiency, equity, integrity, administrative cost, accountability and transparency, and sensitivity to local conditions. Thus, there is no single best practice funding formula – the balance struck between the various objectives should reflect the government's policy preferences (Levačić and Ross, 1999).

Formula funding offers more scope and more tools for achieving equity and efficiency, but these are by no means guaranteed. Indeed, inadequate formulas or wrongly assessed coefficients may exacerbate inefficiencies, as well as inequities. The level of equity and efficiency achieved depends, among others, on the extent to which formula funding meets the following conditions:

- Coefficients should adequately reflect different per student costs of providing education. This is not an easy task when class size varies greatly due to the existence of rural or remote schools. Difficulties also emerge in the consideration of students' and schools' needs in the formula (e.g. curriculum requirements, school equipment). A balance needs to be struck between a simple formula, which might fail to capture school needs with full accuracy, and a sophisticated formula, which might be difficult to understand.
- Budgetary discipline entails not compensating overspending of schools unless justified by exceptional circumstances (i.e. emergency conditions, unexpected enrolment growth, small schools in remote locations).
- Availability of detailed and reliable data on the indicators used by the formula.

In Uruguay, at least two separate funding formulas could be developed, one for determining staff resources for each school (teachers and support staff) and another for determining the operational budget for each school (which could possibly include the current provisions for "petty cash"). In addition to the transparency and predictability introduced, funding formulas remove the current subjective judgment in terms of the extra staff that is allocated to each school. The same formulas can also be used across educational levels and types as they would include specific coefficients which account for cost differences, for instance, between primary and secondary education and between general and technical professional programmes (see Box 3.2 for the example of Chile). This would remove the need to have distribution mechanisms specific to each education council. These formulas should initially be introduced on a pilot basis and only generalised once the pilot programme delivers its conclusions. Once implemented, the formulas should be publicly disclosed. In addition, the funding formulas should go through periodical review to assess the need for adjustments.

Box 3.2. **The funding of schools in Chile**

In Chile, the main mechanism of school public financing is school grants to school maintainers (municipalities and private bodies). Originally, the system did not differentiate on the basis of population characteristics (Mizala, 2007). Over time, adjustments were made to the system acknowledging that the costs of providing quality education varies depending on the characteristics and needs of students and schools.

The basic grant received by a school maintainer results from multiplying the Unit of School Grant (*Unidad de Subvención Educativa* or USE) by the monthly average student attendance and an adjustment factor by level and type of education. The value of the USE is adjusted every year in December (or when the public sector's wages are adjusted). The monthly average attendance is the sum of the daily attendance, as recorded by the school, divided by the number of working days in the month. An average of the previous three months is used as the basis to determine the grant. Finally, the adjustment factor considers the level (pre-primary, primary, secondary scientific/humanistic, secondary technical/professional) and the type (special and adults) of education, as well as whether the school is full day (*Jornada Completa*).

In addition to the base grants, the financing mechanism provides other allowances and grants (e.g. for rural location, for special education, for maintenance support). Among the various grants the one known as Preferential Education Grant (*Subvención de Educación Preferencial* or SEP) constitutes one of the major corrections to the original system. It recognises that, as the socio-economic vulnerability of students increases, so does the cost of education. In order to receive the SEP, the maintainer must sign an Agreement, known as *Convenio de Igualdad de Oportunidades y Excelencia Educativa*, committing to use the additional resources to the accomplishment of an Educational Improvement Plan (*Plan de Mejoramiento Educativo* or PME). The PME must contain technical and pedagogical support to improve the academic performance of low-achieving students, with emphasis on priority students. To qualify to receive the SEP all institutions should make sure that: i) at least 15% of all students are socio-economically vulnerable (unless there are not enough applications to meet that percentage); ii) classroom size respects regulations on minimum and maximum number of students per class; and iii) schools have internal rules to regulate the relations between the school, students, parents/legal guardians.

Box 3.2. **The funding of schools in Chile** *(cont.)*

Weinstein et al. (2010) positively assess the originality of the regime in combining the positive discrimination of the SEP in distributing resources with practices aimed directly at improving the quality of education. Bellei et al. (2010) point out that the SEP is both a compensatory programme of great magnitude and a policy reform based on standards. A study by the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education of Chile, 2012) suggests a positive effect of the SEP on the academic performance of students.

Source: Santiago, P. et al. (forthcoming), *OECD Reviews of School Resources: Chile*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

Ensure funding formulas take account of the socio-economic context of schools

The formulas to be introduced should take into account the socio-economic context of schools. This would improve the ability of distribution mechanisms to respond to local circumstances. At present, some funding for socially-disadvantaged students in schools is provided through targeted educational programmes (e.g. Community Teachers Programme). It would simplify the funding system and make the formula more comprehensive to include within it most of the funds intended for vertical equity. As a complementary funding strategy, targeted educational programmes would still be developed but possibly in a more consolidated way, as suggested below.

A formula which based on the socio-economic context of schools requires information on the socio-economic background of students. Indicators that could be used in the formula could relate to parental educational attainment, family's income level or place of residence. However, in order to provide schools with additional funding to enhance the education of children whose learning needs stem from social disadvantage, there is no need to identify individuals. All that is needed are indicators of social disadvantage of the area that correlate with the incidence of students needing additional learning support in individual schools. Needs-based formula factors also need to include information about the enrolment of special needs students in specific schools so the adequate extra resources are provided.

Review the delivery and impact of compensatory educational programmes in view of consolidating them

Funding strategies play an important role in achieving equity objectives within school systems. A crucial aspect of policy is to decide on the best mechanisms to channel the extra resources to student groups who have additional needs. This can typically be achieved through a systematic weighted allocation to particular student groups within schools (using a funding formula, as suggested above) or through funding directly targeted at specific groups (e.g. scholarships for disadvantaged students). As analysed earlier, in Uruguay, targeted funding through compensatory programmes has been the privileged mechanism to provide extra resources to disadvantaged student groups and schools. However, there is a large number of educational programmes whose implementation is not sufficiently co-ordinated and which are likely to involve a great deal of duplication in terms of objectives and allocated resources. The suggested move of some of these equity-related resources to be distributed through needs-based funding formulas (see above) is an opportunity to review the delivery and impact of compensatory educational programmes in view of consolidating them.

Policy needs to ensure that funds for equity actually make a difference at the individual student level. This involves not spreading equity funding too thinly across students,

accounting for the "concentration" of disadvantage in given schools as well as monitoring how schools actually use the extra resources for equity they receive (e.g. additional learning support staff for students with learning difficulties). Hence, it is recommended that the government evaluates the impact of each existing educational programme, assesses potential synergies of merging some of them, and investigates ways to enhance their co-ordination. For instance, there is certainly room for efficiencies between programmes such as full-time schools, *Aprender* schools, the Community Teachers Programme and the Teacher + Teacher Programme. Rationalising the existing programmes, including eliminating some of them, should allow some of the equity-related resources to be distributed through a needs-based funding formula. The objective is that compensatory educational programmes become complementary to equity-related funds distributed through a funding formula.

Consider giving schools greater autonomy over the management of resources

Uruguay could explore ways to gradually provide more autonomy to schools over the management of resources in order to enable them to foster improvements in education. Certain decisions are best left to school principals, who best know their schools' needs, to ensure a more optimal allocation of resources. Schools could be allowed to manage a budget for operational expenses equivalent to the resources which result from the discretionary decisions by education councils as they distribute materials and equipment to schools and directly pay their utilities' bills. This would have the advantage of granting the school the opportunity to acquire the materials and equipment which best respond to its needs and provide the school with incentives to save resources (e.g. savings on utility expenses). A budget for operational expenses at the school level, in addition to teaching materials and equipment, could also include funds for teacher professional development, regular maintenance and school development projects. The provision of autonomy over a budget for operational expenses could be made conditional on the demonstration, by the school, of its capacity to manage resources in alignment with a school development plan. This could involve a system of accreditation to certify schools as capable of managing a budget for operational expenses as part of school evaluation processes by inspections (see Chapter 4). The granting of autonomy should then be associated with relevant and focused monitoring, especially monitoring of outcomes (see also Chapter 2).

In order to manage a budget for operational expenses adequately, schools should plan its use in supporting measures to sustain and improve the school. They should be required to develop a school development plan which links the school's education priorities with its spending intentions in collaboration with the school community. School developments plans would be reviewed by inspection processes. This should come alongside the requirement for schools to prepare and submit a school financial report, which reports sources of revenue and use of funds for the calendar year. Also, giving more resource management autonomy to schools should entail developing the budget planning and financial management skills of school leaders. This could involve integrating financial resource management training into the development of leadership skills and developing leadership competencies for goal-oriented budgeting. Also, central educational authorities could develop central guidelines to assist with school finance and management procedures.

Strengthen the monitoring of the use of public resources in school education

There is ample room to improve the monitoring of the use of public resources in school education in Uruguay. First, there is a need to evaluate the use of public resources in

education *vis-à-vis* their impact on educational outcomes. The financial monitoring system remains focused on financial compliance while it needs to evolve into an analysis of education system performance, including in audit exercises (performance audits). This could benefit from the more strategic budget planning suggested above, whereby education targets are established and the monitoring of resource use assesses whether or not the targets were achieved. Clarity of strategic objectives coupled with clear frameworks for reporting in progress and performance would considerably strengthen the monitoring of resource use in education. As a result, the annual reporting of ANEP to parliament about the execution of the education budget should involve evidence of the performance of the education system *vis-à-vis* established policy objectives and education targets.

More generally, as suggested in Chapter 2, the monitoring system should more broadly consist of a periodical assessment of the state of education in Uruguay, be based on a framework of education indicators, include the in-depth analysis of the data collected, and involve the evaluation of specific education policies and educational programmes. A major step in this direction, as analysed in Chapter 2, was the establishment of the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEEd) and it biennial publication of the report on the state of education in Uruguay (INEEd, 2014). However, more systematic evaluation of policies and programmes needs to take place.

Furthermore, Uruguay needs to improve dissemination of information about activities at the school level, including information on school budgets. While dissemination of reports may be viewed as another burden in the reporting process, the education councils should consider using a single nationally-developed format to ensure that parents and voters know how schools operate in their community and how school resources are used. In particular, it would be important to publicly disclose the public resources each school receives alongside the uses of those resources and the educational outcomes at the school. Similarly, school principals should disseminate a school's activity report, in accessible language, by posting it on the web or on school bulletin boards, thus increasing transparency. Also, schools' activity reports should show clearly the amount of their own revenues, including parental contributions collected and on what they have been spent, whether or not these contributions are part of the school budget or held in separate accounts or as cash in hand.

Sustain efforts to improve educational infrastructure and improve procedures for its management

The scope for improvement of school infrastructure remains large, despite the considerable efforts undertaken in recent years. To address these infrastructure challenges, Uruguay will need to sustain efforts to improve educational infrastructure, benefitting from the continued increase of the education budget. It should also be more systematic in encouraging departments to contribute to the development of education infrastructure in their territories, possibly through cost-sharing arrangements. A more sustained effort is also needed to ensure that maintenance of school facilities and equipment is fully funded.

In addition, mechanisms to fund new infrastructure or major renovations need to become more transparent. This would involve publicly disclosing the criteria used to prioritise the requests for infrastructure interventions. More rapid intervention mechanisms for emergency situations are also needed. These would be made more geographically-equitable if departmental education infrastructure committees could manage a budget for addressing infrastructure emergencies in their territory and make the decisions on the needed interventions. Rapid and well-informed interventions need more local co-ordination

and better knowledge of needs, placing departments in a good position to play a key role in the management of education infrastructure. In addition, as suggested above, schools could benefit from funds for school maintenance as part of greater autonomy in managing a budget for operating expenses.

Finally, greater consideration should be given to the development of dormitories and transportation arrangements for students. This should be part of the planning of the school network and a review about ways to improve the educational experience of all children while ensuring the costs of the school network are not excessive.

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Chapter 4

School organisation and operation in Uruguay

This chapter analyses how school organisation and operation in Uruguay can contribute to the effective use of resources at the school level. It deals with the distribution of responsibilities for school organisation and operation and analyses school quality assurance and development. Furthermore, it discusses the approach to school leadership, the organisation of learning within schools and how school facilities and materials are used to support learning. The chapter places particular emphasis on areas of priority for Uruguay such as the narrow emphasis of school inspection on supporting school development and the limited recognition of the important role that school leadership can play for teaching and learning. The chapter also reviews the role of learning support staff, schools' autonomy over pedagogical processes and the use of resources, school-level strategies to address learning difficulties and the contribution of the school community to schools' activities.

This chapter analyses how school organisation and operation in Uruguay can contribute to the effective use of resources at the school level. Among other things, it considers how responsibilities for school organisation and operation are distributed; how school quality assurance and development are structured (e.g. school self-evaluation, externality in quality assurance); how school leadership is organised, distributed and prepared; how resources in schools are organised to create environments conducive to effective teaching and learning (e.g. organisation of learning, outreach to parents and communities); and how school facilities and materials are used to support such environments (e.g. use of school facilities outside instruction hours).

To provide a comparative perspective, where possible, the chapter draws on results from the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2012. PISA 2012 provides information about the performance of 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science as well as comparative insights about the students' backgrounds, schools and the learning environment across the 65 participating countries. In Uruguay, 41.4% of 15-year-olds sitting the PISA 2012 assessment were enrolled in lower secondary education, and 58.6% in upper secondary education. 41.4% of students were in Year 9, 57.3% in Year 10, and 1.3% in Year 11. Almost all students who sat the PISA assessment followed a general programme (97.3%) (OECD, 2013a, Tables IV.2.4 and IV.2.6).

Context and features

Organisation of human resources

School leadership

The composition of the school leadership team is determined for the different subsystems by the respective councils according to central regulations. These depend on the school type, enrolments and, for general secondary schools, the organisation of classes over the day (e.g. if a school also operates in the evening). Schools are typically led by a school principal, one or two deputy principals, and one or more secretaries. Principals and deputy principals have the same job profile, but secretaries have a different profile and do not need to have a teaching background (in primary education, however, they have a qualification as a teacher). Most schools have two or three school leaders, but the largest schools generally have three or more. For example, in general secondary education, a large school of more than 1 500 students can have one principal, 2 or 3 deputy principals, and various secretaries, while a small school of less than 500 students can operate without a deputy principal. Small rural primary schools may only have one teacher that also fulfils the leadership role according to a special teacher statute (*maestro director*), which requires teachers to devote 25 hours of their time to teaching, and 15 hours to school leadership and management (INEEd, 2015).

The school leadership team in all subsystems is supported by teacher leaders (*maestros adscriptos* and *profesores adscriptos a la dirección*). These teacher leaders fulfil mainly administrative, but also some pedagogical tasks. In primary schools, they may manage the school data in the Unified Management of Records and Information (GURI) and the

settlement of payments and accounts, keep order and discipline, assist support teachers and help low-performing students. In secondary schools, teacher leaders are responsible for a group of classes in one shift (*turno*). They keep order and discipline, manage the beginning and end of the school day and the breaks, and can ask school leaders to sanction students. They are also responsible for registering information about student's history of schooling, attendance, health, and interaction with parents and guardians. In addition, they provide information about students in their groups to teachers and communicate with families about truancy, sanctions and performance. The number of teacher leaders depends on the parameters set by the different councils and generally on the number of groups in a school. In secondary education, schools have about one teacher leader for four groups. For instance, one large secondary school with about 1 400 students offering lower and upper secondary education and classes in the morning, afternoon and evening that the OECD review team visited operated with 10 teacher leaders in the entire school, 2 for lower secondary classes in the morning, 5 for upper secondary classes in the afternoon, and 3 for upper secondary classes in the evening. In a technical school that the OECD review team visited, there was one teacher leader for every nine groups.

School principals are responsible for leadership in three areas: pedagogical, organisational-administrative and communal. School leadership tasks are typically distributed among the entire leadership team, except for some responsibilities that school principals cannot delegate, such as accountability reporting for financial expenses to councils, overseeing the finances of the Support Commission (*Comisión de Fomento*), and leading co-ordination meetings among teachers.

Initial preparation and further training. Under the leadership of the Teacher Training Council (CFE), the Institute for Advanced and Higher Studies (*Instituto de Perfeccionamiento y Estudios Superiores*, IPES), the main provider of teacher professional development and continuing education, also offers courses (*curso de formación en dirección de centros*) to prepare teachers for school leader competitive examinations (*concurso*) and for taking on the role of principal or deputy principal. Participation in the course is free of charge, but places are limited. Completion of the course is required for teachers to take part in the school leader examination. The format of the course is geared towards the exam and may differ from course to course. For primary education, preparation typically consists of 4 modules of theory of 16 hours each (e.g. in pedagogical leadership, administration, legislation and regulations, etc.), and an internship (*práctica docente para directores*) of 120 hours. The internship takes place in a school under the guidance of a school principal and may involve an analysis of the school and the preparation of a related project. Schools and mentors for teachers preparing for a school leadership role are chosen by the departmental inspection. Teachers who act as principals in small rural primary schools do not receive much preparation for their role, but can take part in a one-month teaching practicum in a small rural school during their initial teacher education. Teacher leaders (*maestros adscriptos*) receive initial preparation and continuous training for their role, as the OECD review team learned during its review visit.

In general, there are no targeted opportunities for professional development for school principals and deputy principals once they are in their position and school principals and deputy principals rely on feedback from school inspectors to develop their practice. There are, however, a few exceptions. In primary education, for example, school principals of full-time schools can take part in specialised further training (INEEd, 2015). The University

of the Republic (UDELAR) and some private universities also offer postgraduate courses in educational leadership and management (e.g. *Posgrado en Gestión de Instituciones Educativas* at UDELAR, *Posgrado en Gestión Educativa* at the *Universidad Católica del Uruguay*, *Master en Gestión Educativa* at *Universidad ORT Uruguay*), but these courses typically require the participation in some courses in Montevideo and the payment of tuition fees.

Recruitment, employment and dismissal. The employment framework and conditions of school principals and deputy principals, including decisions about recruitment, dismissal and salaries, are regulated through the teacher statute (*Estatuto del funcionario docente*; ANEP-CODICEN, 2015) as part of the regulations for indirect teaching (within which school leadership falls) and decided centrally for the different subsystems by the respective councils.

School principal and deputy principal positions are divided into permanent positions (*cargo efectivo*) and temporary positions (*cargo interino*). Permanent positions are awarded through school leader competitive examinations. To apply for a permanent position, teachers need to have reached step 3 out of 7 of the teacher salary scale (equivalent to about 9 years of teaching experience), to have successfully completed a school leader preparation course, and to have passed the school leader exam. For principal positions in rural primary schools, only step 2 is required. With the exception of technical-professional education, all school principals need to have a teaching background. In technical-professional education, requirements concerning principals' professional background differ. After taking on a permanent post, school principals and deputy principals are required to stay for at least two years, and can be renewed in their permanent post for three further years, unless the CODICEN has reservations and intervenes. With the exception of technical-professional secondary education, a principal's or deputy principal's right to a permanent post lapses after five consecutive years. In technical-professional secondary education, permanent posts can thereafter be renewed on a five-year basis. In practice, however, school principals and deputy principals can stay in their permanent position for as long as they wish in all subsystems (INEEd, 2015). Principals and deputy principals with positions linked to a department can change schools as long as there is a vacancy at another school. Temporary positions are open for recruitment every year and school principals and deputy principals who would like to stay at a school need to reapply together with other candidates who are interested in a new position.

The recruitment of school principals is a centrally managed process. The matching of a school principal to a school depends entirely on school principals' preferences of where they want to work, the results of their exam and their number of points (*lista de puntaje*, points' list) which is based on seniority in the salary scale (20 points), the inspector's appraisal rating (100 points), and attendance (20 points) and can reach up to 140 points in total. In secondary education, if a school principal position is vacant and cannot be filled, the school's most senior teacher will cover the role, ideally a teacher of step 4 in the salary scale or higher.

School principals and deputy principals are employed on contracts of 20, 30 or 40 working hours a week. In addition to these hours in a leadership position, principals and deputy principals can add teaching hours as long as the total weekly working hours do not exceed 48 hours. Instruction of teacher students in Practice schools and teaching in adult education do not form part of this 48-hour limit.

According to legislation, school principals and deputy principals can be dismissed through the CODICEN on suggestion of the responsible council in the case of ineptitude,

omission or criminal offence, but school principals and deputy principals must have had the opportunity to defend themselves. Individual appraisal can lead to the observation of principals and deputy principals and lead to the process of initiating dismissal.

There is no teacher career that specifies different roles for teachers. Like other school leadership positions, teacher leader positions (*docentes adscriptos*) are regulated as part of the regulations for indirect teaching in the teacher statute (*Estatuto del funcionario docente*; ANEP-CODICEN, 2015). As the OECD review team learned, as a position of trust, teacher leaders in primary schools (*maestro adscripto*) are selected by their school principal and appointment is always on a temporary basis (*cargo interino*). In secondary schools, teacher leader positions (*profesor adscripto*) are allocated through competitions for the allocation of teaching positions (*concursos*). They are assigned to a particular school and shift (*turno*) and are not allowed to teach in that same shift. Teacher leaders in primary and secondary schools are employed on contracts of 24 working hours a week (see Chapter 5 for more details).

School principals and deputy principals are paid according to a separate salary scale that is independent from the salary scale of teachers. Salaries differ depending on the rank (principal or deputy principal) and according to the size of the school. In primary education, there are three steps for three different groups of schools with different levels of enrolment (A, B and C). School principals in a school of size B (medium-sized schools) earn 5% more than principals in a school of size C (small schools), and principals in a school of size A (large schools) earn 5% more than principals in a school of size B. Remuneration can differ depending on the type of school (e.g. higher salaries for principals in full-time schools, *Aprender* schools, and Practice schools). In secondary education, there are four steps for four different groups of schools with different levels of enrolment. As in primary education, each step entails a 5% salary increment. At this level of the education system, salaries can differ depending on the shift (*turno*) that a school offers, i.e. whether the school offers classes in the morning, afternoon and/or evening. With the exception of higher salaries for full-time and *Aprender* schools in primary education there are no incentives for school principals to work in disadvantaged contexts.

Teacher leaders (*docentes adscriptos*) are remunerated according to the employment framework and salary scale for teachers, which do not foresee salary differences for different roles and responsibilities. In secondary education, the employment of teacher leaders differs from the general teaching career in that teacher leaders are allocated to one school and do not need to teach a number of hours in different schools (see Chapter 5) (INEEd, 2015).

Teachers and learning support staff

The 2008 Education Law entrusts the different councils with the management of the teaching workforce in their respective subsystem in line with the teacher statute (*Ordenanza nr.* 45; *Estatuto del funcionario docente*; ANEP-CODICEN, 2015). There is no level of the education system in which schools and principals are involved in the recruitment and dismissal of their staff, decisions about staff salaries, and decisions about teachers' professional development. According to the teacher statute, principals and deputy principals can, however, suggest sanctions of teachers through verbal observation, written observation or reprimand, following a certain administrative procedure and following a final decision of the council. While the employment of teachers is managed centrally, teachers' professional development depends almost exclusively on teachers' own initiative. Depending on the school principals' judgment, professional development for teachers can be organised within regular working hours or during time set aside for co-ordination (INEEd, 2015).

The distribution of teaching resources depends to a great extent on projected student enrolments. Depending on the number of students in each school, central authorities decide the number of groups per school and the number of classroom teachers required. The central level is also responsible for the allocation of support staff (e.g. psychologists and social workers). In pre-primary and primary education, the departmental inspection services provide input into the distribution of teaching hours across schools and the distribution of support staff which is generally tied to decisions about the distribution of targeted programmes. The allocation of resources at this level of the education system can differ between school types (e.g. Full-Time School, *Aprender* School), which influences the number of teachers' teaching hours and the allocation of support staff. In general secondary education, the number of students determines the number of groups in each cycle and orientation. The number of groups then determines the number of teaching hours for the different subjects in each school. The distribution of teacher leaders and learning support staff (e.g. pedagogical counsellor teachers) follows ideal ratios of groups per staff (e.g. one teacher leader for three to four groups). In technical-professional secondary education, central decisions about the distribution of teachers also consider the schools' offer and types of courses and programmes. The distribution of teachers to individual schools in all subsystems is managed at the central level, but depends to a very large extent on the distribution of vacancies, teachers' choice of position and school, and the rank of teachers within the profession that is determined by a set of different criteria (e.g. seniority, salary step, appraisal rating, etc.) (see Chapter 5). Teacher appraisal is the responsibility of the school inspections (see Chapter 5), but school principals are also required to carry out appraisals of the teachers in their schools. Together with the external appraisal by inspections, internal teacher appraisal by the school principal informs the selection of teachers to teaching positions. Since 2014, principals in primary schools take part in the committee that decides the final appraisal rating for teachers without the right to vote (*con voz, sin voto*; with a voice, without a vote) (see Chapter 5 for more details on the management of the teaching workforce) (INEEd, 2015).

When compared to other countries, schools' autonomy for managing their teachers in Uruguay is comparatively low. For PISA 2012, 76% of students were in a school whose principal reported that only the regional and/or national authorities are responsible for selecting teachers for hire, compared to 24% on average across OECD countries (Brazil: 70%, Chile: 20%). 76% of students were in a school whose principal reported that only regional and/or national authorities are responsible for firing teachers (OECD average: 34%, Argentina: 52%, Brazil: 72%, Chile: 31%). School autonomy for establishing teachers' salaries and for determining teachers' salary increases is low in most countries, including Uruguay (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.4.1 and Figure IV.4.2).

Organisation of physical resources

Educational materials

The different councils manage the purchase of didactic materials and their allocation and distribution to schools (INEEd, 2015). This process is similar across levels of education and typically takes place on an annual basis based on school type and number of students as well as previous allocations. A committee of technical inspectors and school principals decides about the criteria according to which the type and amount of materials is decided (INEEd, 2015). Both general and technical-professional secondary educations do not have a policy for textbooks. Students do not receive school books for free, but all schools do have

a school library for students to consult. Since 2011, the programme ProReading (*Prolee*) provides library facilities (*biblioteca solidaria*) and reading materials for teachers and students to complement work in traditional classrooms and to improve students' reading comprehension, writing and access to knowledge (INEEd, 2015).

The CEIBAL Plan aims to promote digital inclusion and greater and easier access to education and culture by handing out laptop computers to students and teachers in public primary and lower secondary schools for free. The programme started in 2007 and now covers all children in primary and lower secondary education. Since 2013, tablets with educational materials and content have been handed out to teachers and children in pre-primary education and the first year of school. The CEIBAL Plan also supports Internet connectivity for schools and a range of projects to support the use of ICT in classrooms (e.g. support staff, professional development for teachers, development of content, English classes through videoconferencing, online formative assessment and feedback) (see Chapter 3 for further details on the funding of educational materials) (INEEd, 2015).

For PISA 2012, school principals reported their perceptions about the state of educational resources available for their school. According to this survey, 76% of students were in a school whose principal reported that instruction was not hindered at all or hindered very little by a shortage or inadequacy of instructional materials, such as textbooks (OECD average: 80%, Argentina: 62%, Brazil: 86%, Chile: 72%). 72% of students were in a school whose principal reported that instruction was not hindered at all or hindered very little by a shortage or inadequacy of library materials (OECD average: 74%, Argentina: 69%, Brazil: 58%, Chile: 68%). 71% of students were in a school whose principal reported that instruction was not hindered at all or hindered very little by a shortage or inadequacy of computers for instruction or Internet connectivity (OECD average: 66% and 79% respectively, Argentina: 49% and 46%, Brazil: 47% and 52%, Chile: 72% and 72%). 82% of students were in a school whose principal reported that instruction was hindered not at all or only very little by shortage or inadequacy of science laboratory equipment (OECD average: 69%, Argentina: 45%, Brazil: 36%, Chile: 47%) (OECD, 2013a, Figure IV.3.8).

School facilities

Large infrastructure and maintenance needs are decided at the central level by the councils and the CODICEN according to an index of critical infrastructure needs (*índice de requerimiento y criticidad constructiva*) developed by CODICES's Sectoral Infrastructure Directorate (*Dirección Sectorial de Infraestructura*). Each council also has its own resources for maintenance and repair of school facilities as well as small and medium works. In each subsystem, the inspectors together with the council's architecture divisions determine work priorities for the facility requests of schools. In pre-primary and primary education funds for school facilities are assigned to individual departments and the departmental inspections evaluate and prioritise requests of schools, while in secondary education all maintenance requests need to pass through the architecture divisions of the councils (INEEd, 2015).

Schools receive some direct funds from their responsible council for minor repairs and the running of their school (e.g. gas, cleaning staff, catering). The amount of these funds is generally very limited, but schools need to provide receipts for their expenditure.[1] The correct use of these funds is also evaluated as part of the individual appraisal of school principals. The amount of funds available for schools differs across subsystems, and, within subsystems, by school type, enrolment and/or socio-economic context. Occasionally, schools receive additional earmarked funds for some operational costs. In addition, schools can

mobilise funds to finance small repairs and purchases through their Support Commission or parent association (INEEd, 2015) (see Chapter 3 for further details).

In Uruguay, only between 52% and 57% of students were in a school whose principal reported for PISA 2012 that shortages or inadequacy of school buildings and grounds, heating/cooling and lighting systems or instructional spaces, such as classrooms do not hinder at all or hinder very little their school's capacity to provide instruction. Concerns about the physical infrastructure of schools are similar to other countries in the region, including Argentina and Brazil, but stronger than in the OECD area, where 65% to 77% of students were in a school whose principal reported that shortages or inadequacy of physical infrastructure do not or hinder very little instruction in school (OECD, 2013a, Figure IV.3.7).

School evaluation

There is no comprehensive framework for the evaluation of schools and school staff. Each council is responsible for organising its school inspection and devising its own approach to evaluation within the boundaries of some general regulations set out in the teacher statute (*Estatuto del funcionario docente*; ANEP-CODICEN, 2015) (see also Chapter 1). In all subsystems, the inspections focus on the appraisal of individual teachers, school principals and deputy principals rather than the evaluation of the whole school and its processes (see Chapter 5 for more details on teacher appraisal). According to the teacher statute, the appraisal of principals and deputy principals is required on an annual basis and should evaluate capacity for guidance and management, the technical-pedagogical competencies required for the position, initiatives to improve the service, attendance and dedication, the work climate, human relations, equal treatment of staff, capacity for administration and efficiency, work with the community, professional development, scholarships, technical-pedagogical commissions and research. Appraisal results in a rating on a scale of 1-100 points at the end of the school year. This appraisal rating constitutes one part (up to 100 points) of the overall sum of 140 points that influence decisions about school leaders' careers. A low inspection rating of less than 50 points leads to a status of "observation". In the case of two consecutive "observation" ratings, the school inspection can ask the council to terminate a contract, but a committee of inspectors has the final say about such decisions.

In primary education, the school inspection service is organised into district inspectors (*inspector de zona*) who are responsible for the supervision of a number of schools in their area, departmental inspectors (*inspector departamental*) who are responsible for a department or for specific types of schools or programmes, such as the inspection of *Aprender* schools, the inspection of the CEIBAL Plan or the inspection of the Community Teachers Programme, specialised inspectors (*inspector de área/inspector nacional*) who focus on pre-primary education, special needs education, physical education and art education, and practice schools (*escuelas de práctica*), general inspectors (*inspector general*) who are responsible for a part of the country, and the technical inspector (*inspector técnico*) who is responsible for the inspection service as a whole. District inspectors appraise the teachers, principals and deputy principals of the schools for which they are responsible. Appraisals aim to provide guidance and orientation, but also have a function of supervision and control. The appraisal of principals involves at least two school visits per year. The district inspector can combine these visits with the visit to appraise teachers in the same school. District inspectors can use a number of different tools and strategies, such as interviews, documentary analysis, the school principals' analysis of teachers' planning in different years (e.g. one example for

Years 1 and 2, one for Years 3 and 4, and one for Years 5 and 6), joint classroom visits, visits to teacher co-ordination meetings, and data from the school's Unified Management of Records and Information system (GURI). A committee of three inspectors (the school's district inspector, an additional district inspector and the departmental inspector) discusses the final appraisal result for the school principal, which also contains a qualitative appraisal report that discusses a number of items and is published on the website of the CEIP.

In general secondary education, the general inspection (*inspección general*) consists of a technical inspection (*inspección técnica*), a school inspection (*inspección de institutos y liceos*) and a subject inspection (*inspección de asignaturas*). The creation of regional inspections (*inspección regional*) is in process at the time of writing this report and is likely to require inspectors to work some part of their time in the regions and some part of their time in Montevideo. As the OECD review team learned during its visit, the decentralisation process of the inspection envisages that inspectors spend 12 days in the interior, and the rest of the time in Montevideo. The technical inspection is responsible for advice on technical issues (e.g. assessment and examinations, curriculum, etc.). The school inspection is responsible for the supervision of schools and the appraisal of school principals and deputy principals while the subject inspection is responsible for the appraisal of teachers. The school inspection provides orientation and guidance (e.g. about competencies, professional development needs), but also has a summative purpose of control and accountability. School inspectors visit schools at least 4-5 times a year and are required to produce a report for each visit.

In technical-professional secondary education, the inspection is divided across different programme directors.[2] Three of these programme directors are responsible for the technical inspection and teacher appraisal in specific technical-professional specialisations (agriculture, industrial processes, services). These inspections focus on professional development for teachers and relationships with business and industry, for example. One of the programme directors is responsible for the inspection of school principals (*gestión escolar*). The individual appraisal of principals and deputy principals examines areas such as organisational planning and human resource management and involves at least one visit to the school (INEEd, 2015).

The organisational structures and capacity of the inspection differ across the individual councils. In general secondary education, school inspectors who are still mostly based centrally in Montevideo are typically responsible for the appraisal of 20 school principals and are required to produce one report for every school visit, therefore amounting to around 100 appraisal reports per year. In technical-professional secondary education, school inspectors are typically responsible for the supervision of principals in 15 schools.

Evaluation within schools similarly typically does not examine school practices as a whole (e.g. through self-evaluations), but also focuses on the individual appraisal of teachers through the school principal. Internal teacher appraisal is required annually according to the teacher statute and needs to evaluate aspects such as teachers' aptitude and preparation, initiative for improvement of service, commitment and collaboration in the school, contributions to the school community, interest and concern for student problems, contribution to the practical education of future teachers, and attendance of assessment meetings.

Organisation of learning

Learning support staff

In primary education, teachers in classrooms may benefit from the assistance of support teachers (*maestros de apoyo*), teacher leaders (*maestros adscriptos*) and social workers (*trabajadores sociales*). Full-time schools and extended-time schools have the support of specialised teachers to run the different additional activities and workshops (e.g. in arts, music, sports, English). Community teachers (*maestros comunitarios*) and teachers from the Teacher + Teacher (*Maestros más Maestros*) Programme provide additional support in disadvantaged contexts. While community teachers work on improving children's learning outcomes and on strengthening links with families, teachers from "Teacher + Teacher" co-ordinate their work with classroom teachers and offer additional tuition after classes to students with difficulties or support classroom teachers directly in the classroom as a pedagogical team to provide more individualised teaching. CEIBAL support teachers (*maestro de apoyo CEIBAL*) give advice and help teachers to use CEIBAL laptops in their teaching in the best possible way (INEEd, 2015). In addition, the OECD review team learned of integration teachers (*maestro integrador*) who work to develop a positive school climate and to foster social interaction among children in pre-primary and primary schools. Their profile, however, is not yet clearly defined and their number is still limited.

In general secondary education, pedagogical counsellor teachers (*profesor orientador pedagógico*) co-ordinate between staff in schools, strengthen ties with families and communities, and support tutors and educational projects to maximise their impact. They co-ordinate tutorials with timetables and the school lunch, for example. Bibliographic counsellor teachers (*profesor orientador bibliográfico*) support school libraries and multimedia rooms. Lab assistants (*preparador de laboratorio*) manage the lab facilities in schools and ensure that the equipment and materials are in a good state. Technology counsellor teachers (*profesor orientador de tecnología educativa*) may be available to help with the use of IT rooms and materials. Teacher leaders (*profesores adscriptos*) who are part of the school leadership team function as a contact for a group within the school and while they fulfil a range of administrative tasks, they also fulfil some pedagogical tasks. They substitute teachers if needed and provide information about students in teacher meetings, for example. Pedagogical facilitator teachers (*profesor articulador pedagógico*) support the implementation of the Educational Commitment Programme (*Compromiso Educativo*) in schools. They lead the organisation of the mentoring activities with older students and establish links with other institutions, for example. Tutor teachers (*profesor tutor*) may provide additional support for students to manage the transitions across school years.

In technical-professional secondary education, schools typically do not have the range of support staff that support teachers in other subsystems. Technical and agrarian schools have the support of teacher leaders (*profesores adscriptos*) and of multidisciplinary teams which can comprise psychologists and social workers, for example, but these are organised at a departmental level and not based in schools (INEEd, 2015). In addition, the Educational Commitment Programme (*Compromiso Educativo*) also provides support in technical-professional secondary education.

Student grouping

Schools are autonomous to decide how to group students within their school. While schools may group students to accommodate students' special needs, they generally do not

group students based on their abilities (INEEd, 2015). In both primary and secondary education students with learning difficulties are integrated in regular groups, but may benefit from additional instruction and more personalised learning through special programmes (e.g. community teachers in primary schools and tutorials in secondary schools) (INEEd, 2015).

School year repetition

School year repetition is common practice in schools and high rates of year repetition by regional and international standards are a long-standing challenge in Uruguay, also for equity as disadvantaged students are more likely to repeat a year (see Chapter 1). However, teachers' perception of this issue differs and teachers do not believe that year repetition is a tool that is employed too often (INEEd, 2015).

In primary schools, teachers have a large say when it comes to decisions about their students' progression to higher school years. To prevent students from having to repeat a year and to facilitate students' transition in the early years of primary education, some primary schools have begun to try to ensure continuity across Years 1 and 2 by having teachers follow their students from Year 1 to Year 2. In lower secondary education, students have to repeat a year if they fail 7 or more subjects by December or 4 or more subjects by February. Students missing school for more than 25 days per year who show low performance may also have to repeat the year. Decisions about whether students progress to the next year or have to repeat the year are taken in meetings between teachers and the school leader, but the decision whether students pass or fail a subject rest largely with teachers. In upper secondary education, students have the possibility to retake individual subjects in subsequent years as long as subjects in the higher year do not require previous knowledge from other subjects that have not been passed. In Years 10 and 11, students can progress to a higher year and retake up to 3 subjects. To graduate from upper secondary school, students must have passed all subjects (INEEd, 2015).

Support for students with learning difficulties and for disadvantaged students

Schools have some autonomy to establish strategies for students with learning difficulties together with their autonomy to group students within their schools. In general secondary education, schools and principals are now responsible for deciding on the best measures to support students with learning difficulties that can include exemptions (*tolerancias*) which were previously decided centrally. Exemptions can include additional time and alternative formats for assessments and examinations as well as additional support for learning to develop students' understanding of concepts, logical reasoning and comprehension. However, additional support for students with learning difficulties in all subsystems largely depends on a school's participation in special programmes. The allocation of these special programmes is decided at the regional level in the case of pre-primary and primary education and at the central level in the case of secondary education (see Chapter 3 for the funding of targeted support for disadvantaged students) (INEEd, 2015).

In pre-primary and primary education, the CEIP has implemented two programmes to support students with learning difficulties and disadvantaged students. The Community Teachers Programme (*Programa Maestros Comunitarios*) allocates one to two community teachers to disadvantaged schools depending on the size of the school. Schools are identified by the inspection depending on their socio-cultural context based on data from the CODICEN's Research, Evaluation and Statistics Division. This programme aims to prevent

students from falling behind and having to repeat a year by supporting children who show low performance, arrive late or skip school and classes, who have problems integrating at school or who are already repeating a year. It has two pedagogical elements that aim to support students in their learning, and two family-oriented elements that aim to involve parents in the education of their children and to provide parents with the tools to do so. Schools can decide what areas to focus on depending on their context. For example, in one school that the OECD review team visited as part of the review visit, the community teacher described her work as supporting children's integration in school by working in small groups and through games, art and sports, supporting students who are repeating a year to advance in school, visiting families if children fail to come to school, working with families to raise their self-esteem, organising workshops for parents, and motivating students in Year 6 for further study and providing orientation and guidance about opportunities and tracks in secondary education (e.g. through visits to general or technical secondary schools). Participation in this programme is limited to 20 students per semester in a school, but teachers in individual schools decide the precise number of children who can participate (INEEd, 2015). The Teacher + Teacher Programme (*Maestro más Maestro*) seeks to reduce year repetition in the first and second year of primary education by improving students' oral and written expression and by introducing new and innovative ways of teaching in schools. This programme offers two formats: in some schools, a teacher works with students after the end of the school day to offer additional learning opportunities in a longer school day; in other schools, two teachers work together in one classroom at the same time to provide more individualised attention to children with the greatest learning difficulties.

In general lower secondary education, the CES has created the Tutorials Project (*Liceos con tutorías y profesor coordinador pedagógico*) to provide additional and targeted support for schools with the greatest socio-economic challenges and to improve the learning outcomes of students in these schools. The programme consists of tutorials for students at the greatest risk of repetition or drop-out who are selected by schools and additional resources for school meals, uniforms and utensils for all students in the school. For the additional resources, schools receive a fixed amount of money depending on their enrolment numbers which they distribute across all types of materials. Participation in this programme is compulsory for schools with more than 400 students and a year repetition rate higher than 25% for the entire general lower secondary cycle.

In general and technical-professional upper secondary education students can benefit from additional support through the Educational Commitment Programme (*Compromiso Educativo*) that is managed by the CODICEN, CES, CETP, CFE, MEC, the University of the Republic (UDELAR), the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES), the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU) and the National Youth Institute (INJU). Students can sign up on line and are selected according to an index of critical needs of the MIDES. The selection process may also involve interviews with family and teachers. Some of the students sign an educational commitment agreement on performance and behaviour together with their family and the pedagogical facilitator teacher (*profesor articulador pedagogico*) of the school and receive a small stipend of UYU 8 000 per year. Other students sign an educational commitment agreement, but receive special support in school instead of the stipend. The Educational Commitment Programme also provides mentoring by tertiary education students who volunteer to work with students on a weekly basis on different projects and topics. All students in a school participating in the Educational Commitment Programme can take part in these weekly activities.

The programme Uruguay Studies (*Uruguay Estudia*) aims to support students above 14 years of age at all levels of the education system to complete their studies. It is managed by the CES and the CETP, the MEC, the Bank of the Republic, the National Co-operation for Development, the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Office for Planning and Budget and the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. This programme offers scholarships for students from the end of primary to upper secondary education and tutorials to help students complete lower secondary and upper secondary education. Also, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) provides small scholarships for students in lower secondary and upper secondary education to continue their studies (*becas de acceso a la continuidad educativa*). The Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education are responsible for selecting students based on their performance and household income. Schools have one member of staff (*referente*) who follows students' progress, provides support, and keeps track of school and class attendance.

Parental, student and community involvement

The 2008 Education Law makes a number of provisions about the involvement of parents, students and the community at a national as well as at the level of departments and schools. For students, this includes, among others, the right to a quality education and to specific support in case of disability or illness, the right to form student committees and the right to participate in the running of the school by voicing views about the quality of education and school management. Each council is responsible for regulating how students can participate in practice. Students also have duties, such as the completion of programme requirements and respect for the rights of everyone in the school community, such as teachers, peers and parents. In secondary education, Pedagogical Advisory Councils (*Consejo Asesor Pedagógico*) discuss student behaviour in school and can praise as well as sanction students (Secondary student statute, Act no. 47, Resolution no. 2). They are made up of three teachers who are selected at the beginning of a school year by the principal, teachers and students.

For parents and guardians, the law stipulates the right to children's education, the right to participate in school activities and to elect members of participation councils (see below) and education councils' Advisory Commissions (see Chapter 1) as well as the right to information about children's learning progress. Parents are also required to ensure that children regularly attend school and meet compulsory schooling requirements, to support children in their learning and to respect children as well as everyone in the school community. In schools, parents have the opportunity to participate through specific associations. In primary schools and technical secondary schools, parents have a say through the Support Commission (*Comisión de Fomento*) of their school. In general secondary schools, parents can organise themselves in an Association of Parents and Friends of the School (*Asociación de Padres y Amigos del Liceo*). Traditionally, these parent groups have focused on raising additional funds and resources for the operation of their school, by organising raffles and fundraising events and by collecting donations, for example. The additional funds may be used to buy additional supplies or to help with the maintenance of the school infrastructure. However, this can create inequities between schools as parents from disadvantaged backgrounds have less means to contribute (Peters, 2015). According to the 2008 Education Law, schools may organise academic, cultural and social activities and events to involve parents and the community in the life of the school and establish links with other institutions, but all activities and events need to be approved by the school's respective council.

To strengthen the participation of parents, students and the community in schools, the 2008 Education Law foresees the implementation of participation councils (*Consejos de Participación*) in all schools. These councils bring together students, parents and guardians, teachers and educators and community representatives, and must meet at least three times a year. The individual councils determine the regulations on membership and running of the participation councils. In both general and technical-professional secondary education, the Law stipulates that at least one-third of the members of participation councils must be students. Participation councils have the right to make suggestions to the school leadership on the education project and the running of the school, a school's collaboration with external institutions, social and cultural activities in schools, a school's infrastructure, donations, and the use of resources. Participation councils have the right to file information requests from their responsible council, and to receive annual reports of the school leadership and their council. Participation councils should participate in school self-evaluations and provide their views on the development of programmes, the quality of teaching, the school climate, and the commitment of teachers and staff. Participation councils may also be requested by the Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education (*Comisión Coordinadora Departamental de la Educación*) (INEEd, 2015) to provide a contribution in specific issues concerning the education policies of the Department.

Strengths

School inspection services provide a crucial link between central policy and local practice

Considering the high level of centralisation of decision-making in Uruguay, the school inspections constitute a crucial link between the councils at the central level and schools and principals across the country in all subsystems of the Uruguayan education system. First, while the inspections have very limited decision-making powers, they bring insights and knowledge from their work at the local level and can provide advice and suggestions for their respective council based on this knowledge. For instance, in pre-primary and primary education, departmental inspections provide input into the central decisions about the distribution of staff positions in schools, and decide about the distribution of targeted programmes to individual schools. In general secondary education, the inspection provides advice on the organisation of the school offer, among others. Proposals for the definition of the school offer are sent to the central teacher department which, then, determines the teaching hours that are available for the process of distributing teaching hours among teachers (*elección de horas*, see Chapter 5). The inspection in general secondary education also suggests the maximum number of students in a school. In technical-professional secondary education, the types of courses offered at a school are similarly developed jointly between schools and the inspection. Concerns about infrastructure needs can be passed on from schools through the inspection to the central level. Secondly, inspections play an important role for the implementation of the decisions about the organisation and operation of schools taken at the central level (INEEd, 2015).

Considering the general lack of other support structures for schools and professional development opportunities for principals and deputy principals, the inspection services provide an invaluable source of feedback and external perspectives through the individual appraisal process and the inspections' contact with individual schools. Research on the effects of individual appraisal is still relatively limited, but a small number of studies suggest that appraisal can constitute one tool for developing school leaders' competencies and for influencing their behaviours and practices (Pont et al., 2008; OECD, 2013b; Radinger, 2014), so

the individual appraisal process in Uruguay has the potential of strengthening school leadership in schools across the country. While the extent to and quality with which inspections provide support for principals and deputy principals may differ, also across subsystems, various principals interviewed as part of the review visit valued their contact with the inspection and described their interaction as relatively continuous and frequent. This is consistent with information from the Country Background Report (INEEd, 2015) that, in pre-primary and primary education, appraisal should involve one to two visits per year, and, in general secondary education, four to five visits per year. While research is limited, a cyclical process and regular interaction between school principals and evaluators can be beneficial for creating a formative appraisal process (OECD, 2013b).

The decentralisation initiatives in secondary education (e.g. the creation of regional inspections in general secondary education and the creation of regional campuses in technical-professional education), provide an important opportunity for strengthening the supportive role that the inspection can play by establishing a closer link between inspections and schools. In pre-primary and primary education, the organisation of the inspection into district inspections already offers good preconditions for a supportive role of the inspection for principals, deputy principals and schools.

The school leadership employment framework provides a good basis for developing the school leadership profession

While there is limited awareness of the importance of school leadership and while the school leadership structures in Uruguay are limited in a number of ways (see further below), the employment framework for school principals and deputy principals entails a number of valuable elements and provides a good basis for strengthening the school leadership profession.

School principals are required to take part in initial preparation before taking the school leader examination and before assuming a leadership role

Although some stakeholders interviewed as part of the review visit raised concerns about the quality of the initial preparation of school principals, participation in a preparatory course is mandatory before taking part in the school leader competitive examination. School principals, therefore, receive some preparation for their role, which also includes a practical element. The evidence base on the impact of school leadership training is small, but as an OECD study on school leadership argued, practitioners, researchers and policy makers agree that training can improve school leaders' knowledge and competencies (Pont et al., 2008).

The recruitment and appointment of school principals and deputy principals includes a performance-based element

Concerning employment, it is positive that the distribution of principals and deputy principals to schools entails a performance-based element as it takes the inspection's appraisal rating into account as one element in the calculation of the number of points (*lista de puntaje*) that determines the allocation of positions. Low performance detected by the inspection can also initiate a process of observation and, ultimately, dismissal through the CODICEN, even if it is unclear how often this is applied. The effects of this summative function of appraisal that influences appointment decisions, however, depends on an effective appraisal process that school leaders value as fair and transparent (OECD, 2013b).

Principals and deputy principals benefit from a separate salary scale

In terms of remuneration, principals and deputy principals benefit from a separate salary scale that is detached from the salary scale for teachers, although, as in many other countries, there are concerns about the level of compensation, also in relative terms when compared to teachers. The salary scale distinguishes between principals and deputy principals and takes principals' greater level of responsibilities into account. It also provides a small incentive for working in larger schools through salary increments that are linked to school size and, in pre-primary and primary schools, a small incentive for working in disadvantaged contexts through salary increases for positions in full-time and *Aprender* schools, and a small incentive for working in rural primary schools. In addition, the possibility to move into the inspection service provides a career development opportunity for school leaders. This opportunity is also open for teachers who have reached step 4 or higher of the salary scale (*Estatuto del funcionario docente*; ANEP-CODICEN, 2015).

There are some opportunities for teacher leadership and teachers have a channel for providing their opinion to school management

The organisation of school leadership provides an opportunity for teachers to take on a leadership role as teacher leaders (*docentes adscriptos*), even if these roles are not part of a teacher career framework. Teacher leaders fulfil an important supportive role both for principals and deputy principals and for other teachers. They can support school leaders in their administrative tasks and help create a school climate that is conducive for learning (e.g. by working to reduce disruptions and truancy). Teacher leaders can also supplement for absent teachers and avoid lost learning time as they are familiar with students' learning progress and classroom routines. Teacher leaders receive some preparation for their task. One teacher leader in a common urban primary school whom the OECD review team visited, for instance, reported professional development opportunities being offered on an annual basis and of meetings among teacher leaders within the district. In addition, teacher leader positions can be attractive for teachers in secondary schools as teacher leaders are a separate category within the teacher statute (indirect teaching), are allocated to one school and do not necessarily need to teach a number of hours in different schools (as is the case with a good proportion of secondary teachers, see Chapter 5). As research suggests, the distribution of school leadership can contribute to greater overall leadership capacity in schools, help foster change and sustain improvement over time (Bennett et al., 2003; Mulford, 2008).

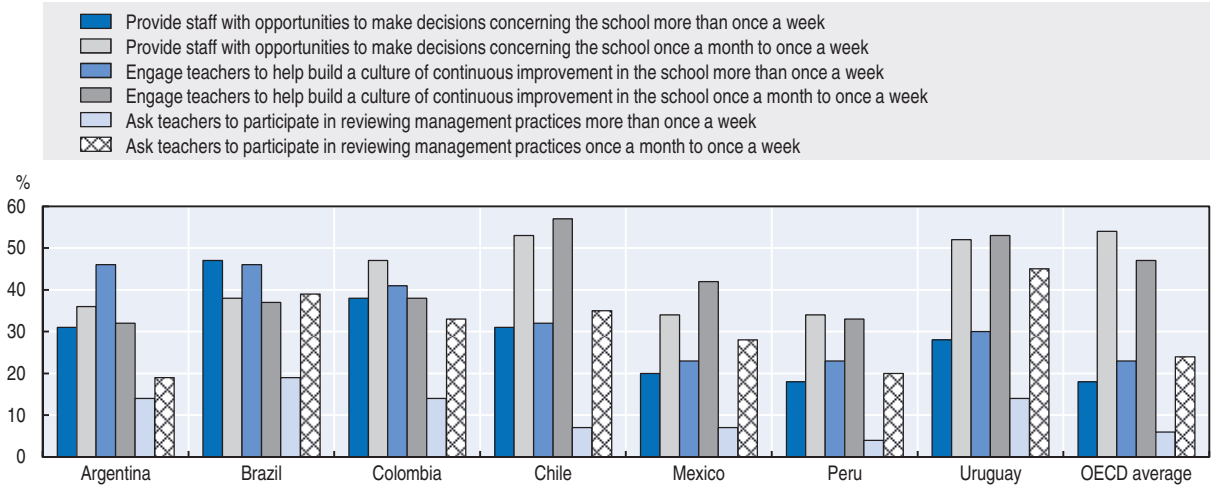
In addition, the 2008 Education Law requires schools to organise Teachers Technical Assemblies (*Asambleas Técnico Docentes*, ATD) that have a consultative role towards school leadership and the principals questionnaire of PISA 2012 suggests that teacher participation in school management is comparatively high, both compared to the OECD average and countries in the region (see Figure 4.1).

Schools offer support for students with learning difficulties and collaborate with formal and non-formal education initiatives to reintegrate out-of-school youth in the education system

Uruguay has recognised the considerable challenges of high year repetition and drop-out rates, and student truancy and absenteeism, and since 2005 implemented a number of targeted prevention programmes that provide schools with additional resources so they can support students with learning difficulties. These programmes are generally directed towards disadvantaged schools, which can be beneficial considering the large disparities in

Figure 4.1. **Principals' views on teacher participation in school management**

Percentage of students in schools whose principals reported that they engaged in the following actions:



Source: OECD (2013a), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*.

learning outcomes between students and higher rates of year repetition and drop-out among disadvantaged students, but which also risks stigmatising schools and students (Peters, 2015; INEEd, 2015). Programmes target both the pedagogical needs of children and the links between schools and families. In addition, Uruguay has developed various compensation initiatives to re-engage out-of-school children and youth in the education system. However, while there has been some monitoring or reporting on the implementation or impact of some of these programmes, their evaluation has generally been limited. Programme evaluation has not been systematic, part of the programme design, and paid no attention to costs and benefits (INEEd, 2015).

Pedagogical support is provided through learning support staff and mentoring schemes

In pre-primary and primary education, community teachers (*maestros comunitarios*) work with low-performing children in disadvantaged contexts to help them from falling behind or repeating a year. Depending on a school's needs, they can focus on instruction to support the children in their learning. As the OECD review team learned during the review visit, community teachers receive preparation and training for their role. In 2012, this programme reached 15 608 children, i.e. 5% of primary school enrolments. The Teacher + Teacher Programme (*Maestro más Maestro*) targets children in their first and/or second year of primary education. As part of this programme, a teacher provides a child with additional instruction after the end of the school day or supports another teacher in a classroom to provide more individualised teaching. This programme seems well-targeted as year repetition rates in primary education are highest in the first and second years (13.4% and 7.2% in 2013, compared to 5.4% on average across primary education). In addition, support teachers (*maestros de apoyo*) provide additional support for students with learning difficulties and help teachers identify children with the greatest difficulties. While the distribution of support teachers depends on the decision of the departmental inspection, their assignment typically favours the most disadvantaged contexts.

In general lower secondary education, the Tutorials Project (*Liceos con tutorías y profesor coordinador pedagógico*) provides additional instruction for students at the greatest risk of repetition or drop-out. Similar to the programme Teacher + Teacher, this initiative seems well targeted as participation for schools with more than 400 students and year repetition rates higher than 25% is compulsory. Also, the project addresses regional differences through higher participation in Montevideo, where year repetition rates are also higher. In 2013, 25 150 students took part in tutorials, i.e. 20% of students enrolled in public general lower secondary education. In general and technical-professional upper secondary education, students can benefit from additional support and mentoring through Educational Commitment Programme (*Compromiso Educativo*). Tertiary education student volunteers work with participating students on a weekly basis on projects and topics of their choice. Pedagogic advisors (*profesor articulador pedagogico*) identify low-performing students that would benefit from these activities and encourage them to participate. As the OECD review team learned during its visit, the development of these mentoring activities can, however, be challenging as it can be difficult to find volunteer mentors in some areas of the country (e.g. outside of Montevideo and departmental capitals). In 2013, 5 304 students of general and technical-professional upper secondary education, i.e. 4% of enrolled students took part. Both these programmes target low-performing schools in disadvantaged contexts. The programme Uruguay Studies (*Uruguay Estudia*) supports students who are older than 14 at all levels of the education system with tutorials to complete lower secondary and upper secondary education. In 2013, the programme reached 8 791 students. In addition to these targeted programmes, schools may organise tutorials and support classes for low-performing and disadvantaged students on their own initiative, as the OECD review team saw in its school visits.

To support students with their transition from primary to secondary education, the Educational Transition (*Tránsito Educativo*) programme accompanies children at risk of drop-out and disengagement, targeting children from disadvantaged backgrounds.[3] Teachers from primary and secondary schools provide additional support to children in the second semester of Year 6 in primary schools, during the summer, and in the first semester of the first year in lower secondary school. However, as some stakeholders commented to the OECD review team, the lack of stability within schools among teachers (see Chapter 5) may reduce the impact of this initiative.

The evidence base on the impact of learning support staff is mixed, but there is some evidence that learning support staff can help create more flexible learning environments (e.g. through flexible creation of groups) and more personalised teaching and learning. Support staff can also have an impact on teachers and reduce their workload and stress levels while increasing job satisfaction. However, the impact that learning support staff can have depends on their preparation and training to support students in a range of ways (e.g. one-on-one, in small groups, in whole classes) and to work in teams with other teachers as well as the time they have for planning, preparation and co-ordination. It is also important that students who receive additional support are not singled out and stigmatised (Masdeu, 2015).

There is good policy attention to establishing links between schools and families

Parental involvement in education is essential for student learning, but disadvantaged parents often have fewer resources to support their children's learning and/or less awareness of the importance of their involvement (OECD, 2012). Uruguay has recognised these issues

and designed some programmes in early childhood education and pre-primary and primary education that aim to strengthen links between schools and families. In early childhood education, Childcare and Family Centres (*Centros de Atención a la Infancia y la Familia*, CAIF) start working with families and mothers already before a child's birth from a rights-based perspective. Workshops for pregnant women provide advice on issues such as parenting and childcare, nutrition, education, and gender-based violence. These institutions also reach out to parents and families while a child is enrolled in the institution. The centres typically prioritise families and children from the most disadvantaged backgrounds. In pre-primary and primary education, the Community Teachers Programme (*Programa Maestros Comunitarios*) entails two elements that focus on parental involvement. To give a concrete example, community teachers call and visit families and parents if a child fails to come to school, and organise workshops for parents. In addition, pre-primary and primary schools may have social workers (*trabajadores sociales*) available.

There are considerable efforts in engaging with out-of-school youth through formal and non-formal education

The councils of the secondary subsystems (CES and CETP) recognise the challenge of school drop-out and, sometimes together with other actors, have designed some initiatives to re-engage out-of-school children and youth in secondary education.

A number of study options enable older students to finish their lower secondary education and combine their studies with work commitments. Plan 2009 allows students older than 21 who have not finished lower secondary education and who have work commitments or health problems to complete this cycle through three consecutive modules in semesters over one and a half years. Plan 2012 provides the same opportunity for young people between 15 and 20 without lower secondary education, but to complete the semesters (practical seminars) in the order of their choice. Plan 2013 targets students above age 15 who are in employment. Students following this study programme can select semester courses or annual modules, on a full-time or a part-time basis.[4]

In general secondary education, the Community Classrooms Programme (*Programa Aulas Comunitarias*) targets youth between 12 and 17 who have never begun or dropped out of secondary education before completing the first year of lower secondary education. The programme seeks to reintegrate students in the first year of general lower secondary education, to introduce students to life at a general secondary school, and to accompany young people's transition from community classrooms to general secondary schools. It is run jointly by the CES and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). While an NGO typically provides the physical space and a team of co-ordinators, social workers, educators and workshop leaders, the CES is responsible for the provision of subject teaching. The community classroom can, however, also be based in a school. In 2013, there were 25 community classrooms across the country. Community classrooms can work in different ways and target young people at risk who are already in lower secondary school, or raise young people's interest and motivation to re-enrol in school and prepare them for this step. All community classrooms are linked with a contact school (*liceo referente*), but collaboration between institutions depends on the leaders of schools and community classrooms, as stakeholders reported during the review visit. In 2012, 2 026 young people took part in the community classrooms programme, i.e. 1.6% of all students enrolled in general lower secondary education. In 2016 educational authorities announced the intention to gradually discontinue this programme.

In technical-professional secondary education, schools offer young people 15 years or older who have dropped out of lower secondary education the option to study basic professional training (*Formación Profesional Básica*, FPB). After two to three years of study, depending on the student's previous education, students gain lower secondary education and a vocational qualification (*Operario Práctico*) and can continue to upper secondary education. Students can complete their subjects as modules that run over the course of one semester and specialise in a professional area through participation in a weekly workshop. Regional co-ordinators (*referente territorial*) from the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU) and the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES) work with schools and social workers to identify out-of-school youth and engage them in this programme. In schools, psychologists support students studying for the basic professional training and work with their teachers and parents to help students complete this programme and continue their studies. Basic professional training can also be offered in a community programme option (*Programa de Formación Profesional Básica Experiencias Comunitarias*).[5] Similarly to community classrooms, basic professional training in the community is organised in community centres together with civil society organisations and has a more practical focus. Technical-professional schools contribute with subject teaching and help define the educational offer.

The National Education and Work Programme (*Programa Nacional de Educación y Trabajo*/PNET-*Centro de Capacitación y Producción*/CECAP) under the leadership of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) offers a flexible and integrated non-formal educational experience for disadvantaged youth between 15 and 20 who are neither in employment nor in education and training to facilitate their reintegration in the education system and to prepare them for the world of work.[6] The programme offers experimental and practical workshops (e.g. in carpentry or construction), training in foundational skills (e.g. in mathematics and calculus), and sports and arts activities. Participants have the opportunity to finish lower secondary education and to continue in the formal education system. One technical school visited as part of the OECD review, for example, worked with its departmental CECAP to support young people taking part in the programme to continue their education at the school, for example in the FPB programme. The Rediscover programme (*Redescubrir*) seeks to strengthen the collaboration between technical schools and CECAPs and formal and non-formal education.[7]

In 2006, the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES) introduced inter-institutional social policy roundtables (*Mesas Interinstitucionales de Políticas Sociales*, MIPS) to co-ordinate the development of social policies at a local level and to articulate national with local policies (*Decreto del Poder Ejecutivo Número 336*). These roundtables can convene committees on different areas, including education, and theoretically provide a platform to strengthen links between education and broader social policy initiatives, and relations between schools and other non-formal education offers. Participation of education actors is the responsibility of the different councils and the OECD review team learned of this platform in its meeting with a Departmental Co-ordinating Commission for Education (*Comisión Coordinadora Departamental de la Educación*). An analysis of the work of the MIPS between 2011 and 2013 reveals that throughout this period education has featured among those issues with the highest number of meetings together with housing, internal organisation of the MIPS and priority programmes (MIDES, 2014). Issues discussed include high year repetition, school infrastructure, and the difficulty to meet the needs of young people. In the first nine months of 2013, education was the issue with the highest number of meetings. Following the government's decision to withdraw child benefits (*Asignaciones*

Familiares) from children and young people who dropped out of formal education, the MIPS provided a channel for discussing strategies and interventions to re-engage young people in education. However, this MIDES report also pointed out that education actors were among those participating less in the MIPS meetings (MIDES, 2014).

The education system takes up innovations introduced by civil society

Several of these initiatives to support disadvantaged students and to help young people who have dropped out of education to return to education have been inspired by innovative approaches in civil society. The Community Teachers Programme, for instance, was originally developed by a non-governmental organisation, *El Abrojo*. The Community Classrooms Programme was similarly first created by a non-governmental organisation and has since evolved into a joint programme run by the education authorities (CES) and civil society organisations.

School principals, teachers and students are encouraged and supported to use ICT in schools and classrooms

In public pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education, the CEIBAL Plan provides laptop computers to students and teachers free of charge and provides Internet connectivity and support (e.g. support staff, professional development for teachers, development of content, English classes through videoconferencing, online formative assessment and feedback, involvement of parents through the *aprender tod@s* element of CEIBAL). While evaluations of this programme indicate that ICT is used in schools and classrooms, and that this is appreciated by families and the community, they also indicate that ICT is typically not used in innovative and effective ways that improve learning, and that school principals and teachers need further competencies to integrate ICT in teaching and learning. Still, the introduction of ICT in primary education has enabled schools to participate in regional or national courses and meetings through videoconferencing and has somewhat eased the administrative tasks of school leaders (e.g. through the Unified Management of Records and Information, GURI). In general and technical-professional secondary education, ICT is also being increasingly used in schools and classrooms, but, similarly to pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education, there are concerns about whether they are effectively used for pedagogical purposes (INEEd, 2015).

Some school facilities are shared or used outside of the regular school day to create further learning opportunities

Schools in Uruguay offer their facilities for a range of purposes and activities outside of regular instruction. At all levels of the education system, schools may use facilities to organise activities with parents and the community (e.g. festivals, shows and workshops).

In pre-primary and primary education, schools can offer educational and recreational activities through the Summer School Programme (*Programa Educativo de Verano*). For participation in this programme, schools develop and propose an educational project that lasts for 28 days during summer. Summer schools are typically organised and co-ordinated among schools within districts. Summer schools can also work with students of the first and second years to improve their written and oral expression and may be allowed to progress to the next year of school if they failed to do so by December (*Experiencia del Primer Ciclo*). They generally offer lunch to students through the Meals at School Programme (*Programa Alimentación Escolar*). Such programmes can be useful to support disadvantaged

students that may fall behind in their learning during school holidays considering their often less supportive home environment (OECD, 2012; Gromada and Shewbridge, forthcoming). In 2012, 29 707 children attended a Summer School Programme, i.e. almost 9% of children attending pre-primary and primary education.

In secondary education, schools often make good use of their facilities by offering educational programmes throughout the day in different *turnos* or shifts, including for older students who may need to combine their studies with work commitments (*turno nocturne* or night shift), although one needs to bear in mind that this involves low instruction time within individual *turnos* which allows schools to use multiple *turnos*. These different shifts may be led by the same school principal or by different school principals. Schools within a neighbourhood may also share some facilities with each other (e.g. gym and sports facilities). The sharing of facilities between *turnos* or individual schools requires effective collaboration and co-ordination and challenges may arise, as some school principals reported during the review visit.

As part of the +School programme (*+Centro*), general and technical schools can offer activities (e.g. sports, arts and culture, health) for young people on weekends (INEEd, 2015). This initiative aims to increase young people's self-esteem and social competencies and to develop their sense of belonging to their school and community. A local co-ordinator of the school (e.g. a teacher) supports the planning of activities which should be developed with the input of students and young people and which should be co-ordinated with the curricular and extracurricular activities that take place during the week.[8] Similar to Summer School Programmes, this use of facilities is not only efficient, but also provides additional learning time through extra academic and social activities that can raise motivation and learning outcomes of disadvantaged students provided that they have easy access to these activities and are engaged in them (OECD, 2012; Gromada and Shewbridge, forthcoming).

Challenges

The Uruguayan model of school inspection does not support school development

Individual appraisal does not communicate that school development is the responsibility of the whole school community

The school inspection services of all councils focus on the individual appraisal of school principals, deputies and teachers (see Chapter 5). While these are important mechanisms for the management of human resources in schools to provide individual feedback and support and to hold individuals accountable for their performance, they do not take a comprehensive view of the quality of education in a school, as has been a trend in various countries that have moved from the evaluation of individual teachers to the evaluation of the teaching quality across the school, for example. Individual appraisal processes alone may communicate that school development is the sole responsibility of school principals and not of the entire school community. In addition, in the case of principals and deputy principals, individual appraisals with a summative purpose bear the risk of holding individuals accountable for outcomes that lie beyond their control (OECD, 2013b; Radinger, 2014).

Individual appraisal does not focus on the improvement of professional competencies and practices

The current approach to the individual appraisal of school leaders does not ensure that all principals and deputy principals are subject to a process that helps them improve. While appraisal in Uruguay is meant to fulfil both a summative and a formative purpose,

and while relatively frequent interactions between inspectors and those being appraised provide a platform for formative feedback, interviews with various stakeholders and during school visits suggest that inspectors tend to focus more on control and compliance.

By design, appraisal ratings are used primarily to inform decisions about career and appointments to schools and not to provide feedback for improvement and to identify professional development needs, even if the appraisal criteria do specify professional development as one aspect of appraisal. In any case, professional development opportunities are generally very limited. As the analysis for the Country Background Report (INEEd, 2015) highlights, most principals are rated as excellent. This also suggests that appraisal does not provide differentiated and useful feedback on strengths and weaknesses that would be necessary for improvement. Considering that principals are responsible for appraising the teachers within their school, it is important to bear in mind that this summative focus may influence the focus with which principals carry out the internal teacher appraisal process (OECD, 2013b).

Individual appraisal procedures lack clarity, transparency and objectivity and do not clearly focus on pedagogical leadership

Beyond the very general guidelines in the teacher statute (*Estatuto del funcionario docente*; ANEP-CODICEN, 2015), councils do not provide an appraisal framework that specifies procedures and criteria more into detail and that communicate what inspectors should evaluate and how. There are also no school leadership standards that would communicate coherently to all stakeholders what should be expected of school principals and their deputies. In addition, the appraisal criteria which are set out in the teacher statute cover a wide range of responsibilities, but fail to go into detail and to focus explicitly on pedagogical leadership which research has identified as essential for the quality of teaching and learning (Day et al., 2009; Leithwood et al., 2004; Louis et al., 2010).

As far as the procedures are concerned, with the exception of pre-primary and primary education where a group of inspectors discusses the annual appraisal rating, appraisal is carried out by a single inspector. The quality of the appraisal process, therefore, depends largely on the competencies of individual inspectors and the appraisal judgment can be influenced by the personal relationship between inspectors and those being appraised. As various stakeholders stressed during the review visit, appraisal can be perceived as highly subjective. Considering the weight that the appraisal judgment carries for employment decisions, this subjectivity can, furthermore, lead to inequities between appraisees.

School development planning and self-evaluation practices are rare and do not inform appraisal

The 2008 Education Law (e.g. Article 41 of Law No. 18.437) makes some implicit reference to school projects and self-evaluation and the involvement of the school community in these practices, but there is no specific requirement for schools to engage in these practices. Individual councils may provide funding for co-ordination meetings (*sala docente*) for schools to develop school projects (e.g. Circular No. 41 of the Pre-primary and Primary Education Council in March 2015 provided funding for the development of projects to improve written language and/or mathematics). The OECD review team also heard of some local practices of goal-setting and school development planning in schools (e.g. one school had developed a plan to improve school climate in one year and reading in another year, another school had developed a strategy to reduce year repetition and school

dropout). However, in line with the analysis of the Country Background Report (INEEd, 2015) the OECD review team gained overall the impression that these practices are not common in Uruguay and that schools and principals do not usually engage in school development planning that involves the school community and the monitoring and evaluation of goals and objectives. This may potentially be linked to a lack of implementation of legislation as well as a lack of capacity. Appraisal, for instance, does not require school principals or deputies to engage in these practices that could form the basis for strengthening the school community, for developing approaches to improve education in the school and for discussing what progress has been achieved from one appraisal cycle to another.

The "For improvement" project (*ProMejora*) constitutes an attempt at introducing strategic school planning into school operation. The project is led by the CODICEN and seeks to improve school management, school climate, and learning outcomes. Schools participating in the project need to develop a three-year school project with short- and medium-term goals and engage in self-evaluation. They receive guidance, professional development and additional financial resources for materials and teachers. However, it is still very limited in scale and only 10 pre-primary and primary schools, 15 general secondary schools and 9 technical schools have participated so far. Furthermore, the process is not led by the school inspections of the different councils, but managed separately within the CODICEN (INEEd, 2015).

School inspection is fragmented across levels of education, the evaluation of teaching and school leadership, and between subject specialisations

School inspections are organised for the different subsystems within the respective councils. This fragmentation does not facilitate exchange of experiences and good evaluation practices across levels of education. Within the different councils, the inspection services are also split. In pre-primary and primary education, the district inspection appraises principals and teachers, and may combine their visits, but there are separate inspections for specific types of schools, specific programmes and specific subjects, such as physical education and arts. In general secondary education, inspection is split into a school inspection that appraises principals and a subject inspection that appraises teachers. In technical-professional education, inspection is split into teacher appraisal in three different specialisations and the evaluation of school management. While there are valid grounds for dividing some responsibilities across different inspections, this fragmentation creates potential inefficiencies, requires co-ordination across the different inspections and makes it difficult for inspectors to form a view of all educational processes in a school.

There is limited recognition of the important role that school leadership can play for teaching and learning

While the 2008 Education Law (Article 41) states that the state commits itself to the strengthening of school management, the transformative role of school leadership is not yet fully recognised in practice. The different councils have neither developed a vision of the role that school leadership can play in the education system nor devised a systematic strategy of how to develop sustainable school leadership. There are no school leadership standards that communicate the role and responsibilities of principals, deputies and teacher leaders, and that could guide the development of the school leadership profession from recruitment and initial preparation to career progression, appraisal and further professional development.

And there is no professional school leadership association that could represent the interests of school principals, inform education policies, and contribute to the development of the profession (e.g. through networking and training).

School principals are poorly paid for their responsibilities and when compared to teachers

Salaries of school principals are generally lower than salaries for teachers for the same amount of working time at all levels of the education system. For a full-time working load, a primary school principal earns between 78% and 86% of a teacher's salary in the highest grade, depending on the size of the school. In secondary education, a school principal's salary amounts to between 73% and 84% of a teacher's salary in the highest grade (see Table 4.1). Considering that teacher remuneration in Uruguay is already low when compared to similarly educated workers, even if teacher salaries have been increasing since 2005 (also see Chapter 5), financial compensation for school principals does not reflect the high level of responsibility with which they are entrusted.

Table 4.1. **Statutory salaries of principals in primary and secondary education, 2014**

Position	Salary (UYU in constant values, base 2013)	Salary compared to full-time teacher (40 hours) (%)
Primary education		
Principal, urban common school, level A, 2 shifts, 40 hours	44 108	86.1
Principal, urban common school, level B, 2 shifts, 40 hours	41 974	81.9
Principal, urban common school, level C, 2 shifts, 40 hours	39 956	78.0
Full-time teacher, permanent position, 40 hours (step 7, 25 years of teaching experience)	51 229	100.0
Secondary education		
Principal, category 1, 40 hours	48 727	84.1
Principal, category 2, 40 hours	46 348	80.0
Principal, category 3, 40 hours	44 108	76.1
Principal, category 4, 40 hours	41 974	72.5
Teacher, first cycle, extended time, permanent position, 40 hours (step 7, 25 years of teaching experience)	57 930	100.0

Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

The low level of remuneration also creates a challenge in attracting teachers to school leadership roles. While there are no data on the average number of applicants for school principal positions, interviews for the Country Background Report (INEEd, 2015) suggest that this constitutes a challenge at all levels of the education system. In some secondary schools, it has already been difficult to fill principal positions and positions have had to be covered temporarily by a senior teacher in the school who lacks preparation for this task. Teachers interviewed during the review visit were generally not keen to take on a leadership role and principals stressed the non-financial rewards of their job. Various teachers had, in fact, already taken part in initial school leader preparation, but were reluctant to take on an actual position as this would imply a reduction in salaries. The teacher salary scale is relatively flat at the beginning of the teaching career (progression from grades 1 to 4 carries a 16.5% salary increase), but increases with growing experience (progression from grades 4 to 7 carries a 42% salary increase). In addition, after 25 years of service, teachers receive a 20% bonus on their basic salary. This creates a considerable financial disincentive for experienced teachers to move into school leadership roles. As teachers need to have reached the 3rd grade of the

salary scale to be able to take a school leadership course and the related exam, teachers are only incentivised in the middle of their career to take on a leadership role. Nevertheless, it is attractive for teachers to take part in school leadership training as this implies additional merits for teacher competitions, which can create inefficiencies if these teachers never assume a leadership role. Considering that there is a lack of sufficient numbers of qualified new teachers, particularly in secondary schools, the interior and disadvantaged schools (see Chapter 5), the challenge of attracting teachers to school leadership may worsen in the future.

In addition, low levels of remuneration create an incentive to take on additional roles to supplement the salary. In some schools visited as part of the review visit, principals and deputy principals worked in private schools, teacher education institutions, or adult education in addition to their leadership role or even distributed the time in their school so they could take on additional employment outside of their school. This can, in turn, have a negative impact on schools as school leaders may dedicate less time to their school and be less committed to their school.

The recruitment process of school principals is based on a limited set of criteria, provides almost no financial incentives to work in disadvantaged contexts, and can create instability in schools

The recruitment process of school principals is a centrally managed process that relies solely on the candidates' exam results and number of points composed of seniority/step in the salary scale, appraisal ratings and attendance. However, this process does not entail an interview with all interested candidates to assess candidates on a set of clear selection criteria and the presentation of a school development plan or project. Furthermore, the central process does not provide an opportunity for representatives from the school community, such as parents or teachers, to provide their input and to ensure that candidates fit the local context.

The selection and recruitment process for school principals, which essentially depends on candidates' choice of school, also generally fails to provide financial incentives for candidates to apply for positions in disadvantaged contexts. Salaries only differ by school size, but, except for full-time, *Aprender* and small rural schools in primary education, there are no increments for working in challenging contexts. Some incentives do exist, but these are related to the number of working hours that are attached to a school leadership position (e.g. 30 hours or 40 hours) and work in practice schools that carries additional remuneration for additional working hours. As the appraisal rating influences principals' standing in the hierarchy that determines allocation to schools, good school principals are theoretically able to choose schools that are easier to manage. Considering that strong leadership is important to communicate effectively with the school inspection about concerns and needs of a school and to raise additional funds within the school community in the Uruguayan context, the lack of an incentive structure to attract candidates to difficult schools and the risk of good school principals not choosing to work in these contexts is a also an equity concern.

The possibility for principals to only be appointed to their position temporarily (*cargo interino*) creates unnecessary instability and turnover. Principals in a temporary post need to compete on an annual basis for the same position with other interested candidates. This is particularly problematic in technical secondary schools as principals in this subsystem have not had the opportunity to participate in competitions to become permanent (*cargo efectivo*) for about ten years.

Initial preparation could prepare school principals better for their role and there are no further development opportunities for school principals

While teachers interested in becoming school principals are obliged to take preparatory training before taking part in a principal exam, various stakeholders in all subsystems consulted as part of the work on the Country Background Report (INEEd, 2015) and as part of the review visit raised concerns about initial preparation and continuous development for school principals. There is no clear policy of how to develop future principals and of how to develop principals further once they are in their role. Various stakeholders voiced concerns about the quality of preparation and questioned if initial training in its current form prepares teachers well for their future role. As already stated, the content of initial preparation is not structured according to a vision of effective school leadership, but oriented towards a particular upcoming principal exam. The quality of initial training can, therefore, differ from year to year. Considering the lack of school leadership standards, different stakeholders hold different expectations of what initial training should prepare participants for (e.g. infrastructure management, fire safety, or pedagogical leadership). In general, even though initial training includes a practicum in a school, initial training is perceived as being too theoretical. Principals of small rural primary schools (*maestro director*) may also lack preparation for their role as part of teacher education and in technical-professional education, principals may also not benefit from training as this is not necessarily a requirement.

Once principals have passed the exam and taken up a position, there are generally no further professional development opportunities and principals face time constraints to take part in professional development. Structured professional development is only available in some circumstances, e.g. for school principals of full-time schools, and the only feedback that school principals receive comes from inspections and meetings with other principals, and, in technical-professional education, from the regional campuses.

The administrative responsibilities of principals and the lack of a stable teaching body may make it difficult for principals to develop learning communities

The role of school principals encompasses pedagogical leadership, management and administration, and community relations. As stakeholders highlighted for the work on the Country Background Report (INEEd, 2015) and during the review visit, administrative responsibilities such as the running of the school canteen, timetabling, checks on children's vaccinations in primary education, liaison with the Social Insurance Bank (*Banco de Previsión Social*, BPS) and the General Tax Directorate (*Dirección General Impositiva*, DGI), and responses to requests from the councils, however, can make it difficult for principals to devote sufficient time to pedagogical leadership. School principals as well as teachers in schools visited as part of the review visit stated that principals do not have the time they should to manage and appraise their teachers, to visit classrooms and to provide feedback and guidance on teaching practices or on participation in professional development. Reports on the usefulness of internal teacher appraisal, for example, were mixed (also see Chapter 5).

The working conditions of teachers (see Chapter 5 for more details) also negatively affect school principals' capacity for pedagogical leadership, particularly in secondary schools. Teachers in secondary education are required to apply for teaching hours on an annual basis (*elección de horas*). Even though this was not the impression the OECD review team gained during its visit, statistics highlight that this can lead to high teacher turnover (from one school to another) and to teachers only taking up their position well into the school

year. As teachers in secondary schools are not assigned to one school, this distribution of hours also means that teachers teach in different schools to make up their working hours. This may affect teachers' ability to be present and involved at school beyond instruction. The lack of a stable teaching body that can devote itself fully to teaching and learning in one school and has time for collaboration may make it more difficult for principals to turn a school into a learning community, to develop a common school vision and project, and to encourage teacher participation in school management. In primary education, teachers' working hours are conceived as teaching hours only and, except for full-time and *Aprender* schools, do not include time for preparation or collaboration beyond the two teacher meetings and two Teachers Technical Assemblies (*Asambleas Técnico Docentes,* ATD) that all schools are required to organise per year. This can have similar effects and create difficulties for principals to foster collaboration in school and to encourage teachers to work in teams.

School principals could require further support from teacher leaders and the high degree of centralisation makes it difficult for principals to build a leadership team

While there are some opportunities for teachers to take on leadership responsibilities (teacher leaders [*docentes adscriptos*]) and while teachers receive training for their role, stakeholders interviewed for the preparation of the Country Background Report (INEEd, 2015) and during the review visit considered these as insufficient in terms of roles and responsibilities. The teacher career structure is primarily based on seniority and does not foresee different responsibilities, such as leadership and management, as teachers progress through the career. As remuneration is based on instruction time, school leadership responsibilities also do not involve a salary increase or supplement for teachers (see Chapter 5).

With a few exceptions for positions of trust (e.g. teacher leaders in primary schools), school principals do not have the power to make decisions about the composition and selection of their school leadership team. The number and types of school leadership positions are defined centrally according to enrolments and type of school, deputy principals and teacher leaders are recruited centrally through exams and competitions, and secretaries are chosen according to their ranking in the teacher hierarchy. This makes decisions about school leadership positions less political, but it potentially limits school principals' ability to build a leadership team and to distribute tasks and responsibilities to trusted colleagues.

There is also some concern about the distribution of teacher leaders across schools. The proportion of public urban common schools with at least one teacher leader or deputy principal has increased from 54.7% in 2003 to 74% in 2013 (INEEd, 2015). However, even though the difference has decreased over time, these positions are not distributed progressively. In 2013, the difference between the 1st and the 5th socio-cultural quintile still amounted to 6 percentage points in favour of the most advantaged schools (down from 10.4 percentage points in 2013).

There are a range of concerns about learning support staff

First, while schools, and particularly disadvantaged ones, have the support of various learning support staff, the benefits that learning support staff bring to schools, teachers and students depend on the training they receive and the time they have to plan and to co-ordinate their work with other teachers before and after classes (Masdeu, 2015). Teachers in various schools across the education system in Uruguay do have time for co-ordination and planning, but this is not the case for all teachers (also see Chapter 5). While the OECD

review team gained the impression that principals, teachers and parents appreciated the presence and work of learning support staff, some stakeholders consulted during the review visit also raised concerns that children's need for additional support may not be identified early enough. Together with other factors, such as preparation and training, this could also be linked to a lack of co-ordination.

In pre-primary and primary education, only teachers in *Aprender* schools and in full-time schools receive time for planning and co-ordination as part of their working hours.[9] The allocation of learning support staff through the Community Teachers (*Maestros Comunitarios*) and Teacher + Teacher (*Maestro más Maestro*) programmes is targeted at disadvantaged schools and *Aprender* schools, in particular. Learning support staff and teachers in these schools will, therefore, have time available to work together and to plan their work. However, in other schools, such as Common Urban Schools, schools and teachers may have more difficulties to make the most of the learning support staff that they are allocated (e.g. support teachers and community teachers).

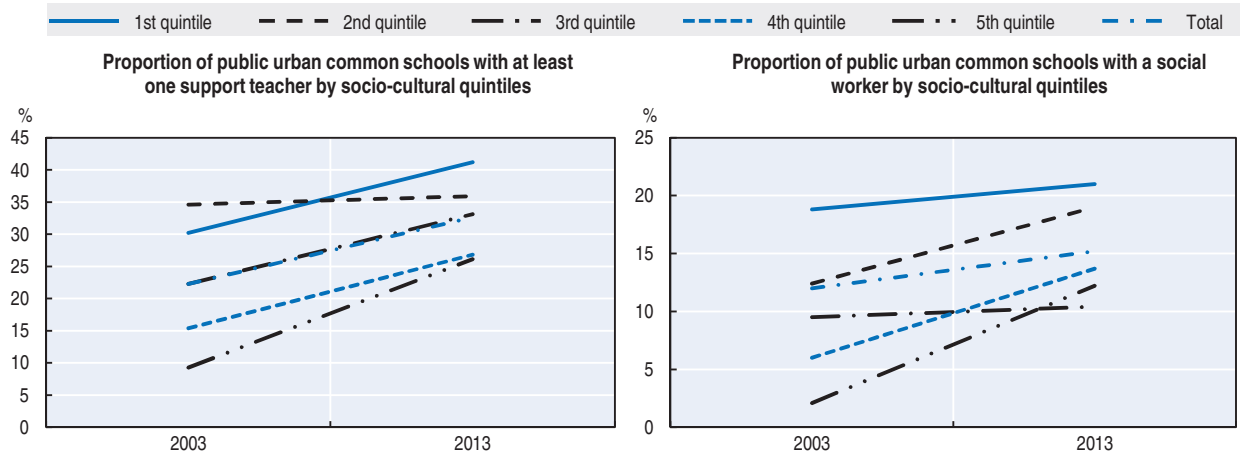
In general and technical-professional secondary education, teachers' working time includes time for preparation and collaboration. However, the large proportion of teachers who have to teach in different schools as a consequence of the process of allocating teaching hours (*elección de horas*) limits teachers' ability to make use of this time to collaborate with other teachers and to participate in co-ordination meetings.[10] This is also likely to affect the work of tutors in general lower secondary schools taking part in the Tutorials Project (*Liceos con tutorías y profesor coordinador pedagógico*) and secondary schools taking part in the programme Uruguay Studies (*Uruguay Estudia*) as well as the work of general tutors. General secondary schools do, however, have pedagogical counsellor teachers (*profesor orientador pedagógico*) who co-ordinate between staff in schools and support tutors to maximise their impact.

Second, school principals lack autonomy to make decisions about the recruitment of learning support staff and, therefore, lack flexibility to decide which kind of staff would be most useful. Teachers in various schools visited as part of the review visit, for instance, reported that the school would need a school psychologist. However, schools had no autonomy to react directly to this need.

Third, some needs for learning support staff are unmet. Most importantly, this concerns the need for learning support staff to facilitate the inclusion of young people with special needs in secondary education, even though this is required by law (also see Chapters 2 and 5). In technical-professional secondary education, learning support staff is organised in multidisciplinary teams that are not based in schools. Support is, therefore, not always available in the day-to-day work of teachers.

Fourth, while the availability of learning support staff has been increasing in some subsystems, this increase has not been targeted at the most disadvantaged contexts. While the difference in the proportion of public urban common schools with at least one permanent support teacher (*maestro de apoyo*) between the most disadvantaged quintile and the most advantaged quintile still amounted to 15.2 percentage points in 2013, this difference decreased from a 20.9 percentage point difference in 2003. The overall increase in support teachers in urban common schools between 2003 and 2013 has been concentrated in the highest quintiles. The same holds true for the availability of social workers (*trabajadores sociales*) in schools. The availability of social workers is still targeted at disadvantaged schools, but the difference in the proportion of advantaged and disadvantaged public urban primary schools with a social worker has decreased between 2003 and 2013 (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2. **Trend in the distribution of support teachers and social workers by socio-cultural quintile**



Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Schools have limited autonomy to take ownership over curriculum content, but also lack guidance in pedagogical areas in which they have more autonomy, such as assessment

Schools' limited autonomy to modify curricula limits schools' ownership and may hinder their ability to make their curricular offer interesting and relevant for all students to keep them engaged in education and to prevent them from dropping out (Peters, 2015). At the same time, while schools and teachers do have some autonomy to make decisions about which content to cover and how to assess students, schools, teachers, parents and students lack orientation in the form of expected learning outcomes and learning goals or progressions. While the lack of clarity of national curricula enables teachers to make their own professional judgment and to innovate in classrooms, teachers may also find it difficult to develop concrete lesson plans, learning goals and assessment strategies that are in line with national expectations. The lack of clarity can also lead to large variations in how schools and teachers implement curricula and assess their students (OECD, 2013b; Nusche, forthcoming). The 2014 report about the state of education in Uruguay of the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEEd) identified such differences in summative assessment practices between primary and secondary teachers and schools resulting from differences in teacher education, but also curricular instructions, as a challenge for the transition of children from primary to secondary education (INEEd, 2014).

With the exception of a recent initiative in pre-primary and primary education to support teachers in formative assessments, schools and teachers also lack guidance in the use of formative assessments. Formative student assessment has large potential to shape teaching and learning and to create a learner-centred learning environment (OECD, 2013b; Nusche, forthcoming). While PISA 2012 suggests that schools and teachers in Uruguay do use assessments to monitor progress and to identify aspects of instruction or the curriculum that could be improved,[11] schools and teachers may benefit from additional guidance on how to best do so.

Opportunities for schools to work together and to share good practices are limited, particularly in secondary education

There is considerable evidence, for example from England in the United Kingdom, Finland and Sweden, that school-school partnerships, clusters and networks can provide mechanisms for sharing effective leadership as well as effective practice in a way that contributes to raising performance (Pont et al., 2008). In Uruguay, there are some practices and platforms where school principals can meet, particularly in pre-primary and primary education, but the OECD review team gained the impression that these practices are generally not systematic and available on a larger scale.

In pre-primary and primary education, principals from a department or area can meet through the organisation of co-ordination meetings. The inspection can also link two schools and encourage them to share experiences and innovative approaches. In addition, the growing availability of videoconferencing facilities in schools increasingly enables schools and teachers to co-operate and exchange ideas.

In general and technical-professional secondary education the exchange of experiences between schools is less common and systematic and depends largely on the initiative of individual schools. Local practices do, however, exist, as the OECD review team saw during its country visit (INEEd, 2015).

Two initiatives may provide more formal possibilities for networking between schools in the future. The formation of Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions (*Comisión departamental de educación*) under the leadership of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) may provide one platform for schools to collaborate and to develop networks within their department, also for schools from different levels of the education system. In technical-professional education, the process of regionalisation through the transfer of responsibilities to regional campuses constitutes another opportunity for school leaders to come together. The board of directors (*junta de directores*) that is led by a campus leader also includes the school principals of the schools within the region and the regional inspectors.

Parents' opportunities to contribute to school improvement are still in their infancy, and schools find it difficult to get parents involved

While parents have opportunities to participate in school affairs as required by national legislation in all levels of the education system according to the formats defined by individual councils (e.g. through Support Commissions in primary and technical schools and Parents and Friends Associations in general secondary schools), the activities of these bodies mostly relate to financial support of schools and social events, but not in terms of feedback and involvement in the management of the school. This limits their impact on school development. It also limits parents' opportunity to hold schools accountable.

In this respect, the ongoing implementation of participation councils (*Consejos de Participación*) constitutes a promising initiative to strengthen the involvement of parents, but also students and the wider community in school development and to strengthen horizontal accountability. As set out in the 2008 Education Law, councils can make suggestions on the school project and the general operation of the school as well as more specific areas, such as the use of funds and the organisation of social activities. They also have the right to be involved in school self-evaluation, even if these practices are still rare.

On the other hand, parents also have the duty to be involved in their children's education by law. While schools organise outreach activities to get parents involved,[12]

interviews with principals, teachers and also parents during the review visit suggest that it is often difficult for schools to involve parents, particularly as children grow older. Data from PISA 2012 paint a similar picture, particularly in as far as parents' involvement in their child's behaviour or academic progress is concerned. Parental involvement according to PISA is low, both compared to other countries in the region as well as the OECD average (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. **Parental involvement in their children's education**

Percentage of students' parents who participated in the following school-related activities during the previous academic year, according to school principals' reports for PISA 2012

	Argentina	Brazil	Chile	Colombia	Mexico	Uruguay	OECD average
Discussed their child's behaviour with a teacher on their own initiative	22.4	23.9	29.3	37.3	27.9	10.1	22.8
Discussed their child's behaviour on the initiative of one of their child's teachers	42.9	41.0	58.0	59.4	45.4	22.6	38.2
Discussed their child's progress with a teacher on their own initiative	20.2	24.9	28.5	38.7	29.3	18.1	27.3
Discussed their child's progress on the initiative of one of their child's teachers	44.2	42.4	58.6	58.3	47.8	27.3	47.1
Volunteered in extracurricular activities, e.g. book club, school play, sports, field trip	11.2	6.2	14.1	15.7	17.5	5.4	8.3
Participated in local school government, e.g. parent council or school management committee	17.8	21.4	33.8	50.6	34.0	9.8	10.8
Assisted in fundraising for the school	17.5	4.7	29.5	28.3	25.2	8.3	9.9

Source: OECD (2013a), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*.

Pressure from parents for high academic standards in Uruguay is also comparatively low. 49.9% of 15-year-olds were in a school whose principal reported for PISA 2012 that pressure for high academic standards came only from very few parents, compared to 33.1% on average across OECD countries (see Table 4.3) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.4.18).

Table 4.3. **Parents' expectations of high academic performance, according to school principals' reports for PISA 2012**

Pressure on the school to meet high academic standards comes from:

	Many parents (%)	A minority of parents (%)	Very few parents (%)
Argentina	7.8	32.6	59.6
Brazil	14.7	46.5	38.7
Colombia	14.0	30.4	55.6
Chile	30.3	42.5	27.2
Mexico	20.3	45.9	33.8
Uruguay	6.4	43.7	49.9
OECD average	21.2	45.8	33.1

Source: OECD (2013a), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*.

The challenge of involving parents tends to be greater in urban and disadvantaged schools than in small rural communities, as interview partners pointed out. In this regard, the implementation of the Community Teachers Programme (*Programa Maestros Comunitarios*) in primary schools constitutes a promising initiative to reach out to disadvantaged parents.

Opportunities for student involvement in school are inadequate

The 2008 Education Law clearly establishes the participation of students in their learning as one of the core principles of the education system in Uruguay, but the definition of formal opportunities for student involvement is the responsibility of the individual councils. While the OECD review team heard of local initiatives, it also gained the impression that student involvement is rare in practice. In one secondary school visited as part of the review visit, students elected classroom delegates to represent their views, in another secondary school, students organised extracurricular activities, such as a choir and a musical group. In various other schools, however, students did not organise student associations or committees within their school (INEEd, 2015). In addition, there is no national student organisation in Uruguay that could support students to participate in school affairs.

Nevertheless, PISA 2012 suggests that schools in Uruguay are more likely to seek written feedback from students than in many other countries (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.4.33). 6.3% of 15-year-olds were in a school whose principal reported that there was no internal nor external evaluation, but written feedback from student was sought (regarding lessons, teachers or resources), compared to an OECD average of 1.9%, while 4.5% of students were in a school whose principal reported that this was not the case (OECD average: 6.3%). However, as part of internal or external evaluations, written feedback from students is sought to a lesser extent. Only 46% of 15-year-olds were in a school whose principal reported that there are internal or external evaluations and that written feedback from students is sought (OECD average: 58.6%), and 43.2% of students were in a school whose principal reported that no written feedback from students was sought in these processes.

Policy recommendations

Strengthen the capacity of the school inspection to contribute to school improvement

Given the crucial role that the inspection plays in the highly centralised governance framework of the Uruguayan education system as a link between central policies and school organisation and operation and as the main supervision and support structure for schools, the OECD review team suggests to reconsider the inspection model and to improve individual appraisal so that the inspection fulfils these two functions more effectively.

Decisions about frameworks of evaluation and assessment in school systems depend on the overall system of governance and the balance between autonomy and accountability. In France, for example, school evaluation has not been considered as necessary considering the limited autonomy of schools (OECD, 2013b). The future development of the role of the school inspection, therefore, depends on the way that school autonomy and accountability in Uruguay evolve and the rethinking of the current approach to the evaluation of schools should be part of a broader reflection on school autonomy and accountability. For instance, improvements to the school inspection system could provide the basis for gradually giving schools greater autonomy (see Chapter 2).

Consider the introduction of comprehensive school evaluations and the reorganisation of the inspection

The lack of a comprehensive school evaluation process is a major challenge for the Uruguayan education system as the sole reliance on personnel appraisal risks to focus on the performance of individuals only and to lose sight of the ways in which individuals can contribute to the improvement of the whole school. While research on the impact of school

evaluation is limited, and while school evaluation can have undesired effects (e.g. preparation for evaluation, compliance, hindering innovation in teaching and curriculum experimentation) there is some evidence that school evaluation can promote improvement through professional influence, fair and accurate reporting and informed analysis and comparisons, depending on the form that evaluation takes (e.g. the kind of feedback that schools receive, the expectations that are communicated to schools in terms of follow-up, the reporting of findings to the school community) (OECD, 2013b).

In the long-run, Uruguay should, therefore, consider the introduction of a comprehensive school evaluation process. This requires a reflection of how school evaluation will be aligned with teacher appraisal and, in particular, school leader appraisal to create synergies and to avoid duplication and misconceptions. Poland and Portugal provide two interesting examples for ways in which school evaluation and school leader appraisal can be linked. In Poland, school evaluation and school leader appraisal are aligned through the requirement that the evaluators of individual school leaders need to take the results of school evaluations into account when carrying out an individual appraisal. In Portugal, the appraisal of school principals in public schools consists of two separate processes. School leaders are appraised individually by a general school council. In addition, school leaders are evaluated by the Inspectorate as part of the school evaluation process. The results of both processes are taken into account to different degrees. The result of the individual appraisal counts for 60%, the result of the school evaluation process for 40%.

The introduction of a comprehensive school evaluation will also involve a reflection about the purpose of this process. This is of critical importance in deciding: who should be responsible for undertaking the evaluation, which procedures should be used and how the results of the evaluation will be used. Consideration should be paid to which elements of school evaluation best serve accountability purposes and which best serve development purposes.

School evaluation will need to contribute towards school improvement and not simply be an exercise in compliancy. The approach to school evaluation, the criteria and questions governing judgments and the methods employed should, therefore, focus directly on the quality of teaching and learning and their relationship to student learning experiences and outcomes rather than the simple relationship between policy, planning and outcomes. The quality of teaching is central to the quality of student's learning and the key variable which a school can influence. School evaluation that is meaningful should also involve: an accurate assessment of the effectiveness of schools; an assessment of strengths and areas for development, followed by feedback, coaching, support and opportunities for development; an opportunity to celebrate, recognise and reward the work of schools and to identify best practice; and an opportunity to identify underperforming schools (for further elements of effective school evaluation, see Box 4.1).

The introduction of school evaluations will require time and resources to build up the capacity of the inspection as well as schools, school leaders and teachers and to adjust to this new form of evaluation. The adequate resourcing and capacity of the inspection body and support and acceptance by schools will play a crucial role for the implementation of the new school evaluation. In France, for instance, certain school organising bodies implemented school evaluations during the 1990s, but these proved to be time consuming and demanding in terms of human resources and were not always appreciated by school principals, so they were abandoned. A similar attempt was made in the 1990s by the

Box 4.1. **OECD recommendations on procedures for school evaluation**

Develop nationally agreed criteria for school quality to guide school evaluation

The coherence of school evaluation is considerably enhanced when based on a nationally agreed model of school effectiveness. This national model should draw on both international and national research that has identified the factors generally associated with the quality of teaching and learning. This would provide clear criteria for effective schools and provide a robust, research-based foundation for school evaluation.

Ensure a strong evidence base for external school evaluation and appropriate analysis tools

Credible external school evaluation should be based on reliable and relevant evidence rather than opinion. Acceptance of external school evaluation results can be secured through systematic gathering, analysis of and reference to relevant evidence. An effective way to pull together key information is to compile a school profile, comprising key school quality indicators. Also, evidence should be collected during the course of external school evaluation, including the identification and analysis of documentation, the collection of feedback on school quality via stakeholder surveys, and interviews with a representative sample of stakeholders. A further key part of external school evaluation is the observation of classroom teaching and learning.

Ensure transparency in external school evaluation procedures

The principle of transparency is increasingly perceived as an integral part of effective external school evaluation. Such transparency in the methodology, process and results of external school evaluation is perceived as being fairer to those evaluated and a way to promote the integrity, rigour and impact of external school evaluation. The approach, procedures and instruments used in external school evaluation should be publicly available and the evaluation team should actively encourage the school to examine this documentation in advance. Another important aspect of transparency is to include processes allowing schools to comment on their experience with external school evaluation. To ensure that external school evaluation results are taken seriously by schools, there should be clearly defined procedures on how evaluation results will be followed up.

Ensure the credibility of external evaluators and enhance their objectivity and coherence

The selection and recruitment of external evaluators is of key importance in building capacity within the external school evaluation body. The criteria used to select evaluators should be demanding to ensure that those recruited have the skills and attributes necessary for a credible approach to external school evaluation. The range of individuals who are part of external school evaluation teams should be broad. The use of highly credible school principals and leading practitioners in external school evaluation would both heighten the credibility of the evaluation teams and build capacity in the school system as a whole.

Promote the wider use of the results of external school evaluation

The publication of all external school evaluation reports is associated with many benefits. The school community can use this information to feed into school development planning. External school evaluation reports should not be too technical and should be readable to a non-specialist audience. It is also important to develop a communication strategy that capitalises on the wider dissemination of school evaluation results (e.g. production of specific summaries for parents within the external school evaluation reports, publication of results for a group of schools within a particular area or educational group). There is also a role for schools to be proactive in promoting external school evaluation results to staff and parents.

Box 4.1. **OECD recommendations on procedures for school evaluation** *(cont.)*

Ensure the systematic follow-up of external school evaluations

To heighten the impact of school external school evaluation on school improvement there needs to be systematic follow-up by the external evaluators and/or appropriate authorities or support agencies. Such follow-up should include both a monitoring and support function. External school evaluation should result in a good amount of feedback to schools, including a useful and practical level of detail on required improvements. In turn, this needs to be accompanied by the appropriate investment in strategies to ensure that schools effectively use the feedback they receive. There should be clear procedures in place for the further follow-up of schools that are judged not to have made adequate improvement upon a second external school evaluation.

Source: OECD (2013b), *Synergies for Better Learning: An International Perspective on Evaluation and Assessment*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264190658-en*.

national inspection, but evaluations were typically not followed up and were, therefore, equally abandoned (OECD, 2013b).

The introduction of school evaluations will also require a rethinking of the current structure of the inspection that is fragmented across levels of the education system, the individual appraisal of school leaders and teachers and different subjects or programmes. This fragmentation could hinder the introduction of comprehensive school evaluations. To strengthen the role that school evaluation can play for school development through a focus on teaching and learning, the school inspection could be united under the responsibility of the CODICEN and organised at the level of departments and within areas. An integration of the inspection across subsystems would ensure that the inspection of all subsystems has sufficient capacity and that best practices are shared effectively. Alternatively, the school inspection structures within councils could be integrated building on current experiences and experimentations with integrated inspections. The current decentralisation and reorganisation of the inspections in general and technical-professional secondary education should provide a window of opportunity for a broader rethinking of the inspection in these two subsystems. The reorganisation of the inspections should also involve thinking around the inspections' links with the National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEEd) and the Research, Evaluation and Statistics Division (DIEE) of CODICEN. This is important to ensure that data and research are used effectively for improvement at the local level and that the local knowledge gathered through the inspection informs research and monitoring at the central level.

Encourage and support schools to develop school development planning and self-evaluation processes

While school development planning and self-evaluation require time for co-ordination and planning, they can be ways for school principals to provide direction and leadership, to develop strategies for constant improvement, and to engage the school community in a process of collective learning (OECD, 2013b). In Uruguay, there are some references in national legislation, some programmes and provision of funding (e.g. *ProMejora* project), and some local practices, but there is large scope to increase the profile and use of both school development planning and self-evaluation.

As a recent OECD review of evaluation and assessment in education suggested, one way to strengthen school development planning and self-evaluation lies in establishing requirements for schools that promote strategic planning, for example, the drawing up of a four to five year strategic plan and regular updates of school progress on this plan, or the development of annual school reports about their achievements, challenges and strategies for improvement (see Box 4.2 for an example). The process of meeting specified strategic planning requirements can be a stimulus for schools to further their self-evaluation practices and to promote school improvement, if: the reporting and planning pays sufficient attention to key processes of teaching and learning and a broad range of outcomes; the process of reporting and planning adequately engages the school community; and the school community takes keen interest in school progress towards its strategic goals.

Box 4.2. **Introducing school development planning and self-evaluation: the case of Austria**

As part of the Quality in Schools project (QIS), an Internet platform supplied schools with information and tools for both evaluation and data analysis and provided a forum for presenting the results. In autumn 2012, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education and Women's Affairs replaced the Q.I.S model with the School Quality in General Education process (*Schulqualität Allgemeinbildung*, SQA) which aims to foster individualisation and competence orientation in teaching and learning. This new key tool for general primary and secondary education built on a similar initiative for vocational education and training (*Qualitätsinitative Berufsbildung*, QIBB) and has strong links to the educational standards which were introduced in 2012 as well. The 2014 reform of the Federal Law on School Inspection (*Bundeschulaufsichtsgesetz*) made school development and self-evaluation compulsory. Based on law, a national quality framework for schools was developed and is being implemented by SQA.

As part of the SQA process, schools establish clearly defined development plans which have to cover several years and need to be updated every other year. The school principal is responsible for the development of the plan together with the teachers. This process includes self-evaluation, whereby the results of education standards provide one important input, but schools are also encouraged to seek external advice on their own initiative. For example, external guidance can be requested from specially trained school development advisors. In periodical dialogue, the school principal and the responsible school inspector (in principle every year) conclude binding targets and performance agreements for the school (*Ziel- und Leistungsvereinbarungen*). These must be in line with the regional, provincial and national SQA-targets and country-wide budget framework targets. The underlying principle is dialogue-based leadership to induce a culture of trust, feedback and consensus. External inspection is still possible, but limited to case, where such an intervention appears the necessary intervention tool. The implementation of the SQA process has been supported by training programmes for principals, school inspectors and managerial staff and information and comprehensive support are also available on line.

The compulsory implementation of SQA and the shift in the role of the school inspection from external supervision to regional quality management can be seen as a true change of paradigm in the Austrian system of school quality development. The impact of SQA is currently being evaluated by the Federal Institute for Education Research, Innovation and Development of the Austrian School System (BIFIE).

Source: Bruneforth, M. et al. (forthcoming), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Austria*, Bundesministerium für Bildung und Frauen, Vienna.

The school inspection can also play a role in promoting school development planning and self-evaluation, both through existing individual appraisal and possibly through a future comprehensive school evaluation. School leaders are key for managing, stimulating and ensuring the effective implementation of school development planning and self-evaluation. Individual appraisal should, therefore, pay adequate attention to school leaders' responsibilities in this area, together with their responsibilities for evaluation and assessment more broadly (e.g. for a future school evaluation process and internal teacher appraisal, also see Chapter 5). A future comprehensive school evaluation also has the potential to build capacity in schools for school-based self-evaluation: schools may be motivated to engage in self-evaluations if faced with an external school evaluation requirement and external evaluation can increase evaluation literacy in schools.

It is equally important to provide school leaders with the opportunities to develop the necessary competencies to implement school planning and self-evaluation (e.g. through school leadership competency standards and development programmes that include aspects such as how to develop school improvement plans; how to analyse data; how to involve teachers, students and parents in school self-evaluation). Access to consistent, comparable, reliable and broad-based self-evaluation tools and examples of effective use of these in school policy making can give school leaders a better picture of what school self-evaluation looks like when it is working well (see Box 4.3), and the creation of new evaluation roles within the school for different staff can provide additional support for school leaders for their new role. School development planning and self-evaluation should, however, not remain an exercise for the school leadership team, but should engage the school staff and students, as is already recognised in legislation (Articles 41 and 78 of the 2008 Education Law). In the Uruguayan context, the effective implementation of participatory school development planning and self-evaluation will depend on a more stable assignment of teachers to schools than is currently the case and more time for co-ordination, planning and preparation as part of teacher's paid working time (see Chapter 5).

The implementation of stronger school development planning and self-evaluation requirements should build on the experience of the *ProMejora* project and integrate this pilot into a broader scheme under the reorganised inspections.

Box 4.3. **Examples of initiatives to support school self-evaluation**

Ireland

Ireland has strengthened support for school self-evaluation in 2012 through the publication of Guidelines for School Self-Evaluation in primary and secondary schools and a dedicated school self-evaluation website. The Inspectorate supports all schools and teachers and provides seminars for school principals. In 2003, the Inspectorate developed two frameworks for self-evaluation in primary and secondary schools (*Looking at our Schools*). Since 1998, professional development for teachers has been offered in the context of School Development Planning.

Luxembourg

The Ministry accompanies schools in their school development planning by offering data, assessment tools, advice, training and analytical expertise. Methodological support is offered to schools throughout the process of drawing up and implementing their School Development Plan by the central Agency for the Development of Quality in Schools (ADQS).

Box 4.3. **Examples of initiatives to support school self-evaluation** *(cont.)*

Mexico

Mexico has developed self-evaluation guidance since the early 2000s, including an adaptation of the Scottish evaluation and quality indicator framework (2003) and a publication on key features of the top performing schools (2007). Further a collection of guides, support materials and instruments for self-evaluation was distributed to all primary and secondary schools in 2007 (System for School Self-evaluation for Quality Management). The National Educational Evaluation Institute (INEE) also develops a series of applications for use in self-evaluation, e.g. tools for evaluating the overall school, the school environment, school staff, etc.

Scotland (United Kingdom)

Education Scotland, the external evaluation body, has developed a central web-based resource which provides schools and school leaders with a comprehensive set of tools which they can use to structure school self-evaluation. This resource, known as *Journey to Excellence*, has grown and developed over two decades and can be traced back to the publication of *How Good is our School?* in the late 1980s. The Framework for school self-evaluation (*How good is our school?*) includes quality indicators in five key areas. Education Scotland also runs good practice conferences on different themes.

Source: OECD (2013b), *Synergies for Better Learning: An International Perspective on Evaluation and Assessment*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264190658-en*.

Develop a coherent framework for individual school leader appraisal so appraisal contributes to the improvement of school leaders' practices

The existence of an individual school leader appraisal process is a great strength in the Uruguayan education system as this provides the basis for improving the competencies and practices of key actors in the education system. However, to realise the potential of this tool, the OECD review team suggests a number of improvements to the current system.

Appraisal in Uruguay focuses on both accountability and development. The combination of both functions within a single appraisal process may lead to significant differences in the perceptions of the purposes of an appraisal between evaluators and school leaders. It may not be clearly understood that the goal of appraisal must be improvement and, ultimately, contribute to better teaching and learning for all students. This needs to be communicated more clearly. There are also ways in which the two functions can be combined more effectively. For example, school leaders can be appraised over several years through a purely formative appraisal cycle. At the end of the formative appraisal cycle, appraisal can inform summative decisions, such as a school principal's career progression and appointment to schools. In the Northern Territory, Australia, for example, school principals are generally employed on a fixed-term contract of four years. School principals are appraised in a formative process over a period of 18 months that includes coaching conversations between school principals and evaluators after 6 and 12 months. At the end of the formative appraisal period, results of appraisal inform decisions about a school principal's future career, including the contract renewal process.[13] Similar procedures are in place in the Australian state of Victoria and in the Western District in the province of Prince Edward Island, Canada.

To maximise the impact of appraisal, appraisal needs to go beyond employment-related decisions, such as school leaders' appointment to schools as is currently the case. Appraisal

is unlikely to improve school leaders' practices if school leaders do not experience the process as meaningful and useful for improving their practices and behaviours and if appraisal is not linked to professional development. School leader appraisal itself should provide effective and useful feedback that school leaders can use for improving their practices and behaviours. Appraisal procedures should, furthermore, not only take professional development into account as an appraisal aspect as already required by law, but directly feed into the planning of professional development and result in the preparation of an individual development plan that is related to wider school goals developed as part of school development planning. Professional development opportunities also need to be more widely available, however (see recommendation below).

In light of research on effective school leadership and school leader appraisal, appraisal in Uruguay should focus more clearly on the evaluation of practices and behaviours which research has identified as the core of pedagogical leadership than is currently the case and specified in legislation. A focus on pedagogical leadership is essential to encourage school leaders to take direct responsibility for the quality of learning and teaching in their school. However, successful school leadership always depends on a school leader's choice on which areas to spend their time and efforts, and when. The appraisal of a core set of leadership practices that form the basis of pedagogical leadership, therefore, needs to be balanced with scope for local flexibility. Scope for the local selection of appraisal aspects and criteria in line with central guidance that emphasise the importance of pedagogical leadership and/or the collaborative setting of objectives at a local level may help make appraisal manageable and relevant for the work of individual school leaders.

All these elements of the new appraisal approach should be consolidated in a central appraisal framework that guides the systematic appraisal of school leaders. Such a central framework would address some of the concerns around clarity, transparency and objectivity, but also have a number of further benefits. It would help ensure that appraisal is geared towards the improvement of school leadership, that appraisal fulfils the required properties (e.g. validity, reliability, utility and fairness), that school leaders and evaluators have clear expectations, and that appraisal is based on the latest research evidence.

However, school leader appraisal can always only be one element of more comprehensive approaches to develop the school leadership profession (OECD, 2013b, Radinger, 2014).

Develop the school leadership profession so it can provide pedagogical leadership and make a difference to teaching and learning

Research has highlighted the importance of school leadership for teaching and learning, the transformation of low-performing disadvantaged schools as well as successful policy implementation (Pont et al., 2008; Day et al., 2009; Louis et al., 2010; OECD, 2012). This provides a strong rationale for implementing policies that ensure the effective recruitment, development, appraisal and retention of school principals and deputy principals. Considering the potential impact of a relatively small, but central, group of actors in the education system, policies that target school leadership constitute highly cost-effective measures for improving education (Louis et al., 2010). The development of policies that strengthen school leadership and that build the capacity of principals and deputy principals in Uruguay should go hand in hand with wider deliberations about the autonomy of schools which influences the scope that school principals have to shape the operation of their school (see Chapter 2). In this context, it is also worth bearing in mind

the small size of many schools in pre-primary and primary education, which limits school principals' room for leadership.

The CODICEN and the individual councils should develop and implement policies to develop the school leadership profession, as already set out in the Education Law (Article 41). This could involve the development of a comprehensive school leadership development strategy (see Box 4.4 for country examples). As Darling-Hammond and Rothman (2011) argued, policies for the development and support of both teachers and school leaders require a balanced approach including the recruitment of qualified individuals, their preparation, induction, professional development, appraisal, career development and retention over time. Initiatives to develop the school leadership profession should take into account some key aspects of research on school leadership: the overall benefits of pedagogical leadership for the improvement of teaching and learning, the highly contextual nature of school leadership, such as the particular circumstances of small rural schools, and the danger of heroic visions of school leadership (OECD, 2013b). The development of the school leadership profession could also involve the creation of a specific unit responsible for this task within the CODICEN and the individual councils (UNESCO, 2014).

Box 4.4. **Comprehensive school leadership development strategies**

Chile

In Chile, Congress passed the Quality and Equality of Education Law in January 2011 which introduced a wide range of policies to improve the quality of education. While this Law introduced policies related to teachers, it also recognised the importance of school leadership for effective schools through measures that aim to strengthen the professional status of principals in Chile. These include, among others, policies related to the selection and recruitment of principals (*Alta Dirección Pública*), the remuneration of principals (higher salaries according to school size and the number of underprivileged students enrolled), and greater autonomy for principals to organise leadership teams and to replace underperforming teachers. In addition, in 2011, Chile implemented a School Principals of Excellence training programme (*Programa Formación de Directores de Excelencia*). This programme aims to support principals in their work and to develop skills for better school leadership among current and aspiring school principals through the provision of grants and scholarships to participate in high-quality, flexible and pedagogically-centred professional development programmes (e.g. through Master's programmes, Diploma programmes, and internships). Between 2011 and 2012, the Chilean government granted over 1 600 scholarships to fund the needs of teaching professionals keen to develop their school leadership skills. For 2013, 1 000 scholarships were approved.

Source: OECD (2013b), *Synergies for Better Learning: An International Perspective on Evaluation and Assessment*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264190658-en; www.formaciondirectores.mineduc.cl.*

Peru

Peru has recognised the importance of school leadership for teaching and learning and taken steps to improve school leadership as part of its reform agenda which also aims to increase decentralisation, participation, transparency and results-oriented management in Peruvian schools. The relevance of school leadership is recognised and promoted in both the teacher reform (*Ley de Reforma Magisterial*) and the strategic multiannual plan for education (*Plan Estratégico Sectorial Multianual de Educación*, PESEM, 2012-16) and has resulted in a comprehensive school leadership development system (*Sistema de Dirección Escolar*) in 2014. As a cornerstone of this new system, Peru has developed professional school leadership

Box 4.4. **Comprehensive school leadership development strategies** *(cont.)*

standards (*Marco de Buen Desempeño del Directivo*) that seek to promote a vision of pedagogical leadership, to revalue the role of the principal and to guide the remaining elements of the school leadership development system (selection, appraisal, and preparation and professional development). The new school leadership system involves a selection process which allows principals to take on their role for a specified period of time and to be reappointed following an appraisal process, a national school leadership development programme (*Programa Nacional de Formación y Capacitación de Directores y Subdirectores*) which entails an induction, specialisation, and further development, and steps to increase the attractiveness of the profession (*Asignaciones e incentivos*) through public recognition, training that leads to qualifications, adequate remuneration, and networking through a new consultative committee of school leaders (*Comité Consultivo de Directores Líderes*). The whole initiative is structured around a vision of schools defined through pedagogical leadership, a democratic and intercultural school culture, and strong links between schools, families and communities.

Source: Ministry of Education of Peru (2014), *Marco de Buen Desempeño del Directivo: Directivos construyendo escuela* [Good Performance Framework for Principals: Principals Making School], *www.minedu.gob.pe/n/xtras/marco_buen_desempeno_directivo.pdf*.

New Zealand

New Zealand has invested considerably in developing school leadership competencies across its education system. New Zealand's school leadership improvement efforts include a research-based model of effective pedagogical leadership, the Kiwi Leadership for Principals framework; the Educational Leadership Practices survey, a formative tool to help school principals analyse their leadership in schools; and a Professional Leadership Plan offering professional development opportunities for school principals at different stages of their career.

Source: OECD (2013b), *Synergies for Better Learning: An International Perspective on Evaluation and Assessment*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264190658-en; www.educationalleaders.govt.nz*.

Ontario (Canada)

The province of Ontario, Canada, has identified successful school and system leadership as a core element of its efforts to achieve the province's three core educational goals: i) high levels of student achievement; ii) reduced gaps in student achievement; and iii) increased public confidence in publicly-funded education. To this end, Ontario has developed and implemented a comprehensive school and system leadership strategy, the Ontario Leadership Strategy (OLS), to support student achievement and wellbeing by attracting and developing skilled and passionate school and system leaders. As part of this strategy, several tools and support mechanisms (e.g. The Ontario Leadership Framework 2012, and Core Leadership Capacities) have been developed to streamline and focus efforts to support school principals and deputy-principals, to refine leadership skills and to put advanced leadership concepts and practices to work on a daily basis to meet educational targets and achieve concrete results. A province-wide Principal/Deputy-Principal Performance Appraisal (PPA) system focused on goals that promote student achievement and wellbeing constitutes a key component of the OLS. It is designed to support the strategy's two overarching goals: i) to attract competent people to school leadership roles; and ii) to develop the best possible instructional leaders.

Source: OECD (2013b), *Synergies for Better Learning: An International Perspective on Evaluation and Assessment*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264190658-en; www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/policyfunding/leadership/index.html*.

Develop a shared conception of the school leadership profession that promotes a vision of principals as pedagogical leaders

As the basis of its school leadership development strategy, Uruguay should develop a shared understanding of the school leadership profession. This could include a revision of the regulations of the responsibilities of principals and deputy principals and the development of a related set of professional school leadership standards (*marco de buen liderazgo*) (see Centre of Study for Policies and Practices in Education (CEPPE) [2013] and Ingvarsson et al. [2006] for literature reviews on the features and development of effective school leadership standards, and Box 4.5 for country examples). Such standards would provide a clear and concise statement of the core elements of successful leadership by mapping out what school leaders are expected to know, be able to do, and how. They would also provide a guiding framework that informs all aspects of a school leader's career, from selection and recruitment and initial school leadership preparation and induction programmes, to ongoing in-service training and professional development opportunities, appraisal and career advancement. Considering the limited autonomy of school principals and deputy principals in Uruguay, the revision of regulations and the development of professional school leadership standards also provides an opportunity for a discussion about the role of school leaders in the country's education system and for teaching and learning (e.g. school self-evaluation, internal teacher appraisal, selection of school leadership team, definition of aspects of the curriculum).

Box 4.5. **Examples of professional school leadership standards**

Chile

Chile developed a Framework for Good School Leadership (*Marco para la Buena Dirección*) in 2004 to professionalise the role of the school principal. The framework specifies criteria of effective school leadership that form the basis for professional development and performance appraisal. It aims to support the development of pedagogical leadership to respond to political, economic and social changes (e.g. Chile's national development strategy, decentralisation in education, democratisation, and globalisation). Based on stakeholder consultations and national as well as international experiences in school leadership, the Chilean school leadership model defines successful leadership as practices related to pedagogical, administrative and financial management. Accordingly, the Framework for Good School Leadership defines four areas of practice: i) leadership; ii) managing the curriculum; iii) managing resources; and iv) managing the school climate, which are, then, defined in greater detail. In addition, the Education Quality Assurance Agency (*Agencia de la Calidad de la Educación*), has developed a Good School Management Framework (*Modelo de Calidad de la Gestión Escolar*). These guidelines similarly define successful school management as a set of processes related to leadership, managing the curriculum, school climate and student support, and managing resources, as well as results. The school leadership standards are aligned with the definition of school principal responsibilities in the regulations.

Source: UNESCO (2014), *El liderazgo escolar en América Latina y el Caribe: Un estado del arte en base a ocho sistemas escolares de la región*, *http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002327/232799s.pdf*; OECD (2013b), *Synergies for Better Learning: An International Perspective on Evaluation and Assessment*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264190658-en*; *www.mineduc.cl/usuarios/convivencia_escolar/doc/201103070155490.MINEDUC.Marco_para_la_Buena_Direccion.pdf*; *www.agenciaeducacion.cl/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Modelo-de-Calidad-del-Gesti%C3%B3n-Escolar.pdf*.

Box 4.5. **Examples of professional school leadership standards** *(cont.)*

Ecuador

Ecuador developed a set of professional standards for school principals to clarify the role of school leaders. The Law of Intercultural Education (*Ley Orgánica de Educación Intercultural*) envisages that these standards will also form the basis of the performance appraisal of school principals, but this process has not yet been implemented. Like in Chile, the professional standards are based on an analysis of national and international experiences which resulted in the formulation of an initial proposal. Subsequently, the development of professional standards involved a number of school visits to contextualise these experiences and a number of workshops with various stakeholders and national and international experts. The process also included a consultation of stakeholders, academic and technical specialists in the area of school leadership, and civil society. The standards are organised in four dimensions: leadership, educational management, management of human talent and resources, and organisational climate and collaboration. The professional standards, however, go beyond the legal definition of school principals responsibilities which are more narrowly defined.

Source: UNESCO (2014), *El liderazgo escolar en América Latina y el Caribe: Un estado del arte en base a ocho sistemas escolares de la región*, *http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002327/232799s.pdf*, *http://educacion.gob.ec/desempeno-directivo*; *http://educacion.gob.ec/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2013/03/estandares_2012.pdf*.

Victoria, Australia

The state of Victoria, Australia, has developed a Developmental Learning Framework for School Leaders, as a fundamental element of its 2006 Learning to Lead Effective Schools strategy. The framework is intended to strengthen school principals' and teachers' leadership capacity. It can be used in various ways, e.g. for self-assessment, performance and development reviews, school leader selection, coaching and mentoring and leadership induction and planning. The Victoria leadership framework breaks new ground in being applicable to leadership throughout the school at all levels in the school, showing where a teacher or school leader is located on a leadership continuum and what they need to know and be able to do in order to improve. As such, the Victoria framework is based on the core belief that leadership is learnable. The framework describes development within five leadership domains: i) technical; ii) human; iii) educational; iv) symbolic; and v) cultural. Within each of these leadership domains, the framework lays out typically five progressive levels of competence and related capabilities. It defines what effective leadership looks like in practice at each of the different stages of development and growth and provides a clear direction about what it means to develop as a leader.

Source: OECD (2013b), *Synergies for Better Learning: An International Perspective on Evaluation and Assessment*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264190658-en*; *www.education.vic.gov.au/Documents/school/principals/profdev/developmentallearn.pdf*.

New Zealand

New Zealand has developed a Kiwi Leadership for Principals (KLP) model that provides a statement of the expectations of school principals. Built on a core conceptualisation of educational leadership and stressing the need of building effective relationships as well as school leaders' attention to their particular contexts, KLP defines Leading Change and Problem-Solving as the two key leadership areas for school principals. The KLP model, further, identifies four areas of practice (culture; pedagogy; system; partnerships and networks) to reach these two objectives. Four educational leadership qualities underpin school leaders' ability to lead their schools: *manaakitanga* (leading with moral purpose), *pono* (having self-belief), *ako* (being a learner), and *awhinatanga* (guiding and supporting). In

Box 4.5. **Examples of professional school leadership standards** *(cont.)*

alignment with this leadership framework, two sets of professional standards for primary and secondary school principals provide a baseline for assessing satisfactory performance within each area of practice (culture; pedagogy; system; partnerships and networks). New Zealand has been in the process of developing two further parts of the overall leadership strategy: Kiwi Leadership for Senior and Middle Leaders and Leadership for Māori-medium Leaders.

Source: OECD (2013b), *Synergies for Better Learning: An International Perspective on Evaluation and Assessment*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264190658-en*; *www.educationalleaders.govt.nz/Leadership-development/Key-leadership-documents/Kiwi-leadership-for-principals*.

The revised regulations and new professional standards should reflect the complexity of school leaders' tasks and responsibilities, be informed by research evidence and involve school leaders in their development. Considering the role of pedagogical leadership for teaching and learning, they should have a clear focus on competencies related to this leadership style, but also recognise that successful school leadership is always context-dependent (OECD, 2013b; Pont et al., 2008).

Increase the relative salaries of principals and deputies to recognise their level of responsibility and to make school leadership more attractive

Uruguay needs to re-evaluate the current levels of remuneration of principals and deputy principals to ensure that school leadership is sustainable in the future and that qualified and interested teachers who would like to take on more responsibilities are not deterred from making this step. The existence of a separate salary scale in Uruguay provides an ideal basis to increase salaries for principals and deputy principals relative to teachers and to make compensation competitive with other occupations in the public and the private sector. Principals and deputy principals should earn a salary sufficiently greater than teachers' salaries to compensate for their additional workload, exposure and responsibilities. Salaries also need to distinguish adequately between principals and deputy principals to make it attractive for deputy principals to take on principalship. The OECD review team also suggests to review the situation of school leadership in disadvantaged contexts and to introduce salary increments for principals and deputy principals working in disadvantaged schools, if necessary, particularly in general and technical-professional secondary education where no such incentives exist at present (Pont et al., 2008). In Chile, for instance, school leadership responsibilities involve a bonus of 25%-200% of the basic minimum salary for teachers, depending on the size of the school and the percentage of vulnerable students of low socio-economic background (UNESCO, 2014).

Develop and implement a coherent initial school leader preparation course and create opportunities for further professional learning

Uruguay has a good basis for developing the school leadership profession as initial training and preparation is already mandatory for principals before taking part in school leader exams and before taking on a school leadership role. Preparation is essential as a teaching background alone does not ensure that candidates have the competencies to lead a school. Initial preparation can also increase the attractiveness of school leadership and contribute to school leaders' job satisfaction (Pont et al., 2008).

However, the OECD review team noted a concern that the quality of school leader preparation could be improved and be made more systematic. The development of a systematic school leadership preparation course that is not geared towards the passing of the school leader exam, but towards the future school leadership role, would be one step to improve current school leader training. Going beyond the horizon of the school leader exam would also provide an opportunity to strengthen the relevance of the practical part of the school leadership course. The new school leadership course should seek to develop the competencies set out in the new professional school leadership standards so school leadership development is consistent and targeted at the development of pedagogical leadership. Both initial teacher education and teacher professional development should provide a strong grounding for teachers to take on the role of school leaders (*maestro director*) in rural schools. Box 4.6 provides two examples of innovative school leadership development initiatives in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Box 4.6. **School leadership development in Latin America and the Caribbean**

Colombia

In 2010, the Business Leaders Foundation for Education in Colombia (*Fundación Empresarios por la Educación de Colombia*) started the "Guiding transformational leaders" programme (*Rectores Líderes Transformadores*), which is based on a partnership of the business and the public sectors (Ministry of National Education and Education Secretariat) and academia (universities, education institutions, education experts). The programme is a common commitment to strengthen the leadership of school principals who are taken to be the basis for achieving transformations in education that have a positive impact on the quality of education and the learning of children and youth in the country. The central objective of the training programme is to strengthen school principals' competencies in pedagogical administrative and community leadership and management, so that principals can be transformational leaders that influence student learning and the life of the school community.

The programme is built around the school principal as the main focus and agent, but also awareness that the support of others is needed to achieve change in schools and that education is the responsibility of everyone in the school community. The training programme, therefore, not only involves the school principal, but all members of the school leadership team who follow the principal on his training in different forms of participation.

The programme comprises 4 modules split into 2 formats: intensive training (4 weeks classroom training) and continuous training (36 weeks of support in the educational institution). Training includes a set of pedagogical formats that are offered through a team of human resource development and education professionals: practical experiences, discussions with experts and invited guests, exchange of learning and experiences; talks, discussion groups and case studies, coaching strategies (individually, through shadowing, and in groups), advice and counselling in specific situations, the use of ICT through the School Leadership Network (*Red de Liderazgo Escolar*).

After ten months of training, the school principal and his or her school prepare a plan and concrete actions to transform the school. This is the starting point for a very important phase of the project in which the school principal works together with his team over two years to motivate, encourage, accompany and support the innovative processes and projects set out initially in the school development plan.

Box 4.6. **School leadership development in Latin America and the Caribbean** *(cont.)*

The programme has strong links with the regions and is aligned with central policies as well as local education strategies through a working agreement. The programme currently operates in one-third of the country and aims to cover all related territorial entities.

Source: UNESCO (2014), *El liderazgo escolar en América Latina y el Caribe: Un estado del arte en base a ocho sistemas escolares de la región*, *http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002327/232799s.pdf*; *http://fundacionexe.org.co/?page_id=684*.

Dominican Republic

In September 2011, the Dominican Republic established a Principal School for Quality in Education (*Escuela de Directores para la Calidad Educativa*). The new institution is linked to a teacher education institution (*Instituto Superior de Formación Docente Salomé Ureña*, ISFODOSU). The school aims to promote excellence in school leadership through training to improve education at all levels of the education system. To achieve its role and objective, the Principal School develops and defines plans and strategies for professional development in the following areas:

- Diagnostics in education, educational micro-planning and strategic management for the development of school development plans, school improvement plans, and curriculum development plans, and development of frameworks of educational practice.
- Strategies for monitoring, supervision, and evaluation of plans and projects implemented in schools.
- Pedagogical leadership, quality management and teamwork, focusing on management by results.
- Participation, decentralisation and institutional and community development.
- Education in values and values of education.
- The use of the results of research, evaluation and inquiry for continuous improvement and change processes.
- The use of information technologies in school management.
- Resource management and administration.
- Knowledge and implementation of legislation and educational regulations.

The Principal School uses a number of different strategies to build school principals' capacity in these areas, from training in modules that combine classroom presence with virtual training, and the development of school leadership networks (*Entre Directores*), regular theoretical training activities, mentorship, internships and practical training. The current programme lasts for seven months and involves one week of training every two months in which principals attend full-time to study different modules taught by national and international experts. This experience is followed up directly in schools with mentoring and individual support.

Source: UNESCO (2014), *El Liderazgo Escolar en América Latina y el Caribe: Un Estado del Arte en Base a Ocho Sistemas Escolares de la Region* [School Leadership in Latin America and the Caribbean: The State of the Art on the Basis of Eight School Systems of the Region], *http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002327/232799s.pdf*; *www.escueladedirectores.edu.do*.

Leadership development in Uruguay is also not yet seen from a perspective of continuous learning: there is no induction process, there are no opportunities for professional development and there are no requirements for participation in professional development. Considering that an initial preparation programme is in place, professional

development should be provided periodically to give school leaders the opportunity to develop new competencies and to learn about innovative approaches and practices in their profession. Provision should reflect the needs and challenges of particular contexts, such as a disadvantaged student intake (e.g. in *Aprender* schools), work in small rural primary or large urban schools, and the needs of Practice schools that are linked with teacher education. To make the most of Uruguay's investment in the use of ICT in schools and classrooms through the CEIBAL plan, school leaders should be trained further in the guidance that they can provide to teachers in this area. As programme evaluations suggest, ICT could be used in better ways to support teaching and learning. Teachers that fulfil school leadership roles only temporarily due to a lack of candidates should have the opportunity to receive training to cope with their role. Professional development needs should be identified and followed-up through the school leader appraisal process (Pont et al., 2008, OECD, 2013b).

Broaden the criteria used for the recruitment of school leaders

The current recruitment and selection process of school principals and deputy principals is solely based on school principals' and deputy principals' individual choice of school and their ranking in the hierarchy of school leaders that is determined by their results in the school leader exam, seniority, attendance and results of individual appraisal. While this ensures objectivity and prevents political appointments, and is similar to practices in other Latin American countries (UNESCO, 2014), it does not allow for a strategic management and placement of principals and deputy principals that also reflects the needs of a particular school.

An interview process that uses a wide range of tools and procedures to assess candidates and involves local stakeholders would ensure that recruitment does not take place without due consideration to the local context (Pont et al., 2008). The interview panel could involves the inspection, the school community (e.g. through the participation council), the Departmental Co-ordinating Commission and peer school principals or deputies. The panel could interview all interested candidates and provide a judgment on the candidates' abilities which could complement the central criteria. The professional school leadership standards should guide the interview process and the selection could involve the preparation and presentation of a school development project. Participants in the selection panel would need training and preparation as well as guidelines and tools for this new task. In addition, the school leader exam part of the selection process should be organised at a regular basis to avoid unnecessary instability in schools. In Ceará, Brazil, for example, the state government provides municipalities with a central selection process of school leaders, but municipalities are free to define their own selection process if they wish. The central selection process is managed by the Federal University of Ceará and involves: i) a multiple choice exam to test reading comprehension, logical reasoning, knowledge of education policy and leadership in Brazil and Ceará; ii) submission of documentation proving eligibility, experience, and participation in specialisation courses. Successful applicants join a register of leaders and can participate in competitions for specific leadership positions (e.g. school co-ordinator). Candidates interested in principalship are required to take part in a school leader course of 40 hours that concludes with an exam. As a last step, candidates that reach a minimum classification in the previous steps take part in a local selection process by the school community in which all students above age 12, parents, teachers and local administrators participate (UNESCO, 2014).

Redefine the role of teacher leaders to create further opportunities for teacher leadership and enable school principals to build their leadership team

While leadership in schools has traditionally referred to individual formal roles and positions, such as the school principal and the deputy school principal, school leadership does not necessarily reside in the authority of individuals. Rather, leadership as intentional influence on activities and relationships that is based on goals and a sense of direction is an organisational quality and inherently distributed within schools (Bennett et al., 2003, Spillane et al., 2004). As research and policy have increasingly recognised school leadership can also be distributed within schools in more formal and co-ordinated ways and such distribution of leadership responsibilities, including to teachers and teams, can contribute to greater overall leadership capacity in schools (see Box 4.7 for an example). Distributing leadership can, furthermore, be one way to develop teachers' leadership skills and to

Box 4.7. **Teacher leadership: the example of Austria**

In Austria, the school reform initiative *Neue Mittelschule* (NMS) to transform lower secondary education also involved the creation of a new role of teacher leaders (*Lerndesigners*) with specific expertise in areas of curriculum and instructional development related to the reform goals of equity and excellence. As part of this initiative, each school designates a teacher to be the *Lerndesigner* who acts as change agents in a shared leadership dynamic with school principals and other teacher leaders, such as subject co-ordinators and school development teams. As legislation and teacher statutes do not yet foresee an official function of teacher leaders, *Lerndesigners* create their own role in the context of their school. The effectiveness of *Lerndesigners* as change agents depends to a significant degree on the culture and leadership in their schools.

Lerndesigners are trained and qualified for their role and attend national and regional workshops and local networking events. A two-year national qualification programme enables teacher leaders to acquire theoretical and practical insights in areas of expertise related to instructional quality, to develop the knowledge and skills to be effective teacher leaders and to network with one another. This programme also contributes significantly to their profile and professional identity. It comprises six development areas: mindfulness of learning, diversity, competence orientation, backwards design curriculum development, differentiated instruction and assessment. *Lerndesigners* earn a certificate worth 12 college credits relevant for further study towards a master's degree. The programme consists of national and regional symposia for networking and qualification purposes as well as a self-study component which is co-ordinated on line and includes practice-based tasks for exploration in school-based professional learning communities. A virtual networking and learning space is also available to connect *Lerndesigners* across generations, to promote exchange, learning and development, and to foster a professional identity. To foster school networks and communities of practice and to support *Lerndesigners*, federal education authorities established a National Centre for Learning Schools.

Lerndesigners are not alone, but as part of the educational reform several other teacher leadership roles have emerged. These include contact persons or co-ordinators with specific agendas required by the Ministry (e-learning, gender issues, culture and arts programming, standards and school quality), and school development team members and co-ordinators created at the school level.

Source: Westfall-Greiter, T. et al. (2013), "Approaches to learning leadership development in different school systems" in *Leadership for 21st Century Learning*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264205406-en*; *www.neuemittelschule.at/*.

develop the school principals of tomorrow. However, research about the best ways in which leadership can be distributed to improve teaching and learning is still scarce and the distribution of leadership creates its own challenges and requires support for school principals (Mulford, 2008; Harris and Spillane, 2008; Pont et al., 2008).

Uruguay has some opportunities for teacher leadership through teacher leader positions (*docentes adscriptos*) and these teacher leaders seem to be greatly valued in schools, as the OECD review team heard during its country visit. However, the role of teacher leaders as they are now conceived focuses predominantly on administrative support and some pedagogical support. While these are important aspects, teacher leaders could take on different roles related to the operation of schools, such as student assessment, the guidance of teachers and the co-ordination of teachers' work within specific subject groups, and the organisation of school self-evaluation processes. The role of teacher leaders should be redefined to include such broader responsibilities for the operation of the school. This could also provide a precondition to give schools greater autonomy in the long run (see Chapter 2). The redefinition of teacher leader roles could be part of the development of a distinct teacher career structure which would provide greater recognition and rewards for teacher leaders (see Chapter 5). Initial teacher education and professional development should ensure that teachers feel ready to take on such additional roles and responsibilities (see Chapter 5).

School principals also need to be prepared to recognise the importance of distributed leadership, to manage their leadership team effectively, and to create informal opportunities for teachers to take on leadership beyond formal roles. All elements of the school leadership employment and career framework, including the professional standards, preparation and training, and individual appraisal, need to reinforce the concept of distributed leadership and develop school principals' competencies in this regard (OECD, 2013b, Pont et al., 2008). If the recruitment process of teachers is reorganised in the future (see Chapter 5), school principals could also be given a greater role in decisions about the teacher leader roles that are needed in their school and who should fulfil them, possibly in co-ordination with the inspection that has an external perspective about a teacher's work and leadership potential. Regardless of the selection of teacher leaders, the distribution of teacher leader positions needs to be targeted at disadvantaged contexts in which school leadership can make the greatest difference.

Enable learning support staff to make a difference to teaching and learning and change the culture of year repetition in schools

Improvements to the challenges of year repetition and school dropout, which affect not only disadvantaged students, but students of all backgrounds, will depend on more systematic changes to the Uruguayan education system that increase the relevance of education for children and young people, raise aspirations, and improve the quality of teaching. This includes issues such the fragmentation of the education system into distinct subsystems which results in a lack of co-ordination and alignment of curricula, for example, and the challenging employment conditions for teachers, particularly in secondary education, which create a lack of stability and limit collaboration, among others (see Chapters 2 and 5).

However, if well prepared and equipped with the necessary time for co-ordination and planning, learning support staff can also play an important role in improving teaching and learning and in reducing year repetition and dropout by providing additional support for students that fall behind (Masdeu, 2015; OECD, 2012). In Uruguay, the impact that support staff can have depends greatly on the overall employment framework and working

conditions of teachers, which limit time for collaboration and planning. These should be changed so that teachers can collaborate more and can be more present and involved in schools (see Chapter 5). Schools and teachers, including learning support staff, also need more preparation, guidance and support in developing strategies and interventions to prevent early school leaving, in identifying additional learning needs as early as possible (e.g. through the use of formative assessment) and in providing the necessary instructional and emotional support to struggling students.

As schools have no autonomy over decisions about the recruitment of learning support staff, which is managed centrally or linked to particular programmes, the allocation of learning support staff does not necessarily meet all needs of schools in a timely manner. While it will be difficult to change the recruitment process of teachers, including for support staff, and while school principals are not yet prepared for taking on more responsibilities for staff recruitment, principals should have a greater role in the identification of support needs (e.g. through the inspection or regional campuses in the case of technical-professional education). The Technical and Professional Education Council should evaluate the use of multidisciplinary teams and if these meet the needs of learning support staff in schools or if any changes to the current model are needed.

The culture of year repetition in schools also needs to change. As already pointed out, teachers do not perceive year repetition as a tool that is employed too often. Year repetition, however, is costly, both for individuals and for society as a whole, widens inequities, stigmatises and demotivates students, and does not benefit students in terms of their long-term learning outcomes. Educational authorities, such as inspectors, should raise school principals' and teachers' awareness of the consequences of year repetition and encourage them in using alternative strategies, such as conditional progression to the following year, the use of comprehensive and flexible criteria to determine if year repetition is necessary, a limit of repetition to subjects or modules rather than the entire year, or a limit in the number of times and years in which students can repeat a year. Personnel evaluation should also pay attention to year repetition practices and hold school principals and teachers accountable for high repetition rates (OECD, 2012). Of course, a more meaningful reduction of year repetition involves further supporting those with learning difficulties in the classroom. One way is to provide extra teaching time for students who fall behind and adapt teaching to their needs. This can build on existing programmes such as the Teacher + Teacher (*Maestros más Maestros*) Programme and the Tutorials Project (*Liceos con tutorías y profesor coordinador pedagógico*). There can also be short-term, intensive interventions of one-on-one lessons for underperforming students. This can be organised with learning support staff. The objective of recovery lessons or remediation is to promote accelerated learning so that students catch up to their peers, close the achievement gap as quickly as possible, and continue to learn independently. Another example of intervention is the presence of learning support staff in the classroom to support the students who fell behind. Approaches also include school prevention with the early identification of learning difficulties and programmes designed in partnership with parents (see Field et al., 2007).

Provide schools with more opportunities to work together and to share good practices, particularly in secondary education, and to build strong links with non-formal education initiatives

School leadership can be a lonely role and school leaders can face feelings of professional isolation. It is, therefore, essential that school leaders have sufficient sources

of external feedback and support. This is particularly the case for new school leaders and for school leaders in challenging contexts. Opportunities for school leaders to learn from each other and to share good practices with school leaders from other schools can provide such a source of feedback. Peer learning and collaboration can also be instrumental in spreading promising practices and approaches and in improving teaching and learning in all schools (OECD, 2013b; OECD, 2012; OECD/SSAT, 2008; Pont et al., 2008).

While there are some practices of collaboration in Uruguay, particularly in pre-primary and primary education, and through the common use of resources in some schools, there is much potential to further facilitate peer learning and collaboration between schools. The importance of peer learning and collaboration should be a central element of the professional school leadership standards. Various models and structures can be used to promote peer learning and collaboration in practice. Coaching programmes that pair new and experienced school principals can be one way to increase support and to facilitate school principals' start in their new role. School networks that build on individual school leaders' commitment, that involve regular and constructive communication, and that are supported through the educational administration, can foster improvement over time at a larger scale. Networks can take different forms, from relatively formal structures and groups to more voluntary networks or system leader roles (OECD, 2012). Personnel appraisal that involves peer-evaluators and school self-evaluation that involves critical friends can also provide opportunities for school leaders to learn from each other. School leaders, however, need to be prepared and trained for such roles (OECD, 2013b).

In Uruguay, policy makers should take advantage of the current implementation of Departmental Co-ordinating Commissions for Education (*Comisiónes Coordinadoras Departamentales de la Educación*) and of regional campuses in technical-professional education to develop school networking and collaboration in a more systematic manner. The collaboration between formal and non-formal education should also be improved (e.g. between community classrooms and secondary schools, and participation of the education administration in the inter-institutional social policy roundtables) to increase the impact of these initiatives to reintegrate out-of-school youth in the education system.

Foster the successful implementation of participation councils, support schools to get parents involved, and strengthen student voice

Participation councils constitute a promising initiative to improve the involvement of parents and students in the operation of schools. However, the OECD review team gained the impression that the implementation of participation councils has so far been slow. Schools should, therefore, receive greater support in establishing participation councils and in involving them in the operation of the school. The impact that participation councils can have on schools depends on how their role is defined, how they are involved in practice, and if they have the capacity to fulfil their role. Following legislation, participation councils have a number of meaningful ways to be involved in school development, e.g. through input into school projects and self-evaluation. The members of participation councils should receive more guidance, training and support on their responsibilities, rights and duties so they can fulfil their role effectively. School leaders should also receive guidance and information on how to involve participation councils, e.g. in self-evaluation, and this responsibility should be clearly specified in the professional school leadership standards. It should also form part of individual school leader appraisal processes.

While some promising initiatives are already in place (e.g. the Community Teachers Programme), schools should be supported further in getting parents involved, particularly in urban and disadvantaged contexts where this is more challenging. This could involve more guidance on meaningful reporting and communication to parents. Some countries, for example, provide schools with a template for reporting student achievement in relation to learning objectives that includes details on student progress, areas of strengths and areas of concern, and recommendations for further learning. Student achievement and behaviour, however, needs to be communicated in a balanced way, particularly for children of parents who are less familiar with the working of schools. Schools should also be encouraged to provide clear guidelines on what is expected from parents and how parents can help their children learn (e.g. conveying messages about the value of homework and of the importance of devoting sufficient time to homework, finding an appropriate place to study, helping their children with assignments, but not completing them). Better employment and working conditions for teachers that allow teachers to spend more time in school and to be available for communication with parents could also help strengthen parental involvement in education (see Chapter 5). In addition, there is room for collecting and spreading innovative local practices of how schools involve parents, e.g. through the inspection or through school networks.

Students also have important feedback to give to their schools and students can play a critical role to determine how schools and classrooms can be improved, even if they need support to learn how to provide powerful feedback (Pekrul and Levin, 2007; Rudduck, 2007; Smyth, 2007). In Uruguay, while legislation specifies that students should be at the centre of teaching and learning and be involved in their education, there is room to improve student participation. Schools should be encouraged to foster the development of student councils, but also to seek feedback from students (e.g. through surveys). Individual teachers should also recognise that students can give valuable feedback on their teaching, even if it cannot replace relevant professional feedback, advice and support by teaching experts. Student feedback should focus on teaching practice rather than the teacher as an individual; include the students' own self- and peer-assessment to allow for analysis of classroom interactions; feature questions on teaching approaches that are known to be relevant for student learning; include information on the general framework for teaching such as materials and physical conditions as well; and be analysed by the students and teacher together with a view to improve the classroom environment and teaching and learning processes (OECD, 2013b). Support for the development of a national student organisation that provides support and guidance to students in schools could be one way to increase student voice.

Notes

1. In technical-professional secondary education, the distribution of these funds is the responsibility of the CETP, but it is planned that regional campuses take on this responsibility in the future.
2. The organisation of the inspection was undergoing changes at the time of the review visit following the implementation of regional campuses.
3. For details, see *www.anep.edu.uy/transito*.
4. For details, see *www.ces.edu.uy/ces/images/stories/2014/abril2014/plan%20experimental.pdf*.
5. For more information, see *www.mides.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/14472/3/innova.front/formacion_profesional_basica_-_experiencias_comunitarias*.
6. For details, see *http://educacion.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/1956/5/mecweb/pnet---cecap?contid=1690&3colid=584*.

7. For details, see *www.utu.edu.uy/utu/resoluciones/2014/diciembre/res-2763-14_exp-7063-14.pdf*.
8. For details, see *www.inju.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/13305/5/innova.front/+centro*.
9. In *Aprender* schools, teachers receive a salary supplement for participation in teacher meetings (*salas docentes*) that take place on a monthly basis at a total of eight per year, on average. In full-time schools, teachers have 37.5 hours of direct instruction and 2.5 hours of planning and co-ordination per week.
10. According to the latest teacher census (2007), 79% of primary school teachers worked in one school, but only 34% and 36% of teachers in general and technical-professional secondary education did so. The majority of teachers in these two subsystems worked in two or three schools.
11. Data from PISA 2012 suggest that schools use local student assessments to monitor their progress from year to year and to identify aspects of instruction or the curriculum that could be improved. In Uruguay, 87.5% of students were in a school whose principal reported that assessments are used for the first purpose (OECD average: 81.2%, Argentina: 73.9%, Brazil: 97.0%, Chile: 93.6%), 86.3% of students were in a school whose principal reported that assessments are used for the second purpose (OECD average: 80.3%, Argentina: 94.0%, Brazil: 88.7%, Chile: 91.7%) (OECD, 2013a, Table IV.30).
12. In pre-primary and primary education, schools typically organise workshops (e.g. on crafts, sexual education), festivals, and events to showcase students' work, and invite parents to visit the classrooms. In technical-professional education, schools organise days to showcase students' projects and achievements over the year. Schools at all levels of the education system can also invite parents to parent-teacher conferences and assemblies. Some schools may establish channels to communicate with parents and the community about life in their school through reports, newsletters and blogs, for example (INEEd, 2015).
13. For details, see *www.education.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/15773/SchoolAPIF.pdf*.

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Chapter 5

The teaching workforce in Uruguay

This chapter is about policies to improve the effectiveness of the teaching workforce. It deals with teacher preparation, recruitment, career development and use of time. Furthermore, it discusses how teachers are incentivised to perform at a high level. The chapter places particular emphasis on areas of priority for Uruguay such as the unavailability of a competency framework for the teaching profession, the inequitable distribution of teachers across schools, the shortcomings in initial teacher education and the concerns over teacher quality. The chapter also reviews approaches to the selection of teachers and their deployment to schools, the structure of teacher compensation, teacher appraisal processes and the organisation of professional development.

This chapter addresses policies to improve the effectiveness of the teaching workforce. Among other things, it analyses the size of the teaching workforce and its geographical distribution; how teachers are prepared and improve their skills while in the profession (e.g. initial preparation, professional development); how teachers are recruited and distributed across individual schools; how teacher resources and teaching time are allocated to students so that they optimally respond to improvement priorities (e.g. class size, teacher-student ratios, use of teachers' time); and how teachers are incentivised to perform at a high level (e.g. teacher appraisal, recognition and compensation).

The first section presents the main characteristics of the teaching workforce in Uruguay (demographic, preparation, recruitment and deployment) as well as the working conditions of teachers in schools and their career opportunities and incentives. This is followed by an analysis of current strengths in the positioning of teachers as resources in the Uruguayan system, of challenges or problematic situations that need addressing, and finally by a set of recommendations on how to address these.

Context and features

Profile of the teaching workforce

Size of the teaching workforce and its main characteristics

In 2014, 19 671 staff were employed in public primary schools, 15 237 of whom were classroom teachers in mainstream education. These figures grew 26.6% and 14.8% respectively since 2002 (see Table 5.A.1 in Annex 5.A). In 2014, the number of classroom teachers in private primary schools was 8 389, a figure which grew 46.2% since 2006. In early childhood and pre-primary education, the number of classroom teachers in schools either maintained or regulated by ANEP has remained stable in the last decade, reaching 3 968 in 2014. In public secondary education, general programmes, the number of subject-teachers (teachers who teach more than one subject are counted as different teachers), in 2014, were 15 523 and 7 664 at the lower and upper levels respectively (reflecting growths of 21.7% and 43.0% since 2006). In technical-professional programmes, the number of subject-teachers were 6 959 and 14 263 for the same year, in lower and upper secondary education respectively (reflecting growths of 60.5% and 89.3% since 2006) (see Table 5.A.1 in Annex 5.A). According to the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007 and which provides the most rigorous information about teachers, there were 36 851 staff involved in direct teaching in public schools maintained by ANEP (45.1% in early childhood, pre-primary and primary education; 39.0% in general programmes of secondary education; and 18.0% on technical-professional programmes of secondary education) (see Table 5.A.2 in Annex 5.A).

As in other countries, the teaching profession in Uruguay is considerably feminised. According to the latest Teacher Census, the proportion of females in 2007 in public schools maintained by ANEP reached 93.2% in early childhood, pre-primary and primary education, 73.5% in general programmes of secondary education and 56.8% in technical-professional programmes of secondary education (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1. **Gender distribution of teachers, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**

	Male	Female
Early childhood, pre-primary and primary education (under supervision of CEIP)	6.8	93.2
Secondary education, general programmes (under supervision of CES)	26.5	73.5
Secondary education, technical-professional programmes (under supervision of CETP)	43.2	56.8

Note: Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP).
Source: ANEP-CODICEN (2008), *Censo Nacional Docente ANEP-2007* (National Teacher Census ANEP-2007), Dirección Sectorial de Planificación Educativa, División de Investigación, Evaluación y Estadística, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública – Consejo Directivo Central, Montevideo.

As shown in Table 5.2, in 2007, teachers in public schools maintained by ANEP were evenly distributed across age groups. In general, in 2007, there was no major concern about the ageing of the teaching workforce.

Table 5.2. **Age distribution of teachers, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**

	29 or less	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 or more
Early Childhood, pre-primary and primary education (under supervision of CEIP)	20.5	29.9	25.8	21.8	2.1
Secondary education, general programmes (under supervision of CES)	22.2	28.9	27.8	17.5	3.6
Secondary education, technical-professional programmes (under supervision of CETP)	14.9	28.8	28.0	22.7	5.6

Note: Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP).
Source: ANEP-CODICEN (2008), *Censo Nacional Docente ANEP-2007* (National Teacher Census ANEP-2007), Dirección Sectorial de Planificación Educativa, División de Investigación, Evaluación y Estadística, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública – Consejo Directivo Central, Montevideo.

Class size and student-teacher ratio

Class size varies across levels of education and types of schools. In public primary education, the average size of classes has decreased over the last decade to 24 students in 2012. This decrease stems from a decline in the school age population as well as a drop in year repetition rates at this level of education (see also Chapter 1) (INEEd, 2015). Classes are smaller than in Brazil (25 students) and Chile (29 students), but still larger than in many OECD countries (OECD average: 21 students) (OECD, 2014, Table D.2.1). *Aprender* schools have smaller classes, which is important considering the socio-economic background of the students attending this type of school. Practice schools have larger classes, but these schools also tend to have the help of student teachers supporting teachers in classrooms.

In public general secondary education, schools that only offer the lower secondary cycle have an average class size of 30 students, irrespective of where schools are located in Uruguay (INEEd, 2015). This is also more than in many OECD countries (OECD average: 24 students), but around the average class size of general lower secondary programmes in Brazil (29 students) and Chile (31 students) (OECD, 2014, Table D.2.1). Schools that only offer the general upper secondary cycle or that offer both cycles of general secondary education have about 35 students per class, and less if the school is located outside of Montevideo or a

departmental capital. Taking into account that not all students in Years 11 and 12 of the general upper secondary cycle are enrolled full-time and that they may decide to only take some subjects, the class size for general upper secondary education decreases to about 27 students per class (INEEd, 2015).

Student-teacher ratios, in 2013, stood at 17 in primary education, 11 in secondary education (general programmes), 6 in lower secondary education (technical-professional programmes) and 4 in upper secondary education (technical-professional programmes) (see Table 5.3). As a comparison, in the same year, the average student-teacher ratio within the OECD area was 15, 13 and 13 in primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education respectively (OECD, 2015).

Table 5.3. **Student-teacher ratio, by level of education, 2013**

	Students to teachers	Students to full-time teachers
Primary education	17	17
Secondary education (general programmes)	8	11
Lower secondary education (technical-professional programmes)	4	6
Upper secondary education (technical-professional programmes)	3	4

Note: For primary education, classroom teachers as well co-ordination and support staff are taken into account. For secondary education (general programmes), in addition to subject teachers, principals, secretaries, teacher leaders, laboratory staff and other support staff are also taken into account. For secondary education (technical professional programmes), all staff involved in teaching is taken into account. Regarding the calculation of students to full-time teachers, no correction was made for primary education (because the great majority of the teachers work full-time) while for secondary education each teaching staff was weighed according to the number of weekly working hours as provided in the National Household Survey.
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Qualifications of teachers

In primary education, virtually all teachers meet the required qualifications. According to the latest teacher census (2007), all teachers employed in public pre-primary and primary schools maintained by ANEP had a teaching qualification at the tertiary level (see Table 5.4). This is confirmed by more recent international data. According to data from the Third Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (TERCE),[1] carried in out in Latin American countries in 2013, an average of 95.9% of Year 3 teachers (in mathematics and language) and 89.6% of Year 6 teachers (in mathematics, language and natural sciences) had a teaching qualification in Uruguay, considerable above the average for the countries participating in the study (between 77% and 82% depending on school year and subject) (UNESCO/OREALC, 2015).

By contrast, there are serious concerns in Uruguay about the qualifications of secondary teachers. As shown in Table 5.4, in 2007, the teacher census revealed that only about 59% and 44% of secondary teachers, in public general and technical-professional programmes respectively had a complete teaching qualification. Figure 5.1, which shows the incidence of the lack of qualifications among public secondary teachers (general programmes) between 2005 and 2014, reveals that little progress has been made in improving the qualifications of teachers at this educational level. These data also show that the situation is more problematic in lower secondary education than in upper secondary education. The lack of sufficient secondary qualified teachers particularly affects the teaching of subjects such as physics, mathematics and English (INEEd, 2015).

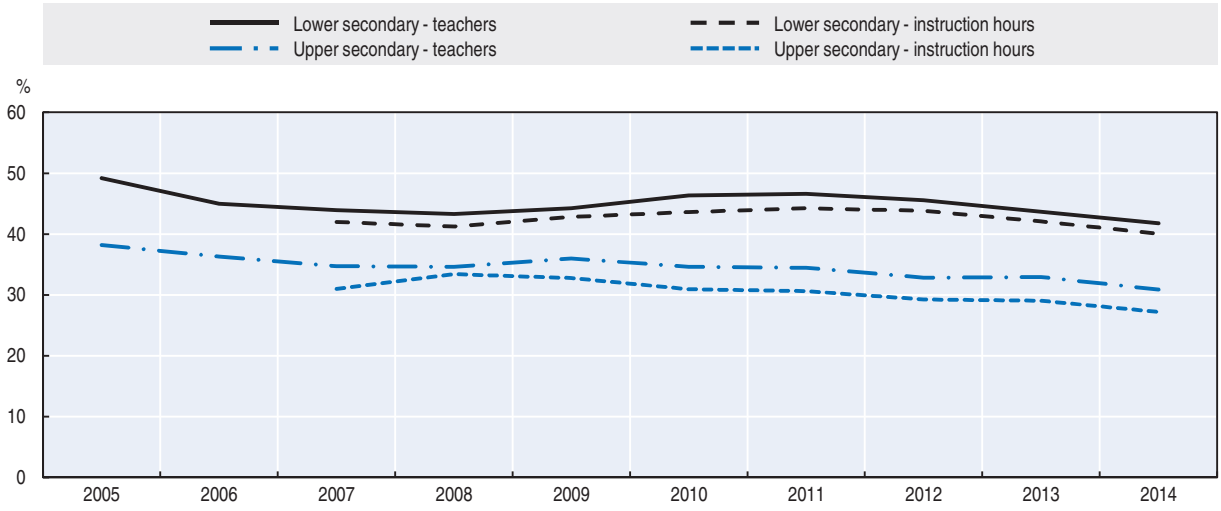
Table 5.4. **Qualifications of teachers, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**

	Teaching tertiary qualification		Other tertiary qualification	
	Complete	Incomplete	Complete	Incomplete
Early childhood education, pre-primary and primary education (under supervision of CEIP)	100	0	7.6	13.4
Secondary education, general programmes (under supervision of CES)	59.0	23.5	17.7	34.0
Secondary education, technical-professional programmes (under supervision of CETP)	44.3	22.1	25.4	25.8
Teacher Education (under supervision of CFE)	89.4	2.7	38.0	28.8
Total	**77.1**	**12.0**	**15.1**	**23.0**

Note: Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP). "Incomplete" means that the teachers attended, or were attending at the time the Census took place, a tertiary programme but had not completed it.
Source: ANEP-CODICEN (2008), *Censo Nacional Docente ANEP-2007* (National Teacher Census ANEP-2007), Dirección Sectorial de Planificación Educativa, División de Investigación, Evaluación y Estadística, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública – Consejo Directivo Central, Montevideo.

Figure 5.1. **Incidence of the lack of qualifications of teachers, public secondary education, general programmes, 2005-14**

Proportion of teachers not qualified and proportion of instruction hours taught by teachers not qualified

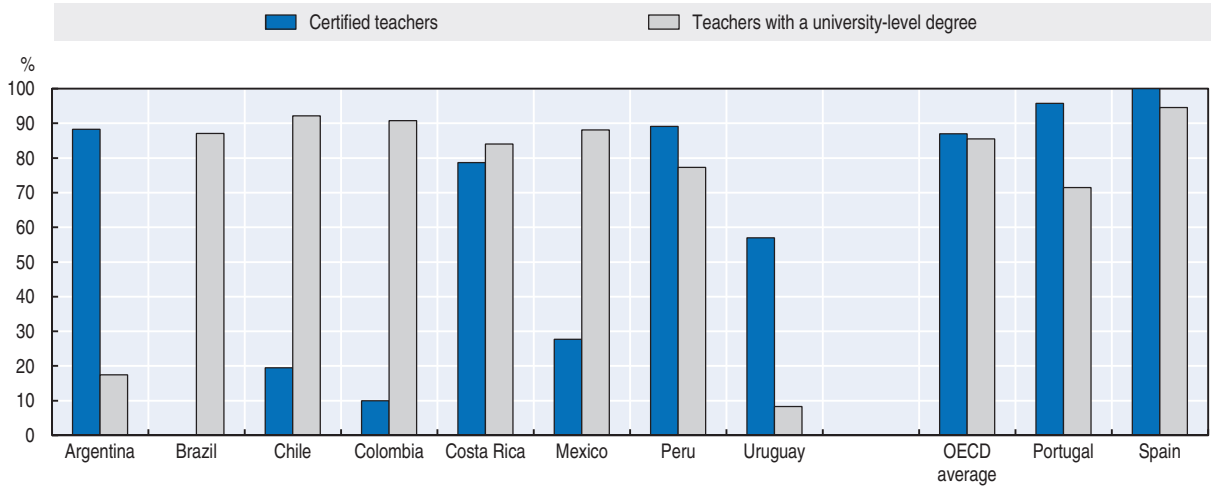


Note: Data on teachers are based on the number of subjects, i.e. teachers who teach more than one subject are counted as different teachers.
Source: MEC (2000, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación* (Education Statistical Yearbook), *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

International data collected by PISA 2012 confirm the high proportion of teachers who are not certified for the profession at the secondary level. As shown in Figure 5.2, in Uruguay, the percentage of certified teachers according to reports from principals of schools attended by 15-year-olds is 57% against an OECD average of 87%. As shown in Table 5.5, analysis of PISA data reveals that the lack of teacher qualifications is more serious in public schools, technical-professional programmes, outside Montevideo and in very unfavourable to medium schools (compared to favourable and very favourable schools). However, the situation seems to have improved between 2003 and 2012, particularly in very unfavourable schools and technical-professional programmes.

Figure 5.2. **Teacher certification status and educational level based on reports by school principals for PISA 2012, selected countries**

School principals' report on the percentage of:



Note: Data are based on the perceptions of the principals of the schools attended by the 15-year-olds who took the PISA assessment and therefore refer to lower and upper secondary education. Data refer to averages across the PISA 2012 sample.

Source: OECD (2013a), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*.

Table 5.5. **Estimates of the proportion of certified teachers based on perceptions by school principals provided as part of questionnaires for PISA, 2003 and 2012**

	2012	2003
By type of school		
Total	0.57	0.53
Public schools	0.55	0.51
Private secondary schools	0.65	0.68
Public secondary schools (general programmes)	0.58	0.54
Public technical schools (technical-professional programmes)	0.45	0.33
Difference private-public	0.09[1]	0.18[1]
Difference technical-professional – general programmes (public)	-0.14[1]	-0.21[1]
By region		
Montevideo	0.62	0.61
Rest of the country	0.53	0.46
Difference Montevideo – rest of the country	0.09[1]	0.14[1]
By socio-economic context of the school		
Very unfavourable	0.54	0.38
Unfavourable	0.50	0.44
Medium	0.55	0.53
Favourable	0.67	0.56
Very favourable	0.68	0.69
Difference very favourable – very unfavourable	0.14[1]	0.31[1]

1. Means that the difference is significant at 95% confidence level. Standard errors of the estimates are available from the original source.

Note: Based on compiled data from OECD PISA, 2003 and 2012. PISA provides information about the performance of 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science as well as comparative insights about the students' backgrounds, schools and the learning environment across the participating countries. Estimates are based on the perceptions of the principals of the schools attended by the 15-year-olds who took the PISA assessment and therefore refer to lower and upper secondary education.

Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

Initial preparation

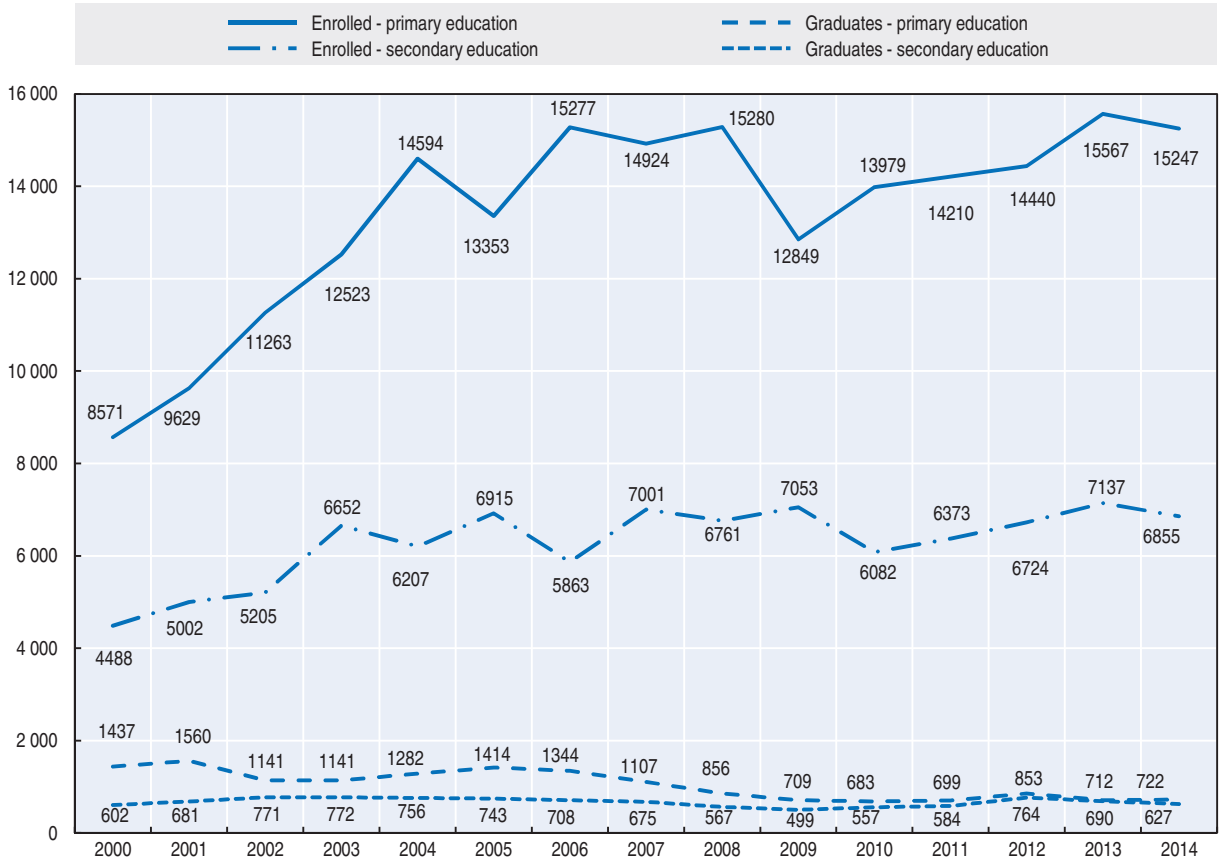
The preparation of teachers for pre-primary and primary education takes place over a four-year programme at the public *Institutos de Formación Docente* (Teacher Education Institutes, IFD) located in the main cities of the country (departments' capitals and a few other cities) and at the *Instituto Normal* in Montevideo (Normal Institute of Montevideo, INM). Until some years ago, secondary teachers were mainly prepared at the *Instituto Profesional Artigas* (Artigas Professional Institute, IPA) in Montevideo. However, beginning in 1997 new teacher education institutions known as *Centros Regionales de Profesores* (Regional Centres for Teachers, CERP) were established in six locations outside of Montevideo, with an innovative structure based on full-time attendance. Besides these institutional offerings, prospective secondary teachers may also qualify through a combination of studies involving the common and pedagogic curriculum courses offered by the primary teacher education institutes (IFD) and the subject specialisation provided by the secondary Artigas Professional Institute (IPA). Secondary teachers for technical-professional programmes, in turn, are prepared at the *Instituto Normal de Enseñanza Técnica* (Normal Institute of Technical Education, INET) in Montevideo. In 2014, enrolments levels were as follows across institutions: IFD (primary education), 3 425; IFD (secondary education), 2 998; IPA, 3 973; CERP, 2 377; INM, 1 039; and INET, 788 (ANEP-CFE, 2015).

The whole of the publicly-funded teacher education is co-ordinated since 2008 under the "National System of Teacher Education" (see ANEP-CFE, 2008). All teacher education institutions now share a common teacher education curriculum. The curriculum stipulates fairly general graduation profiles as well as the list of courses for each education level and type (primary, general secondary, technical-professional secondary) as well as for each specialisation (subjects in general secondary, five areas within technical-professional secondary). The curricular document also defines the practical content for primary education teacher candidates: 40 hours in the whole first year; 12 hours per week in the 2nd and 3rd years; and 16 hours per week in the 4th year. Teacher candidates for secondary education are also supposed to undertake a practicum in schools but the number of hours is not stipulated in the common curriculum. In addition, guidelines for the assessment of teacher candidates are also given (ANEP-CFE, 2008). A significant gap, however, is that there are currently no procedures for the evaluation and accreditation of teacher education programmes (INEEd, 2014).

Given the diversity of teacher education institutions and the fact that they are all tertiary non-university ones, the 2008 General Law of Education approved the establishment of a co-ordinating entity that should take the form of a Pedagogical University Institute (there is general agreement that the term "Institute" should be removed and the new institution should be called "National Pedagogic University"). However, the proposed university has not yet received parliamentarian approval and the current government has ruled out its establishment during its term, despite the fact that there were advanced plans to go ahead with it.

As shown in Figure 5.3, enrolment in initial teacher education grew in the early 2000s both for primary and secondary education preparation. As of 2004, enrolment levels have stabilised around 14 000 for primary teacher candidates and 7 000 for secondary teacher candidates, with some fluctuations across consecutive years. This trend, however, has not been the same throughout the country, as increases have favoured locations outside of Montevideo (MEC, 2013). However, in contrast with increases in enrolment, the number

Figure 5.3. **Number of students enrolled in and graduates from initial teacher education programmes, preparation for primary and secondary education, 2000-14**



Note: Data refer to the number of students enrolled in and graduates from initial teacher education programmes preparing students for either primary education or secondary education (general programmes).
Source: MEC (2014), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación 2014* (Education Statistical Yearbook 2014), *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

of graduates in preparation for primary education has consistently been falling over time from 1 437 new teachers in 2000 to 722 in 2014. In secondary education, the number of graduates over the period 2000-14 has fluctuated between about 500 and 770 graduates.

Compared to other tertiary students, teacher candidates belong to lower socio-economic families. Thus, 36% of first year teacher education students come from families with only primary education as compared to 29% of tertiary education entrants. Conversely, only 20% of first year teacher education students come from families in which at least one parent had complete tertiary studies as compared to 36.8% of other tertiary students (INEEd, 2014). Also candidates for teacher education tend to be older than expected at the tertiary level. In 2014, the distribution of initial teacher education students by age brackets was: 18-24: 41.8%; 25-30: 25.3%; and over 30: 32.9%. The proportion of teacher candidates above 30 years of age was 17.8% in preparation for primary education; 40.1% in preparation for secondary general programmes; and 64.3% in preparation for secondary technical-professional programmes (ANEP-CFE, 2015). This also results from the fact that most teacher candidates enter an initial teacher education programme a number of years after they completed secondary education. The average number of years between graduation from secondary education and enrolment in teacher education for students enrolled in teacher

education programmes in 2014 was: IFD (primary education), 2.9; IFD (secondary education), 6.5; IPA, 5.0; CERP, 4.0; INM, 3.6; and INET, 9.3 (ANEP-CFE, 2015).

A major characteristic of teacher candidates in Uruguay is that most of them have a paid occupation while they study. As displayed in Table 5.6, in 2014, only about 11% of students in initial teacher education had no paid occupation and were not looking for one.

Table 5.6. **Proportion of teacher candidates according to their labour condition by teacher education institution, 2014**

	Has a paid occupation	No paid occupation but looking for one	No paid occupation yand not looking for one	No data
IFD – primary education	29.4	35.5	23.2	11.8
IFD – secondary education	75.8	16.9	3.4	3.9
IPA	80.2	12.7	4.1	2.9
CERP	48.0	25.6	17.2	9.3
INM	64.6	19.8	10.9	4.6
INET	91.5	5.6	1.3	1.6
Total (average)	**61.6**	**21.1**	**10.9**	**6.3**

Note: CERP: *Centros Regionales de Profesores* (Regional Centres for Teachers); INET: *Instituto Normal de Enseñanza Técnica* (Normal Institute of Technical Education); IPA: *Instituto Profesional Artigas* (Artigas Professional Institute); IFD: *Institutos de Formación Docente* (Teacher Education Institutes); INM: Instituto Normal de Montevideo (Normal Institute of Montevideo).
Source: ANEP-CFE (2015), *Los Estudiantes de Formación en Educación: Estudio sobre Datos Aportados por el Censo de Estudiantes del CFE 2014-2015* (Students in Teacher Education: Study of Data Provided by the CFE Student Census of 2014-15), *www.anep.edu.uy/anep/phocadownload/Noticias_Doc/2015/estudio%20censo%202014-2015.pdf*.

Recruitment into teaching and deployment into schools

The employment framework and working conditions of teachers, including decisions about recruitment, dismissal and salaries, are regulated through the teacher statute (*Ordenanza nr. 45, Estatuto del funcionario docente*), established in 1993 and (slightly) revised in 2015. The 2008 Education Law entrusts the different education councils with the management of the teaching workforce in their respective subsystem in line with the teacher statute under the co-ordination of the CODICEN. The teacher statute applies to "direct teaching" functions (i.e. teachers who have a regular interaction with students in the classroom) and "indirect teaching" functions (i.e. interaction with students but with no regular classes) which includes, for example, teacher leaders (*adscriptos*), pedagogical counsellor teachers, school leaders and inspectors.

Requirements for teaching

In primary education, the main requirement to apply for a job as a teacher is to hold a teaching degree for primary education (Teacher statute; ANEP-CODICEN, 2015). By contrast, in secondary education, as a result of the insufficient number of qualified teachers, holding a teaching degree is not a requirement to teach. Individuals with other tertiary qualifications or with secondary qualifications can access the teaching profession if positions remain vacant as the result of the lack of qualified teachers.

Teacher categories

There are three categories of teachers in the public education system according to the type of appointments they have: tenured (*efectivo*), interim (*interino*) and replacement (*suplente*) teachers. Following a few years of experience and through a public competition

(see below), teachers can obtain tenure. Until they reach this stage, teachers may be hired as "*interim*". In this case, the teacher has no acquired rights to keep a given position or set of teaching hours. The third category of teachers includes those who "*replace*" another teacher for a fixed short period (e.g. sickness of a teacher).

Table 5.7 shows the distribution of teachers across the type of teaching post in public schools maintained by ANEP according to information provided by the 2007 teacher census. It shows that the proportion of tenured teachers is higher in pre-primary and primary education (60.2%) than in secondary education (general programmes: 42.3%; technical-professional programmes: 28.5%). Also, the distribution of teachers' seniority in schools maintained by ANEP is similar across education levels and types (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.7. **Distribution of teachers across the type of teaching post and years of seniority, by education level and type, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**

	Early childhood education, pre-primary and primary education	Secondary education, general programmes	Secondary education, technical-professional programmes
Type of teaching post (%)			
Tenured	60.2	42.3	28.5
Interim	16.7	49.9	67.2
Replacement	23.1	7.8	4.3
Seniority as a teacher in schools supervised by ANEP (%)			
0-4 years	19.7	22.6	19.7
5-9 years	22.8	22.6	23.1
10-19 years	27.8	27.4	28.0
20-29 years	20.2	18.1	21.1
30 years or more	7.3	7.4	6.3

Note: Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP).
Source: ANEP-CFE (2008), *Sistema Nacional de Formación Docente 2008: Documento Final* (National System of Teacher Education 2008: Final Document), *www.cfe.edu.uy/images/stories/pdfs/plan_nacional/sundf_2008.pdf*.

Teacher registry for interim teachers

As they start in the profession, teachers voluntarily join a registry which ranks all teachers who have not yet obtained tenure. Different registries are maintained by level and type of education (early childhood and pre-primary; primary; general secondary; and technical-professional secondary); department; and, in secondary education, by subject area. Specific registries also exist for teacher leaders (primary and secondary levels) and laboratory assistants in secondary education.

Teacher registries are maintained as a ranking of teachers. Within each registry, teachers are ranked according to the most recent score obtained in the "rated seniority", as long as they score above a given minimum (see below for details on the components of the "rated seniority"). For those new teachers who have no teaching experience or have not undergone a formal appraisal, the rank is defined by the average mark in initial teacher education. The registry ranking defines the order of priority to give teachers access to the available non-tenured posts or set of teaching hours.

Reaching tenure

Access to a tenured post or a promotion (e.g. to positions such as school leader, inspector) in the public education system requires the successful participation in a public competition (*concurso*), i.e. being the top candidate for a given tenured post or a given set of tenured teaching hours. The public competition can be organised on the basis of: i) merits (*méritos*) (involving the analysis of past achievements); ii) merits and an examination (*oposición*) (testing candidates' abilities); or iii) open examination (*oposición libre*). Holding qualifications for teaching is sufficient to be eligible to apply for tenure. However, teachers who are not fully qualified can also be eligible to participate in the public competition for tenure but, in that case, they are required to pass an examination (*oposición*).

Public competitions for tenured posts/hours are announced publicly. Each year, the respective education councils publish a list of available posts and teaching hours. The announcement includes details about the selection process, in particular the basis for the competition (e.g. the nature of the examination, if it is required), the criteria to select among the candidates and other rules for the competition. Decisions are made by a three-person selection committee, typically formed by inspectors. The nature of the examination (*oposición*) differs across years. It may be the presentation of a project for the function one is applying; the observation of a class; a written test; or a combination of these. The ordering of the teachers in the competition considers the examination results (if the competition includes an examination) as well as the assessed merits, which include formal appraisal results (teaching aptitude as part of the formal annual appraisal of teachers), step in the salary scale, years of experience and years in the respective step of the salary scale (Labadie et al., 2006). While public competitions for tenured posts are annually organised in primary education, they may not be as regular in secondary education, depending on the subject and department.

Once the teacher obtains tenure, he or she becomes a public servant. At the primary level, tenure refers to a position in a given school. Their tenure at the school lasts as long as they choose to remain in the school. If they wish to change schools they must go through the same procedure again. By contrast, at the secondary level tenure refers to a "basic teaching unit" (20 hours) for a subject within a department, i.e. the teacher is always guaranteed the 20 basic hours in the same department but not necessarily at the same school. Tenured posts at a given school only exist in secondary education for some indirect teaching positions (e.g. principal, teacher leader) and for teachers in agrarian schools.

Allocation of teachers to schools

Teachers are allocated into schools through a centralised system managed by CODICEN and the respective education councils which takes into account teachers' school preferences. Schools have no say on the teachers they receive. At the primary level, the departmental inspection has, however, a strong influence on the distribution of the number of teaching hours between schools.

In primary education, each year the CEIP publishes the available tenured posts as well as the available non-tenured posts or hours. Public competitions are organised to fill the available tenured posts while teachers are allocated to non-tenured posts from the registry of ranked teachers. In both cases, teachers express preferences for the schools at which they would like to work. As a result, the allocation of teachers depends largely on their choices, particularly those of the candidates better placed in the competitions for tenured posts and in the registry for non-tenured posts.

In secondary education, all teaching hours are open for re-allocation each year. Tenured teachers are guaranteed the 20 hours associated with their tenure (but not necessarily at the same school). Tenured hours which become available are allocated on the basis of a public competition (as explained above) while the remaining hours are allocated on the basis of the registry ranking. As a result, the further down the teacher ranks, the more likely is for a teacher to have his or her hours split between several schools.

Career structure

The teaching profession in Uruguay is characterised by a single-stage career structure with a multi-step salary scale. Advancement in the salary scale is determined essentially by years of service and involves salary increases every four years along seven steps. The transition of steps involves the following rules:

- The teacher remains at the same step level for a minimum of four years.
- Progression into the next step is conditional on obtaining a minimum score on the "rated seniority", a rating which depends on three factors: teaching aptitude (100 points, the score of the formal annual appraisal of teachers, see below), seniority within the step (20 points) and computed activity (20 points) (for teachers, it refers to attendance, i.e. the proportion of scheduled classes actually given).
- Progression into the next step is conditional on the successful completion of specific training for the position.

The steps in the salary scale are not associated with further responsibilities or new roles in schools. They are purely associated with monetary compensation and step increases do not change the nature of the teacher's work. The salary scale applies to both tenured and non-tenured teachers. Seniority acquired while on non-tenured posts is taken into account for salary purposes, including when the teacher transitions to a tenured post.

An interesting recent development has been the creation, in primary education by CEIP, of a voluntary system whereby a tenured teacher can apply for an early step increase through an appraisal of his or her skills and knowledge. Such appraisal seeks to assess the teacher holistically across his or her professional practices and typically involves classroom observation and an oral examination on pedagogy and didactics. This system grants opportunities for teachers to accelerate their progression in the salary scale on the basis of demonstrated merit.

As with the registry of non-tenured teachers, tenured teachers are ordered in the hierarchy according to the following factors in order of importance:

- step within the scale
- score on the "rated seniority", as explained above
- teaching aptitude score associated with the annual appraisal of the teacher (see below)
- seniority within the step.

The order of tenured teachers in the hierarchy is important when a teacher competes to move to another tenured position and when he or she seeks promotion. The teaching career is flat. Promotion for a teacher involves leaving the classroom to become a principal, inspector or having special functions within the school such as teacher leader, pedagogical counsellor teacher or bibliographic counsellor teacher. These positions are accessed through specific competitions.

Teacher remuneration

Remuneration system

The compensation of teachers is defined by the seven-step salary scale established for each education level. As explained above, advancement from one step to another is automatic every four years (except in the rare occasions of assessed underperformance), but salary differences are not even between steps. For example, moving from step 1 to step 4 (involving an additional 12 years of service), results in a salary increase of about 17% as compared to a 42% increase over the following 12-year period (step 4 to step 7). This is mostly due to the 20% increase teachers receive once they complete 25 years of service (see Table 5.8). Teachers receive another 5% increase at 28 years of service and a final 10% increase when they complete 32 years of service.

Table 5.8. **Gross monthly salary of primary and secondary teachers (general programmes) by step in the salary scale, 2005-14**

Step in salary scale	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Primary education teachers										
1	10 581	11 262	12 136	13 536	14 708	14 987	15 583	16 232	17 104	17 894
4	11 950	12 772	13 863	15 617	17 172	17 501	18 196	18 954	19 972	20 893
7	16 636	17 815	19 464	22 123	24 405	24 891	25 900	26 989	28 402	29 783
Lower secondary education teachers (general programmes)										
1	10 581	11 262	12 136	13 536	14 593	14 870	15 461	16 105	16 970	17 754
4	11 950	12 772	13 863	15 617	17 038	17 364	18 054	18 806	19 816	20 730
7	16 636	17 815	19 464	22 123	24 206	24 688	25 689	26 769	28 171	29 541
Upper secondary education teachers (general programmes)										
1	11 339	12 064	12 888	14 191	15 126	15 432	15 762	16 319	17 260	18 053
4	12 648	13 574	14 616	16 165	17 547	17 902	18 290	18 952	20 034	20 954
7	17 423	18 778	20 367	22 742	24 781	25 296	25 871	26 843	28 324	29 693

Note: Figures are in UYU at constant 2013 prices. Salaries concern tenured teachers with teaching qualifications and a 20-hour teaching load. They include the meal allowance. Salaries at step 7 include the additional 20% increase given to teachers for reaching 25 years of seniority.
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

In Uruguay, it takes 32 years for teachers to reach the top of the salary scale. In lower secondary education, this compares to the average of 24 years in the OECD area, 25 years in Argentina, 30 years in Chile, 13 years in Colombia, 14 years in Mexico and 20 years in Peru (OECD, 2013a). In lower secondary education, the ratio of salary at the top of the scale to starting salary is 1.66 in Uruguay compared to 1.61 in the OECD area (OECD, 2013a).

Regarding the pay levels for non-tenured teachers, there is a distinction between those teachers who have a teaching qualification and those who do not. The former receive the same salary than tenured teachers for the same seniority. However the latter, while they start with the same basic salary at step 1 of the scale, only receive 50% of the pay increases associated with each step transition. In secondary education, there is an extra compensation of 7.5% of the salary for having a teaching qualification. In primary education, this extra 7.5% is given to all teachers involved in direct teaching.

Salary adjustments are also made for teachers who work more than the typical 20-hour teaching load. Generally, a percentage is added to the basic salary depending on the specific

circumstances. For a teacher in a full-time school (40-hour teaching load), a community teacher and a CEIBAL teacher, this percentage reaches 100% of the basic salary (for a 20-hour teaching load). Other cases include teachers in special schools (70% more), teachers in rural schools (30% more) and teachers in rural schools with a single teacher (50% more).

Teachers also receive a meal allowance and there is a bonus for satisfactory attendance which seeks to reduce absenteeism among teachers. Satisfactory attendance grants teachers a bonus of 15% of their salary if there are no non-justified absences and gradually decreases with the number of non-justified absences (10%, 5% and 3% bonuses for 1, 2 and 3 absences respectively).

A major feature of the teaching profession in Uruguay is that teachers are paid essentially on the basis of their teaching hours. Other non-teaching activities such as lesson preparation, marking students' work, collaborative work with colleagues, general administrative communication and paperwork, communication with parents, or providing guidance to students are not recognised in teacher remuneration. As shown in Table 5.9, teachers in Uruguay spend over 20% of their time in non-teaching activities, considerably above the average for other professionals.

Table 5.9. **Paid and non-paid weekly hours of work by type of occupation, 2012**

	All occupations		Pre-primary and primary teachers		Secondary teachers		Other professionals	
	Hours	%	Hours	%	Hours	%	Hours	%
Paid weekly hours	41.1	99.1	30.4	75.7	33.2	78.9	41.5	98.8
Non-paid weekly hours	0.4	0.9	9.8	24.3	8.9	21.1	0.5	1.2
Total hours of work in a week	41.5	100	40.1	100	42.0	100	42.0	100

Source: INEEd (2014), *Informe sobre el estado de la educación en Uruguay 2014* (Report on the state of education in Uruguay 2014), *http://ieeuy2014.ineed.edu.uy/*.

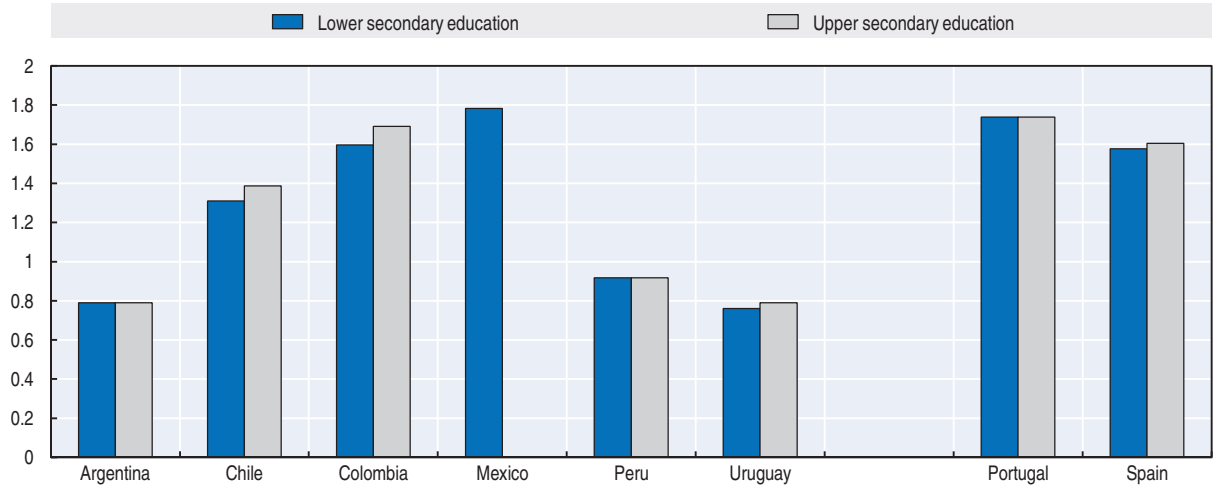
Only a few activities other than teaching itself are actually remunerated. These include hours to participate in co-ordination meetings for teachers working in *Aprender* schools (located in vulnerable contexts) (one meeting a month during the school year), teachers working in full-time schools (2.5 hours per week) and teachers in both strands of secondary education (proportional to the number of teaching hours for the individual teacher). In primary education, there is also a salary allowance for coaching teacher candidates in Practice schools (*Escuela Práctica*), which requires specific training. A special case concerns secondary teachers in agrarian schools whose salary compensates 50% of direct teaching hours and 50% of production activities.

Also, teachers are allowed to work beyond retirement age conditional on the availability of posts/hours and on passing a psychological-physical examination. As long as they have 30 years of service, retirement with a full pension is possible for female teachers at age 55 and for male teachers at age 60.

Relative salary levels

For a long time, teachers in Uruguay were considered to have a reasonable salary. However, after the economic crisis of 2002, the devaluation of the currency meant that in real terms teacher salaries were lowered (IDB, 2015) and despite increases since then, salaries compare unfavourably with those in other Latin American countries as shown in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4. **Teachers' salaries (after 15 years of experience/minimum training) relative to GDP per capita, lower and upper secondary education, selected countries, 2010**



Note: For Chile and Peru, salary data refer to 2010. Data for upper secondary education in Mexico are missing.
Source: OECD (2013a), *PISA 2012 Results: What Makes Schools Successful: Resources, Policies and Practices (Volume IV)*, *http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264201156-en*.

Other teaching and supporting roles at the school

Besides their core role in providing classroom teaching, some teachers play specialised roles as part of varied forms of assistance and support in schools. These differ for primary and secondary education and are analysed in more detail in Chapter 4.

In primary education, teachers in classrooms may benefit from the assistance of support teachers (*maestros de apoyo*), teacher leaders (*maestros adscriptos*) and social workers (*trabajadores sociales*). Teacher leaders, however, focus on assisting the principal in the management of the school. Full-time schools and extended-time schools have the support of specialised teachers to run the different additional activities. In disadvantaged contexts, community teachers (*maestros comunitarios*) work directly with students and families while teachers from the Teacher + Teacher (*Maestros más Maestros*) Programme provide additional support to the classroom teacher (either inside or outside the classroom). CEIBAL support teachers (*maestro de apoyo CEIBAL*) give support on the use of ICT (INEEd, 2015).

In general secondary education, a range of roles may exist in schools:

- Teacher leaders (*profesores adscriptos*) are part of the school leadership team and undertake a range of administrative and pedagogical tasks.
- Pedagogical counsellor teachers (*profesor orientador pedagógico*) have a co-ordination role among staff and liaise with families and communities.
- Bibliographic counsellor teachers (*profesor orientador bibliográfico*) support school libraries and multimedia rooms.
- Lab assistants (*preparador de laboratorio*) manage the lab facilities in schools.
- Technology counsellor teachers (*profesor orientador de tecnología educativa*) help with the use of IT rooms and materials.
- Pedagogical facilitator teachers (*profesor articulador pedagógico*) support the implementation of the Educational Commitment Programme (*Compromiso Educativo*) in schools.
- Tutor teachers (*profesor tutor*) provide additional support for students with learning difficulties.

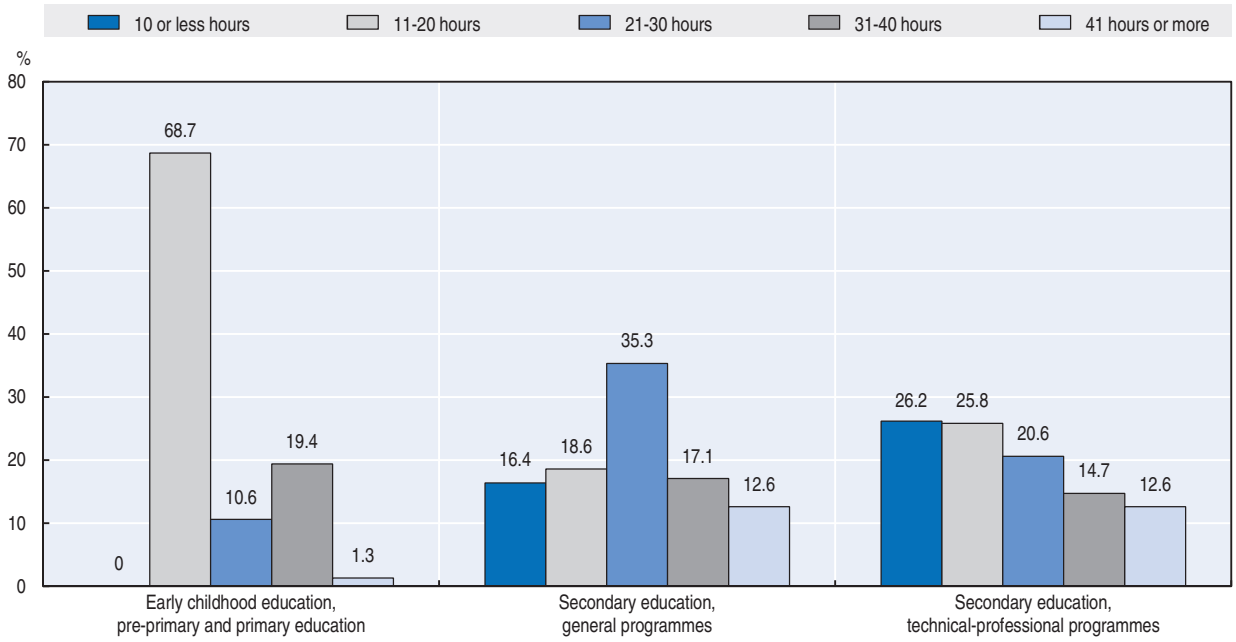
In technical-professional secondary education, schools typically do not have the range of support staff that support teachers in other subsystems. They also have teacher leaders and benefit from a range of support provided by the regional campuses.

Workload and use of teachers' time

All primary teacher contracts are for a specified number of teaching hours, of which the basic teaching unit is 20 hours, or 40 hours for teachers in full-time schools. Secondary teachers on the other hand may have contracts ranging from 20 to 48 hours, which exceptionally may reach up to 60 hours per week. CODICEN might grant authorisation for a teacher to accumulate 60 hours in combined functions of direct and indirect teaching. A teacher can also complement his or her teaching position with other functions in the public sector as long as he or she does not exceed 60 hours per week. Secondary teachers who additionally teach in a non-public school may exceed this maximum of teaching hours per week. Also, in a given school year, if the teacher is not able to have enough hours to complete a single teaching unit (20 hours or 40 hours), he or she can work a few hours in a supporting function (e.g. support teacher, pedagogical counsellor teacher; bibliographic counsellor teacher).

Figure 5.5 provides the distribution of teachers according to the number of contractual hours in public schools maintained by ANEP using information from the 2007 teacher census. It shows the wide variety of teachers' teaching loads in secondary education and

Figure 5.5. **Distribution of teachers according to number of contractual hours, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**



Note: Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP).

Source: ANEP-CODICEN (2008), *Censo Nacional Docente ANEP-2007* (National Teacher Census ANEP-2007), Dirección Sectorial de Planificación Educativa, División de Investigación, Evaluación y Estadística, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública – Consejo Directivo Central, Montevideo.

the concentration of primary education teachers around the typical 20-hour (in most common schools) and 40-hour teaching load (in full-time schools).

According to information also provided by the 2007 teacher census, teachers in public schools maintained by ANEP had the following amount of teaching hours in the private school sector: early childhood education, pre-primary and primary education: 13.0 (24.1 in Montevideo and 8.4 in other areas); general secondary education: 25.7 (37.3 in Montevideo and 19.6 in other areas); and technical-professional secondary education: 10.0 (13.8 in Montevideo and 8.5 in other areas).

Another characteristic of the teaching profession in Uruguay is that a considerable proportion of teachers work in more than one school. As shown in Table 5.10, in 2007, while the majority of primary teachers worked in a single school, most of secondary teachers worked in more than one school. Over one-fourth of general secondary education teachers and about one-third of teachers in technical-professional secondary programmes were teaching in 3 or 4 schools.

Table 5.10. **Distribution of teachers according to the number of schools in which they work, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**

	Single school	2 schools	3 schools	4 schools
Early childhood education, pre-primary and primary education (CEIP)	79.3	19.2	1.4	0.1
Secondary education, general programmes (CES)	33.8	37.9	20.6	7.6
Secondary education, technical-professional programme (CETP)	35.8	32.2	21.4	10.7

Note: Schools in which teachers work may include private schools. Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP).
Source: ANEP-CODICEN (2008), *Censo Nacional Docente ANEP-2007* (National Teacher Census ANEP-2007), Dirección Sectorial de Planificación Educativa, División de Investigación, Evaluación y Estadística, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública – Consejo Directivo Central, Montevideo.

Teacher appraisal

Teachers periodically undergo two processes of appraisal, one conducted by inspectors and the other by school principals. Both processes perform a strong accountability function as they involve scoring the performance of teachers. The teacher's score is used to rank teachers either in the registry or in the hierarchy of tenured teachers.

An inspector should formally appraise all teachers once a year and issue a report based on a 100-point scale of competence. The 100 points are distributed across three main domains: level of seniority (up to 20 points), attendance (up to 20 points) and the assessment of the actual work of teachers. This annual score – the teaching aptitude – is needed for each teacher's record. Scores for teachers need to be approved in an annual meeting at the school level with participation from the school principals, who have a voice but no vote. Inspectors are supposed to express their views about the performance of each teacher to the school principal. The 100-point scale of competence is associated with the following judgment (Article 37, Teacher statute; ANEP-CODICEN, 2015):

- 1-30: serious shortcomings
- 31-50: observed
- 51-70: acceptable

- 71-80: good
- 81-90: very good
- 91-100: excellent.

In primary education, each school is assigned an inspector (see Chapter 4) who appraises each teacher in the school as well as the school principal. Primary teachers are regularly appraised once a year on the basis of two or three visits to the school by the inspector, which include classroom observations. Inspectors typically provide guidance in the first half of the semester while they appraise during the second half of the semester.

In general secondary education, subject inspectors also play a double function, guiding and appraising teachers. While inspectors are supposed to annually score each teacher, this does not occur at this educational level as a result of the insufficient number of inspectors. In 2015, there were only 48 subject inspectors in general secondary education who are supposed to cover all schools and subjects. On average, there were about 225 teachers per subject inspectors which makes it very challenging for each teacher to be annually appraised. In mathematics there were only four inspectors for 2 200 teachers. The OECD review team met teachers with 20 years of experience who had been appraised once or twice in their career. As in primary education, appraisals by inspectors typically involve classroom observation. Similarly, the technical inspection of the Technical and Professional Education Council (CETP) is supposed to appraise (and score) each teacher annually. However, as in general secondary education, the lack of inspectors makes reaching this objective a serious challenge. In case a teacher is not formally appraised by the inspection in a given year (as a result of the lack of inspectors), the retained annual score for the teacher is the best of his or her two most recent actual scores given by an inspector.

Schools principals are required to assess their teachers' performance on a continuous basis and must do so formally at least once a year. They are also required to give each teacher an annual score on a 100-point scale. This score is used as an input to the teaching aptitude score given by the school inspector. The approach to teacher appraisal conducted by school principals can differ considerably across schools. In some instances, it might involve classroom observation while, in others, it does not. However, according to Article 44 of the teacher statute, school principals are required to base their judgment primarily on the following aspects: aptitude and preparation for teaching; initiative for the improvement of practices; work disposition and collaboration within the school; contribution to the development of the education community; attendance and punctuality; human relations; interest in and concern for students and relationship to them; technical research work; contribution to the training of future teachers; and participation in examination committees and evaluation meetings.

There is no common reference (e.g. teaching standards) for teacher appraisal which implies that the appraisal criteria used by inspectors and school principals can differ considerably. However, the teacher statute defines areas or aspects that each appraisal should cover. Article 42 of the teacher statute establishes that the teaching aptitude score for teachers should be based on:

- the assessment of inspectors of the observed teaching
- the annual appraisal of the school principal
- professional development courses passed by the teacher as well as relevant research activities related to teaching

- disciplinary notifications concerning the teacher
- compliance of the teacher with regulations and assessment of the documentation associated with the teaching activities.

In addition, according to Article 43 of the teacher statute, the assessment the inspectors make during their school visits should include the following qualitative aspects:

- technical-pedagogical capacity
- management of the teaching-learning process, particularly its adequacy to the school context
- planning and development of courses
- learning outcomes of students and their motivation to keep learning
- working climate, co-operation and initiative
- respect for students and promotion of their capacity for self-determination
- opportunities for developing creative work.

In terms of its consequences, teacher appraisal has little impact in terms of sanctions or rewards and little influence in defining further teacher professional development opportunities. In the Uruguayan system, it is mostly used to rank teachers in order to allocate tenured positions (and tenured hours) and distribute those available teaching hours not associated with tenured positions. Teachers typically receive a written report from the inspector while engaging in a professional dialogue. However, there is no systematic process and the quality of this interaction differs greatly across inspectors. Similarly, the extent and quality of the professional dialogue with the school principal depends largely on the principal's approach to teacher appraisal.

The teacher statute provides for the possibility of teacher dismissal for poor performance. If a teacher obtains less than 51 points in his or her regular annual appraisal by the school inspector, the case is analysed by an ad hoc committee of inspectors who can decide the dismissal of the teacher. If the teacher is not tenured, he or she is removed from the registry of teachers. In practice, such cases are extremely rare in the Uruguayan school system.

Continuing professional development

In Uruguay, there is no mandatory requirement for teachers to undertake professional development but there are a range of opportunities for teachers to improve their knowledge and practices. There seems not to be a general policy framework for continuing teacher professional development (Alliaud, 2013), but in practice all teachers have a right to continue their education through updating courses that may or may not require a final assessment, improvement courses requiring a final assessment and short term activities such as workshops or professional meetings (Alliaud, 2013). Professional development is provided by a number of different institutions including higher education institutions such as the *Universidad de la República* (UDELAR) and private universities (*Universidad ORT*, *Universidad de Montevideo* and *Universidad Católica*); and the Institute for Advanced and Higher Studies (*Instituto de Perfeccionamiento y Estudios Superiores*, IPES), a public institute dedicated to teacher professional development which offers the courses developed by the ANEP. IPES, located in Montevideo, is the largest provider of professional development and its courses are free of charge. IPES offers a variety of courses more focused on teaching methods and didactics (areas in which it also undertakes research) and proposes some specialised courses (e.g. to teach in full-time schools). Teachers may also enrol in post-graduate courses leading to

diplomas and master's degrees co-ordinated by IPES, although this is subject to their position in the merit scheme (qualifications and experience). Programmes of professional development do not go through a process of accreditation.

Ultimately, teachers choose the professional development activities they undertake. During regular working hours, professional development can be undertaken during "co-ordination" hours, depending largely on approaches developed by the school principal. These are part of the few possibilities for school-based professional collaboration and development. However, teachers report that these are often taken up with administrative matters, and that principals do not have sufficient time to develop pedagogical leadership which would create school-level strategies for professional development. However, in locations outside of Montevideo, teachers report that there are better opportunities for collaborative work such as in planning (INEEd, 2014). Most teacher professional development activities end up being taken outside working hours, generally at IPES.

Teachers in technical-professional secondary programmes are assisted in their professional development by the Regional Units of Continuous Education (UREP), which are part of the five regional campuses of the Technical and Professional Education Council (CETP). This assistance operates through school visits by members of the regional unit who help teachers develop their work plans. A similar support is offered to teachers by the CEIBAL Plan on the use of ICT though there still are shortcomings as far as actual use in classrooms (IDB, 2015).

Professional development courses tend to be largely concentrated on curricular subjects and their teaching methods (Alliaud, 2013). This is illustrated in Table 5.11 which provides the kinds of courses taken by teachers who participated in the 2007 teacher census. About 60% of the latest professional development courses taken by teachers in 2007 covered either subject-specific curricular content or teaching methods.

Table 5.11. **Areas covered by professional development courses taken by teachers, by education level and type, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**

Type of professional development of the latest course taken by the teacher

Areas covered	Early childhood education, pre-primary and primary education	Secondary education, general programmes	Secondary education, technical-professional programmes
Subject-specific curricular content	30.9	40.3	36.8
Teaching methods and didactics	28.6	22.0	21.5
School organisation and management	11.2	7.8	7.4
Education research methods	0.9	1.9	1.6
Information and communication technologies	10.6	12.0	17.1
Technologies applied to production and/or services	0.5	0.4	3.2
Learning difficulties	4.6	3.6	2.0
Teaching children with disabilities	4.8	1.8	1.8
Dealing with behavioural problems	0.5	0.4	0.4
Social issues (poverty, drugs, sexual education)	3.8	5.9	3.7
Other areas	3.6	3.9	4.7

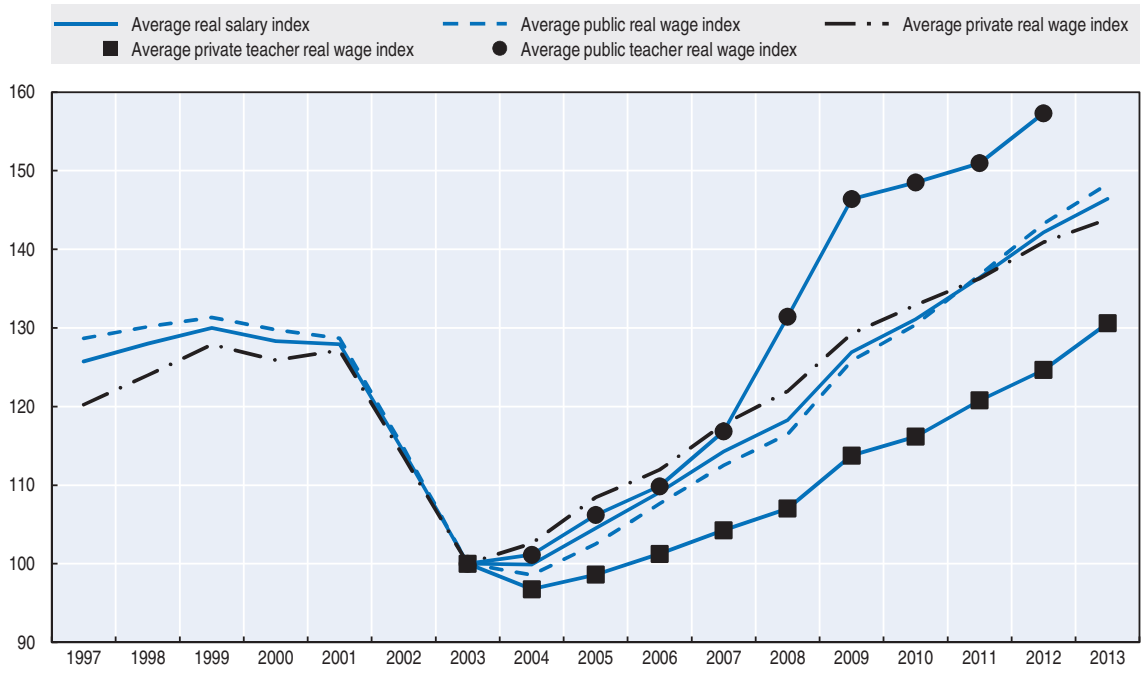
Note: Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP).
Source: ANEP-CODICEN (2008), *Censo Nacional Docente ANEP-2007* (National Teacher Census ANEP-2007), Dirección Sectorial de Planificación Educativa, División de Investigación, Evaluación y Estadística, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública – Consejo Directivo Central, Montevideo.

Strengths

Efforts made to increase teacher salaries send important signals about the importance of teaching

In recent years, there have been efforts on the part of the Uruguayan government to increase teacher salaries in public schools. Teacher salaries which had decreased in real terms around 18% at the time of the recession in the early 2000s were gradually increased between 2005 and 2012 reaching a 28% increase in relation to the 2000 salaries (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012 in Rivas, 2015). As displayed in Figure 5.6, since 2003, real salaries of public school teachers have grown above those in the general economy, reflecting a commitment to bring teacher salaries to more adequate levels. Between 2005 and 2013, real salaries of teachers in the public sector grew at the annual average rate of 5.4%, considerably above the 4.3% annual growth of real salaries in the general economy and the 3.4% annual real growth of salaries in the education private sector (INEEd, 2015).

Figure 5.6. **Average real salary index, general and education sector, 1997-2013**



Note: 2003 = 100. Data refer to real salaries in the general economy (average real wage index), in the general public sector (average public real wage index), in the general private sector (average private real wage index), in the public education sector (average public teacher real wage index) and in the private education sector (average private teacher real wage index).
Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

There is a clear awareness that the salaries of Uruguayan teachers remain low, however. As illustrated in Figure 5.4, in Uruguay teacher salaries relative to GDP per capita compare unfavourably to those of other Latin American countries. An analysis undertaken by INEEd, which compares the salaries of teachers in public schools to those of professional and technical workers in Uruguay (both groups "professionals, scientists and intellectuals" and "technicians and associate professionals" of the International Standard Classification of Occupations) indicates that, on average, professionals and technicians had an hourly income 28.8% and 21.8% higher than that of teachers in 2006 and 2012 respectively (INEEd, 2014).

If hours of work outside the workplace are considered (as seen previously, teachers engage more often in non-paid work activities, Table 5.9) as well as working weeks per year (teachers tend to have fewer weeks of work), the gap in favour of professionals and technicians increases to 43% in 2012 (INEEd, 2014). The analysis also shows that teacher salaries are competitive in the early stages of the career but their attractiveness decreases with years of experience.

Hence, while the gap has been reduced in recent years, the relative salaries of public teachers remain low. Low salaries have clear detrimental effects on the motivation levels of teachers and limit considerably the ability of the system to attract high-quality entrants and more males into the profession (OECD, 2005). In Uruguay, they also lead teachers to accumulate a high number of teaching hours and several jobs.

Teacher compensation provides for some differentiated incentives

While the teaching career structure in Uruguay is flat and essentially based on seniority, there are some elements which seek to produce some differentiated incentives. With the objective of addressing the problem of teacher absenteeism, there is a bonus that rewards satisfactory attendance (i.e. not missing a class with no justification), which reaches 15% of the basic salary if there are no non-justified absences in a three-month period. In order to incentivise teachers to obtain teaching qualifications in secondary education, there is an extra compensation of 7.5% of the basic salary for holding such qualifications. Given the little progress with the proportion of qualified teachers in secondary education (see Figure 5.1), however, this incentive might not be strong enough to lead teachers to complete their teaching qualifications.

A number of incentives reward difficult circumstances for teaching. Primary teachers in *Aprender* schools receive an extra compensation for holding a monthly co-ordination meeting but this might also reward the fact that these operate in vulnerable contexts. In primary full-time schools, most of which are located in disadvantaged contexts, teacher compensation for the 40-hour working load takes into account 2.5 hours of co-ordination meetings. There is also an extra compensation for teachers working in special education and rural contexts including agricultural schools who have a workload that exceeds 20 hours. Hourly compensation higher than in common schools is provided to teachers in special education schools, teachers in rural schools, teachers in rural schools with a single teacher and teachers in rural schools in remote and challenging locations. These extra compensations are also made available to teachers in programmes such as the "Community Teachers Programme" and the "CEIBAL Plan".

Despite the value of providing incentives for different types of responsibilities considered to be more difficult such as working with rural or vulnerable school populations, it is important that these not constitute a form of keeping a low salary base, but instead be inserted in a proper career structure that rewards such extra responsibilities (UNESCO, 2014).

Initial teacher education has a number of positive features

Initial teacher education has a long tradition

In Uruguay, there is a long tradition of initial teacher education. Uruguay together with other Southern Cone countries such as Argentina and Chile developed early on an education system that valued the role of teachers and made it a requirement that at least primary teachers should be fully trained. Thus the first Normal School for the preparation of teachers

was established in the mid-19th century and by the end of the 20th century the country had ensured that all primary teachers were trained at the *Institutos de Formación Docente* (IFD, Teacher Education Institutes, formerly Normal Schools). The preparation of secondary teachers was also institutionalised with the establishment of the *Instituto Profesional Artigas* (Artigas Professional Institute) in 1951 in Montevideo. It was conceived as a highly selective institution with a strong emphasis on content knowledge and educational theory, and included practicum experiences from the second year on through a four-year course of studies. An innovation in the late 1990s was the establishment of a set of six secondary teacher education institutions outside of the city of Montevideo – the Regional Centres for Teachers (*Centros Regionales de Profesores*, CERP) – in order to widen the access to teacher preparation (Vaillant, 2004). Their purpose was also to increase the number of qualified teachers for an expanding secondary system. The growth of initial teacher education relied greatly on the decentralisation of the supply of programmes. Both the IFDs and the CERPs are located in different regions of the country turning initial teacher education into one of the most geographically accessible tertiary education choices.

A positive development has been the creation in 2008 of the "National System of Teacher Education", with the introduction of a common curriculum for teacher education in the country. This has brought greater coherence to programmes across institutions and had the benefit of significantly reducing the fragmentation of different curricula in the system (including in the same institutions).

Preparation for pre-primary teaching is on par with preparation for primary education teaching

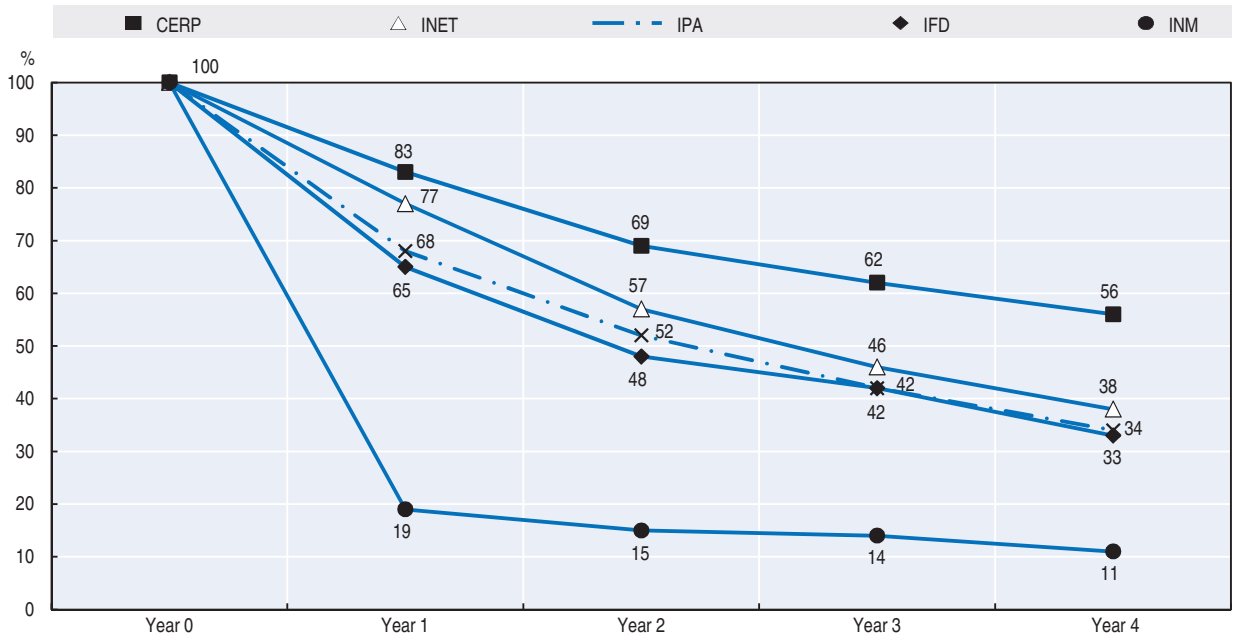
The joint preparation of early childhood, pre-primary and primary education teachers at the IFDs constitutes an interesting and important practice. In Latin America pre-school teacher preparation has been slow to develop and only recently is it being made compulsory for pre-school educators. By having a programme which brings together the preparation of pre-school and primary teachers, Uruguay offers a model of teacher preparation that allows teachers to understand the continuum between pre-school (three to five years) and the early stages of school. This preparation is accomplished through a common core of professional subjects offered in the first year of studies, after which candidates may select to specialise in pre-school or primary education teaching. An additional advantage of this form of preparation is that it ensures that both types of teachers are equally recognised as professionals by the education system.

The preparation of *maestros* as primary teachers has a longstanding reputation and is recognised as a very effective teacher education system by many stakeholders. Mancebo (n.d.) notes that its strength lies in preparing teachers to be "able to face the multiple challenges of primary education, with appropriate technical capacities, clear professional rules and a clear idea about education being their central remit". Also important is the way in which the whole curriculum is linked to practical school experiences (Mancebo, 2006), which are given considerable importance. For this purpose specific schools ("practice schools") are designated as practicum sites and teacher mentors in charge of supervision receive special preparation for this. As a result, practical experiences in primary teacher education are systematically organised in dedicated schools with trained mentors who are compensated for this specific function.

The preparation for secondary education teachers is diversified and accounts for the specific needs of technical-professional programmes

As noted earlier, a positive policy development in the mid-1990s was to broaden the scope of secondary teacher preparation through the establishment of the Regional Centres for Teachers (CERPs) and to establish them in six locations throughout the country. CERPs brought an innovative structure based on full-time attendance (including dormitories for students) and a carefully designed curriculum (Vaillant, 2004). The 2007 teacher census data showed the CERPs contributing 22.4% of secondary teachers compared to 53.5% of those trained at the IPA (ANEP, 2008). Also, the CERP institutions seem to retain over the four years of study a larger proportion of teacher candidates than do other institutions of teacher education (see Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7. **Stay rates in teacher education programmes for 2008 student cohort, by type of institution**



Note: Stay rates provide the proportion of students who started the programme in Year 0 and are still enrolled in the programme in the following four years. CERP: *Centros Regionales de Profesores* (Regional Centres for Teachers); INET: *Instituto Normal de Enseñanza Técnica* (Normal Institute of Technical Education); IPA: *Instituto Profesional Artigas* (Artigas Professional Institute); IFD: *Institutos de Formación Docente* (Teacher Education Institutes); INM: Instituto Normal de Montevideo (Normal Institute of Montevideo). Data are based on a study commissioned by the Teacher Training Council (CFE) which analysed two cohorts of students who started their teacher education studies in 2005 and 2008. The study, carried out in 2012, was based on surveys of students belonging to the two cohorts. The study covered nine teacher education institutions: 2 CERPs (*Suroeste*, *Litoral*); INET; IPA; INM; and 4 IFDs (Durazno, Melo, Pando and Paysandú). The study surveyed 1 005 students of the 4 224 who started their studies in 2008.
Source: CIFRA (2012), *Factores que Influyen en la Duración de las Carreras de Formación Docente* (Factors which Influence Time to Graduation in Teacher Education Programmes), *www.cfe.edu.uy/index.php/transparencia-activa/26-institucional/institucional/495-factores-que-influyen-en-la-duracion-de-las-carreras-de-formacion-docente*.

Another strength of the Uruguayan teacher education system is that it offers dedicated and specialised pre-service preparation for teaching in technical secondary schools, which is not the case in other Latin American countries such as Chile. Programmes have a four-year duration and provide pedagogical preparation as in general education, therefore improving the status of teaching in technical-professional programmes. Future teachers in secondary technical-professional programmes are prepared at the *Instituto Normal de Enseñanza Técnica*

(Normal Institute of Technical Education) in Montevideo, while preparation in other parts of the country is increasingly being provided at regional campuses of the Technological University (*Universidad Tecnológica*, UTEC). The latter, however, does not offer initial teacher education but rather technological degrees, whose disciplinary preparation fits the supply of technical and professional programmes in secondary education.

There is some financial support to retain students in initial teacher education

Although limited in coverage, it is commendable that the government is providing scholarships to stimulate retention of teacher candidates in teacher education programmes. As elaborated below, a large proportion of students drop out of initial teacher education programmes or take very long to complete their studies. The government created Uruguay Studies (*Uruguay Estudía*) scholarships targeted at teacher education students who are close to completing their studies (fewer than ten and five courses to be passed in primary education preparation and secondary education preparation respectively). In 2012, 600 students received grants in the context of this programme (about 3% of all enrolled students). In preparation for primary education teaching, the Julio Castro scholarship was also created to incentivise talented secondary graduates to enrol in teacher education. In 2014, 1 061 students received scholarships in the context of this programme, representing 15% of students enrolled in primary teacher education.

Teachers have some opportunities to diversify their roles at schools

A positive feature of the teaching profession in Uruguay is the opportunity for horizontal differentiation in functions performed at school. This is formalised in specialised roles such as teacher leader (a range of administrative and pedagogical tasks in support of school leadership), pedagogical counsellor teacher (co-ordination role among teachers) and bibliographic counsellor teacher (support school libraries). Diversification is also driven by the specialised functions some teaching staff perform in the context of specific education programmes. Examples include community teachers, CEIBAL support teachers, pedagogical facilitator teachers (Educational Commitment Programme) and tutor teachers (Tutorials Project). These roles, which do not necessarily involve differentiated pay but instead release time from classroom teaching, provide more opportunities and recognition for teachers and meet school needs (OECD, 2005).

Teacher appraisal is established

A positive aspect of the teaching career in Uruguay is that teacher appraisal is established even if it has rather limited purposes – ranking teachers in view of allocating posts and teaching hours (see below). The OECD review team formed the impression that the principle that teachers are appraised is moderately valued and accepted among teachers. The approach to teacher appraisal has some valuable aspects. First, both in the cases of an appraisal conducted by inspectors and school leaders, teachers are given an opportunity to establish a professional dialogue about their practices. While this depends on the approach by the specific inspector or the school leader, teachers are provided an opportunity to learn about, reflect on, and improve their practice in the specific school context in which they teach. Teacher appraisal also grants them the opportunity to identify areas for improvement. Second, albeit limited, the teacher statute provides some guidance in terms of the aspects teacher appraisal should cover. This contributes to ensuring some key areas of teachers' practice are covered and gives some consistency to the appraisals across inspectors and

school leaders. Third, a key strength of teacher appraisal in Uruguay is that the process typically includes assessing actual teaching practices in the classroom. While inspectors and school principals vary in their approaches to teacher appraisal, it appears that they typically operate an approach whereby they observe the classroom practice of most of the teachers with a certain periodicity (even if this occurs less in secondary education). Fourth, teacher appraisal processes are school-based and therefore take good account of the context faced by each teacher.

There are opportunities for professional development

As described in the previous section, there is a range of in-service professional development activities to which teachers have free access. Particularly important in this respect is the contribution of the Institute for Advanced and Higher Studies (*Instituto de Perfeccionamento y Estudios Superiores*), an institution dedicated to teacher professional development which also carries out research and outreach activities. It offers short courses as well as post-graduate diplomas and master's level courses. It is also important to note the efforts of regional campuses to locally provide professional development activities to teachers in technical-professional secondary education.

A recent development that offers new opportunities for school-based professional development is the establishment of "co-ordination hours" for teachers to co-ordinate school activities. These exist in *Aprender* schools, primary full-time schools and secondary schools. While they have the potential to facilitate teacher collaboration and mutual learning and to engage teachers in professional development activities, the impression gained by the OECD review team during its visit is that, instead, they tend to be dominated by administrative issues.

Challenges

There is currently no shared understanding of what constitutes good quality teaching

The Uruguayan education system lacks a national framework of teacher competencies. There is no clear and concise statement or profile of what teachers are expected to know and be able to do. At the national level, there are no uniform performance criteria or reference frameworks which can inform teacher preparation programmes or against which teachers can be appraised. A framework of teacher competencies is an essential mechanism for clarifying expectations of what systems of teacher education and professional development should aim to achieve, offering the credible reference for making judgments about teacher competence, guiding teacher professional development, selecting teachers and providing the basis for career advancement. A clear, well-structured and widely supported framework of teaching competencies (or teaching standards) is a powerful tool for aligning the various elements involved in developing teachers' knowledge and skills (OECD, 2005). It is also essential to guide any fair and effective system of teacher appraisal, given the need to have a common reference of what counts as accomplished teaching. The lack of such a framework weakens the capacity for the system to effectively appraise teachers. It is fundamental that all actors have a shared understanding of high quality teaching and the level of performance that can be achieved by the most effective teachers (OECD, 2005).

A competency framework usually is based on an agreed set of observable teacher actions related to classroom and non-classroom professional responsibilities that provide evidence of teaching quality. While there are expressions of competence that seem narrow

and limited to small behaviours considered to be effective, there are also broader ways of understanding competence that encompass what is expected of a teacher. Thus Pantic and Wubbels (2010) describe these as "inclusive of knowledge and understanding, skills and abilities, and teachers' beliefs and moral values". More specifically, they may be described as an "integrated set of personal characteristics, knowledge, skills and attitudes that are needed for effective performance in various teaching contexts" (Stoof et al., 2002).

In this respect, Uruguay has fallen behind some countries in Latin America that have developed frameworks of teacher competencies (e.g. Chile and Peru) which are broad in their descriptions but focused on what teachers know and are able to do. These are intended to orient teacher evaluation as well as initial teacher education and professional development activities (see: Ministry of Education of Chile, 2008; Ministry of Education of Peru, 2012).

There are some challenges to the preparation of teachers

Completion rates in initial teacher education are very low

While there were some enrolment fluctuations in teacher education in recent years (see Figure 5.3), the insufficient number of graduates arises mostly as the result of the very low rates of completion in initial teacher education. According to a study carried out with two cohorts of prospective teachers (2005 and 2008), four out of ten future teachers enrolled in teacher education programmes drop out before the end of their first year of studies (CIFRA, 2012). Figure 5.7 presents the progression rates of students over the four years of study at IPA, INET, INM, two CERPs and four IFDs (all outside of Montevideo) based on this study. The situation is more problematic in Montevideo than in the rest of the country. The CERPs are the institutions which achieve the greatest retention and graduation rates: four years after the initial enrolment, 38% of the students continue their studies while 17% completed them. The equivalent rates for IFDs, located in the interior and offering mostly preparation for primary education, are 18% and 16%. IPA achieves a proportion of 30% of students who continue their studies and of 3% who completed them. In INET, in turn, the equivalent figures are 37% and 1% respectively. Finally, the most critical situation is observed in INM where the proportion of students continuing their studies is only 11% and the proportion of those who completed the programme is only 1% (INEEd, 2014). According to this study, out of 100 students who enrolled in 2008, 37 did not pass any course, 26 dropped out after passing some courses, 29 were still studying and only 8 graduated from the programme (INEEd, 2014).

These low rates of retention and completion appear related to a combination of factors including the high proportion of students who work while they study (see Table 5.6), the significant number of teacher candidates who enter initial teacher education a number of years after they completed secondary education, what seems to be an overloaded curriculum (see below) and the availability of teaching jobs in secondary education with no teaching degree required. These make it difficult for *de facto* part-time students to keep up with the work required (CIFRA, 2012; INEEd, 2014).

Initial teacher education programmes might not be adapted to their student population

While some of the reasons behind the low completion rates can be linked to commitment and personal situations, there is also the possibility of a strong "institutional" effect at work, which does not seem to have been sufficiently explored. On the whole it is difficult to assess precisely how the different institutions charged with teacher education

contribute to the high dropout and lengthy completion rates. There seem to be extra-institutional reasons for this. For example, one explanation is that teacher education students tend not to arrive straight out from school, but are older and may have to work and study at the same time. There is also the impression among teacher educators that the students enrolled are not really interested in teaching as a profession. On the other hand, it would seem that initial teacher institutions have not organised their programmes – in terms of curriculum requirements and teaching strategies – in such a way they facilitate the success of the type of student population they have. Views collected from two cohorts of teacher education students on the requirements of the curriculum, show dissatisfaction with the teacher education curriculum in terms of its content overload (see Table 5.12).

Table 5.12. **Student perceptions on the adequacy of the weekly workload in teacher education programmes for 2005 and 2008 student cohorts, by type of institution**

The required workload is:	INET		INM		IFD		IPA		CERP	
	2005	2008	2005	2008	2005	2008	2005	2008	2005	2008
Very heavy (difficult to find the time it requires)	..	56	67	75	41	51	35	61	35	38
Adequately heavy	..	11	13	8	26	10	25	14	21	13
Adequately light	..	29	17	14	27	35	38	23	33	44
Does not know / does not answer	..	4	2	3	7	5	3	2	11	5

..: Not available.

Note: CERP: *Centros Regionales de Profesores* (Regional Centres for Teachers); INET: *Instituto Normal de Enseñanza Técnica* (Normal Institute of Technical Education); IPA: *Instituto Profesional Artigas* (Artigas Professional Institute); IFD: *Institutos de Formación Docente* (Teacher Education Institutes); INM: Instituto Normal de Montevideo (Normal Institute of Montevideo). Data are based on a study commissioned by the Teacher Training Council (CFE) which analysed two cohorts of students who started their teacher education studies in 2005 and 2008. The study, carried out in 2012, was based on surveys of students belonging to the two cohorts. The study covered nine teacher education institutions: 2 CERPs (*Suroeste*, *Litoral*); INET; IPA; INM; and 4 IFDs (Durazno, Melo, Pando and Paysandú). The study surveyed 540 students of the 3 268 students who started their studies in 2005 and 1 005 students of the 4 224 who started their studies in 2008.

Source: CIFRA (2012), *Factores que Influyen en la Duración de las Carreras de Formación Docente* (Factors which Influence Time to Graduation in Teacher Education Programmes), *www.cfe.edu.uy/index.php/transparencia-activa/26-institucional/institucional/495-factores-que-influyen-en-la-duracion-de-las-carreras-de-formacion-docente*.

The expressed dissatisfaction, which is higher in teacher candidates at the Instituto Profesional Artigas (IPA) and the Normal Institute of Montevideo (INM) may not be so much related to the curriculum as such (given that, as of 2008, it is common for all teacher education institutions) but to the way in which it is enacted. In other words, the highly academic tradition of the IPA may be playing against the enactment of a curriculum that should be more in line with being able to teach the subject than with preparing subject specialists. Perhaps the difference in the perception of teacher candidates at the Regional Centres for Teachers (CERPs) may be related to the original remit of these institutions as specifically focused on the preparation of teachers, meaning that their teacher education practices should be given more attention. This highlights the importance of adapting teacher education programmes to their specific student population.

There is no external evaluation and accreditation of initial teacher education programmes

In Uruguay, there is no accreditation of tertiary education programmes in public institutions. As a result, there is no formal external evaluation of teacher education programmes and these do not need a quality-based accreditation process to operate. The

consequence is that there is no external challenge to the organisation of initial teacher education programmes and no incentives to continuously improve the quality of programmes. At the same time, there are no mechanisms to remove initial teacher education programmes of low quality or with inefficient delivery.

Some aspects to the organisation of teacher education programmes are problematic

A number of aspects to the organisation of teacher education programmes require rethinking. First, teachers seem to receive little preparation for special needs in mainstream schools, multi-year teaching (i.e. simultaneously teaching students who are in different school years) and teaching in rural schools. The regular preparation of primary and secondary teachers does not seem to include special training to deal with special needs in mainstream classes, or to provide special strategies for teaching in multi-year classes. Second, the organisation of studies for secondary teacher preparation is too specialised. Most programmes prepare teacher candidates to teach one specific discipline (e.g. history, mathematics) instead of preparing candidates to teach disciplines within related areas (e.g. history and geography; mathematics and physics). This exacerbates the problem for teachers to find enough teaching hours in the same school (i.e. if teachers were trained to teach both mathematics and physics, they could have more teaching hours at the same school). Finally, there are no special courses or programmes for non-qualified teachers in secondary education, i.e. programmes which would recognise the experience of such teachers, provide flexible learning settings, or offer minimum pedagogical preparation. This is surprising in a context of a great proportion of non-qualified teachers in secondary education.

There are concerns about teacher quality

As described above, there are serious concerns about the lack of qualifications of teachers, particularly in secondary education. In 2014, the proportion of non-qualified teachers was about 42% and 31% in lower secondary and upper secondary general programmes respectively (see Figure 5.1) while, in 2007, the proportion of non-qualified teachers in technical-professional secondary programmes was about 55%. As documented earlier, the lack of teacher qualifications in secondary education seems to be more serious in public schools, outside Montevideo and in very disadvantaged schools. This is likely to affect teacher quality.

This is confirmed by perceptions of school principals in secondary education. According to PISA 2012, the percentage of 15-year-old students in schools whose principals reported that a lack of qualified teachers hindered student learning "to some extent" or "a lot" stood at 34%, 26%, 13% and 37% in mathematics, science, language of instruction and "other subjects" respectively against OECD averages of 17%, 17%, 9% and 21% respectively (Table IV.3.5, OECD, 2013a). The teacher shortage index that is derived from combining school principals' shortage perceptions across these four areas stood at 0.35 for Uruguay against an OECD average of -0.03 (Argentina: -0.10; Brazil: 0.19; Chile: 0.62; Colombia: 0.67; Costa Rica: -0.01; Mexico: 0.53; Peru: 0.62; Portugal: -0.80; Spain: -0.73; higher values indicate greater teacher shortage) (Table IV.3.10, OECD, 2013a). As shown in Table 5.13, perceptions of teacher shortage in Uruguay's secondary schools are greater in public schools, technical-professional programmes, outside Montevideo and in schools located in the most unfavourable contexts. Overall, however, the perception of teacher shortages has declined between 2003 and 2012.

The lack of sufficient numbers of qualified teachers is a great concern to cover needs resulting from enrolment expansion in pre-primary, primary and secondary education.

Table 5.13. **Teacher shortage index based on perceptions by school principals provided as part of questionnaires for PISA, 2003 and 2012**

	2012	2003
By type of school		
Total	0.35	0.55
Public schools	0.46	0.72
Private secondary schools	-0.33	-0.50
Public secondary schools (general programmes)	0.41	0.72
Public technical schools (technical-professional programmes)	0.62	0.71
Difference private-public	-0.79[1]	-1.21[1]
Difference technical-professional – general programmes (public)	0.21	-0.01
By region		
Montevideo	0.13	0.39
Rest of the country	0.50	0.70
Difference Montevideo – rest of the country	-0.37[1]	-0.31[1]
By socio-economic context of the school		
Very unfavourable	1.04	0.34
Unfavourable	0.53	0.74
Medium	0.28	0.70
Favourable	0.39	0.76
Very favourable	-0.51	-0.52
Difference very favourable – very unfavourable	-1.55[1]	-0.86[1]

1. means that the difference is significant at 95% confidence level. Standard errors of the estimates are available from the original source.

Note: Based on compiled data from OECD PISA, 2003 and 2012. PISA provides information about the performance of 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science as well as comparative insights about the students' backgrounds, schools and the learning environment across the participating countries. The teacher shortage index is based on the perceptions of the principals of the schools attended by the 15-year-olds who took the PISA assessment and therefore refer to lower and upper secondary education. School principals are asked about the extent to which learning at their school is hindered by a lack of qualified teachers in four areas (mathematics, science, language of instruction and other subjects). The teacher shortage index derives from combining school principals' shortage perceptions across the four areas. Higher values of the index of teacher shortage indicate greater incidence of teacher shortage.

Source: INEEd (2015), *OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools: Country Background Report for Uruguay*, *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview.htm*.

According to analysis undertaken by INEEd, the current annual rate of graduates leaving initial teacher education is insufficient to both cover annual teacher departures from primary education and to increase the proportion of qualified teachers in secondary education (INEEd, 2014). It is estimated that both primary and secondary teacher education would each need to provide about 1 000 graduates per year to replace teachers who leave the system, respond to new demands (e.g. expansion of secondary education, expansion of full-time schools in primary education, special programmes such as community teachers) and reduce the lack of qualified teachers in secondary education. As displayed in Figure 5.3, the annual number of graduates is considerably below this target at both education levels. The insufficient number of new primary teachers affects the expansion of "full-time schools" and particularly the staffing of schools in Montevideo. In addition, these low numbers affect the provision of teachers for rural and multi-grade schools.

There are strong indications of an inequitable distribution of teachers across schools

In Uruguay, there are indications of an inequitable distribution of teachers across schools, at least at the secondary level. According to reports from principals for PISA 2012, in schools attended by 15-year-olds, the lack of teacher qualifications is significantly greater in very unfavourable to medium schools (compared to favourable and very favourable schools)

and outside Montevideo (see Table 5.5). Similarly, there are strong indications that, in schools attended by 15-year-olds, the likelihood of teacher shortages (as perceived by school principals) is considerably higher in both socio-economically disadvantaged schools and in schools not located in a large city (over than 100 000 people) (Table IV.3.11, OECD, 2013a).

These indications are not surprising because: i) the teacher allocation system is based on the school choice of individual teachers who are ranked on the basis of seniority and appraisal results; and ii) there are limited incentives to teach in disadvantaged contexts.

Nonetheless, there are commendable efforts to compensate for this inequitable distribution of schools across teachers. For instance, in primary education, average class size is smaller for the most disadvantaged schools – in 2013, average class size was about 22 for quintile 1 schools while it stood at about 24 for quintile 5 schools (INEEd, 2015). This results from the introduction of equity programmes such as *Aprender* schools or Community Teachers, which provide extra teacher resources to disadvantaged schools (see Chapter 2). Similarly, in secondary schools, according to reports by school principals for PISA 2012, the student-teacher ratio was more favourable in socio-economically disadvantaged schools (15.5) than in socio-economically average schools (16.9) (Table IV.3.9, OECD, 2013a).

There is a limited conception of teacher employment

The conception of teacher employment in Uruguay, whereby basic compensation is associated essentially to the teacher's teaching load, is a source of concern. In combination with both a low base salary (as is the case in Uruguay) and little guarantee of having a full teaching load (especially in secondary education), remuneration on the basis of the teaching load has the potential to turn the teaching profession into a part-time job that encourages teachers to teach excessively (in one or more schools), take on an additional job, or look for additional sources of income in or outside the school. This leads some teachers in Uruguay to have heavy teaching loads, often in several schools, and others to have a second job outside education.

A heavy teaching load or a job in addition to teaching leaves little room for teachers to engage in other activities at the school such as collaboration with colleagues, reflection on own practices, mentoring of less experienced teachers, communication with parents and professional development. This is compounded by the fact that teachers are not expected to stay on the school premises beyond their teaching time, which also limits their engagement with students. Another key question is the limited time teachers might have for the preparation of their classes. Those with a heavy teaching load or with an extra job might find it challenging to prepare thoroughly their classes. In addition, working in several schools might generate higher rates of teacher absenteeism. Also, less experienced teachers may also find it more difficult to be given the option of taking on higher teaching loads (since these are preferably given to more experienced teachers, as a result of the system to allocate teaching hours), which in turn lowers their income and limits the attractiveness of their job. In order to find all the necessary hours to fill a full load (of 20, 40 or 48 hours) at the same school, teachers also have strong incentives to take on non-teaching roles such as teacher leader, pedagogical counsellor teacher and bibliographic counsellor teacher.

There is no reason why other tasks performed by teachers such as lesson preparation, meeting parents, marking students' work, collaborative work with colleagues and administrative work should not be formally recognised by teachers' pay. This is likely to be a great source of dissatisfaction among teachers.

A significant proportion of teachers work in more than one school

A conception of employment essentially based on teaching hours, a low base salary and a complex system of allocating teaching hours (see below) lead many teachers to work in more than one school. For example, all of the classroom teachers in a primary school we visited were working in two schools. This situation is more acute in secondary education where the system to allocate teaching hours leads many teachers to work in two schools or more to reach their allowed 48 hours per week. Table 5.14 shows that, in 2013 in public secondary general programmes, almost 20% of tenured teachers and about 30% of interim teachers work in more than one school. This seems to reflect an improvement of the situation *vis-à-vis* 2007 (see Table 5.14).

Table 5.14. **Number of schools at which teachers work by type of teaching post, public secondary education (general programmes), 2013**

	All teachers		Tenured teachers		Interim teachers	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All teachers	18 429	100	9 179	100	9 250	100
Works in one school	13 846	75.1	7 381	80.4	6 465	69.9
Works in two schools	3 663	19.9	1 559	17.0	2 104	22.8
Works in three schools or more	920	5.0	239	2.6	674	7.3

Source: IDB (2015), *Nota Sectorial de Educación 2015-2018 Uruguay (con énfasis en la educación media)* [Education Sectorial Note 2015-18 Uruguay (with emphasis on secondary education)], Inter-American Development Bank.

Teacher recruitment and deployment are highly inefficient

The Uruguayan education system has a complex and rather inefficient system of teacher recruitment and deployment. First, the fully centralised approach (with no involvement from individual schools) raises concerns about whether schools have the teachers that fit their particular needs. By not allowing individual schools to have an active part in the recruitment of teachers, it is difficult to adequately match schools' specific needs to the competencies of individual teachers. The process of teacher selection is highly impersonal and does not involve the direct contact with the hiring school, which might make it more difficult for teachers to build a sense of commitment to the schools where they are appointed - or for the schools to build a sense of commitment to them.

Second, the selection processes might be based in limited criteria that might bear little relationship to the qualities needed to be an effective teacher. Access to tenured posts/hours and non-tenured positions/hours is organised through transparent processes with clear rules. There is a clear concern for both ensuring the objectivity of the selection criteria and leaving no room for favouritism in the process. To a great extent this explains the total absence from school-level players in the teacher recruitment process. Both the access to tenure and to non-tenured positions gives significant weight to seniority. At the same time, in both processes, the quality of the teacher's work receives good attention through formal annual teacher appraisal (in both the teacher registry for interim teachers and the competition to access a tenured post/hours) and an examination (*oposición*) to assess the competencies of teachers (in the competition to access a tenured post/hours). However, annual teacher appraisal is highly influenced by seniority. Not only it concerns 20% of the score (see above) but there is the perception that inspectors weigh the teacher's seniority considerably in their appraisal of the work of the teacher. Overall, it is not clear whether selection processes give enough weight to characteristics which are harder to

measure – enthusiasm, commitment and sensitivity to student needs – but which may be more directly related to the quality of teaching and learning than the traditional emphases on qualifications and years of experience.

Third, the recruitment and deployment of teachers raise equity concerns. As a result of the processes established (as explained above), teachers with greater seniority and very good records of quality teaching will be best positioned in both the registry of interim teachers (which defines priority access to non-tenured posts/hours) and the competitions to reach tenure. Since they then express their preferences for the schools at which to teach, more experienced and higher quality teachers are more likely to end up teaching at higher prestige, more advantaged and urban schools. As seen above, there is evidence to suggest that the current teacher allocation system leads to an inequitable distribution of teachers across schools. This also implies that beginning teachers are more likely to start their career in the most difficult school contexts.

Fourth, the teacher allocation system generates a great degree of instability both in schools and among teachers, particularly in secondary schools. For primary teachers the system provides greater stability as once tenured is obtained at a school (with a 20- or 40-hour teaching load), the teacher may remain there for as long as he or she chooses to. However, for secondary teachers the situation is much more complex as they must bid every year for hours available in the school in which they wish to teach. At the same time, each year each school must open its teaching hours for competition through the reallocation system, requiring all of its tenured teachers to reapply.

The annual reopening of the allocation of all teaching hours in secondary education causes instability both for the school, as it faces difficulties in building a stable teaching body upon which to ensure a productive school operation, but also for the teachers who find themselves in a continuous state of uncertainty. In 2007, there seemed to be a high level of teacher rotation across schools. The proportion of teachers with at most two years of seniority at their school was 50.8%, 52.4% and 36.4% in primary, general secondary, and technical-professional secondary education respectively (ANEP-CODICEN, 2008). Given the rules associated to the teacher allocation system, teacher rotation tends to have greater incidence in disadvantaged schools (Filgueira and Lamas, 2005). The annual allocation of teaching hours also leads to delays in the placement of some teachers at the beginning of the school year sometimes for several months (Filgueira and Lamas, 2005). According to Filgueira and Lamas (2005), a number of effects can be identified in secondary schools as the result of the annual allocation of teaching hours: lack of institutional commitment of teachers; scarce knowledge of colleagues and students; difficulty to establish a school development plan; and little collective management of the school.

Secondary teachers have voiced concerns about the allocation system. They argue that the system does not facilitate the collaboration among teachers, prevents teachers from jointly contributing to school projects and makes it difficult to develop a common ethos in the school (INEEd, 2014). As seen previously, the concept of teacher employment on the basis of teaching hours together with a system based on the allocation of teaching hours, implies that a good proportion of teachers work in more than one school, increasing their sense of instability and reducing the overall attractiveness of the profession.

Fifth, the system involves high administrative costs. The organisation on an annual basis brings great pressure to the central education administration and the complexity of the system requires considerable resources. In addition, it has considerable administrative

implications in individual schools as several new teachers need to be received and timetables need to be rearranged every year.

Some teachers and their representatives defend the allocation system preserves the freedom of teachers to select the schools in which they want to teach. At the same time, by not requiring them to sign multi-year contracts at a given school, they deem that they do not remain tied to such school. Teachers also appreciate the transparency of the process. It is clear that the current system of teacher allocation is driven mostly by teachers' group interests and gives less prominence to the adequate matching between the needs of individual schools and the skills and competencies of individual teachers.

Teacher compensation is unstructured and working conditions uneven

The absence of a career structure limits the ability to provide recognition to teachers

Currently, in Uruguay, there is no career structure for teachers. There is a unique career stage with a single salary scale. Minor pay differentiation is achieved through a small number of salary allowances (e.g. bonus for satisfactory attendance; allowances for co-ordination meetings). Roles involving promotion are limited to school principal, inspector or teacher leader all of which involve leaving the classroom. Hence, within a teaching role there are no opportunities for promotion, greater recognition and more responsibility. There are no career steps in teacher development (e.g. beginning; classroom teacher; experienced teacher), which would permit a better match between teacher competence and skills and the tasks to be performed at schools (e.g. mentor teacher; co-ordinator of professional development). The absence of a career structure also prevents the system from providing the recognition of experience and advanced teaching skills with a formal position and additional compensation. Advancement in the salary scale is mostly on the basis of seniority which runs the risk of not conveying the important message that the guiding principle for career advancement should merit.

Reaching tenured status is the greatest incentive for a teacher to remain in the profession as it ensures a secure job, regular teaching responsibilities, stable income and social security benefits (IDB, 2015). On the other hand, not having yet reached tenured status may be a disincentive for regular attendance. There are high rates of teacher absenteeism in secondary public schools where calculations suggest a yearly 13.9% of non-taught lessons (IDB, 2015). High rates of teacher absenteeism have prompted an incentive to reward those teachers who attend regularly, but without dealing with the more likely causes of the problem.

Low salaries remain the major source of dissatisfaction

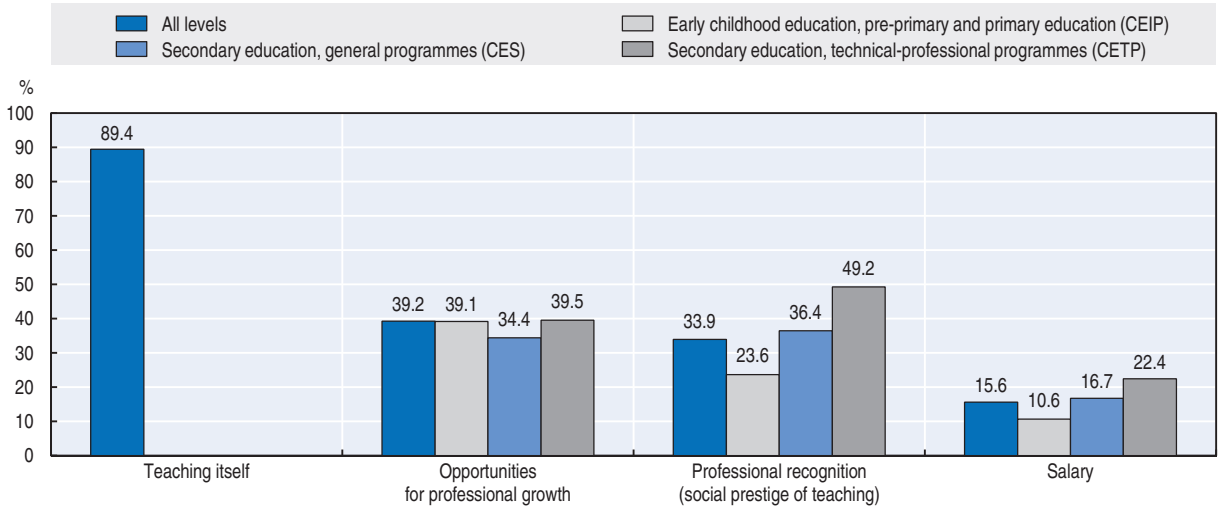
Despite recent increases, salaries remain a source of dissatisfaction for teachers. According to TERCE (organised in 2013), the proportion of Uruguayan primary education teachers who very much disagreed or disagreed with the statement "I am satisfied with my salary" was 92%, the highest figure of all participating countries (Argentina: 78%; Brazil: 72%; Chile: 56%; Colombia: 48%; Mexico: 76%; Peru: 70%) (Weinstein, forthcoming). These unsatisfactory salary conditions cause teachers to seek supplementary employment in schools or other remunerated activities (see also OECD, 2016).

Mancebo (2006) summarised the issues affecting primary education teachers as follows: low remunerations that do not attract good prospective teachers, a teaching progression based only on years of service and lack of incentives to attract more experienced teachers to

difficult or vulnerable schools. In his study of teachers in four Latin American countries, Tenti-Fanfani (2005) asked teachers about their degree of satisfaction with teaching itself as well as with the conditions under which teaching takes place. Uruguayan teachers were those who showed the highest degree of satisfaction with teaching as a task, but much less satisfaction with their school working contexts. A very similar situation was found by the National Teacher Census (ANEP, 2007): great valuation of their profession as teachers and of teaching as such but also much dissatisfaction with their working conditions, especially salaries (see Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8. **Degree of satisfaction of teachers across selected professional aspects, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**

Proportion of teachers who are "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with the following professional aspects:



Note: Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP). "All levels" include teachers working in teacher education institutions. Teachers were asked "What level of satisfaction do you experience with the following professional aspects?" and were given four options: "very unsatisfied", "unsatisfied", "satisfied" and "very satisfied" (in addition to "does not apply").
Source: ANEP-CODICEN (2008), *Censo Nacional Docente ANEP-2007* (National Teacher Census ANEP-2007), Dirección Sectorial de Planificación Educativa, División de Investigación, Evaluación y Estadística, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública – Consejo Directivo Central, Montevideo.

As described above, the salary composition of a mid-career teacher still relies heavily on the base salary, which is low compared to other Latin American countries. Also, the salary structure does not reward additional qualifications such as post-graduate studies. Interestingly, however, the basic component of teacher salaries is higher than those of school principals (see Chapter 4).

The incentive structure has little flexibility

Little flexibility exists regarding teacher incentives. Teachers with a given seniority and qualification status are generally paid the same irrespective of their working conditions, level of shortages in the subject area, or school location. The exceptions are the additional compensation received by teachers in special schools and rural schools. This restricts the ability of schools and the system as a whole to address staffing problems (e.g. shortages of qualified teachers in specific subjects) or to give incentives for teachers to

work in disadvantaged schools. As analysed earlier, there are indications of an inequitable distribution of teachers across schools.

Working conditions of disadvantaged schools, given difficult socio-economic conditions can be particularly challenging for teachers. While these schools might receive extra teacher resources, extra benefits to individual teachers are limited to potential smaller classes and support from additional teachers provided by a special programme (e.g. Teacher + Teacher Programme). Teachers in these schools typically do not receive extra pay to compensate them for the more difficult working conditions.

There is little autonomy at the school level to manage the use of human resources

In Uruguay, there is little autonomy in the management of the teaching workforce at the school level. First, schools have no say in selecting their teachers. Recruitment and deployment processes are organised at the central level and take into account teachers' preferences for schools. There is no direct interaction between potential teachers and schools in the selection process – e.g. through interviews – which could involve the use of a more complete set of criteria to match individual applicants' characteristics to schools' specific needs. School leaders are in a better position than more remote administrative levels to assess the specific needs of the school. The absence of such interaction also hinders the identification of potential teachers to the school's educational project. Wößmann (2003) used data from the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) to examine the relationship between different aspects of centralised and school-level decision-making and student performance. He concluded that students in schools with autonomy in deciding on the hiring of teachers performed statistically significantly better in mathematics and science, as did students in schools that could determine teacher salaries themselves.

Second, schools have little autonomy to manage the teacher resources provided to them. Centralised processes not only define teaching bodies in individual schools but also their main functions (e.g. classroom teacher, teacher leader, deputy-principal, bibliographic counsellor teacher, community teacher) and allocated teaching or working hours. School leaders are not able to re-arrange functions or reallocate hours within the school. This limits their ability to adapt the use of teacher hours/functions to the school's specific needs and the student characteristics of each school. Their main area of autonomy is the definition of student groups and matching these with specific teachers. As described earlier (see Chapter 4), disadvantaged schools receive extra resources (e.g. Community Teachers Programme, Teacher + Teacher Programme, *Aprender* schools) which can be used in activities such as remedial classes for students with learning difficulties. These can be better matched to the school needs through the close interaction between school leaders and inspectors. The latter often have an influence on the extra resources a school receives and benefit from a close communication with school leaders.

Finally, school leaders have limited room to develop the competencies of their teaching bodies in agreement with school development plans. While teacher appraisal processes internal to the school are organised, they tend to have little impact on teacher professional development (see below). The latter tends to be an individual decision by the teacher and is not guided by a school development plan (see below). Teachers' workloads, possibly including teaching in more than one school, do also not facilitate the levels of engagement in professional development. Also, as seen previously, the rates of teacher rotation in schools (particularly in secondary education) make it particularly difficult for school leaders to build a learning community within the school.

Teacher performance appraisal is limited in a variety of ways

The teacher performance appraisal conducted by the inspection services has clear benefits. It provides incentives for teachers to perform well and rewards them for their performance and experience. However, there are a range of aspects that raise concerns. First, the appraisal conducted by inspectors, which is a process with high-stakes for teachers (implications for their positioning in the teacher registry, impacts competitions to obtain tenure and influences the position of tenured teachers for potential promotions), is also expected to achieve a developmental function and inform the improvement of the teacher's practices. However, it is difficult to achieve the developmental function of teacher appraisal through a high-stakes process. As explained in OECD (2013b), combining the accountability and developmental functions in a single process of teacher appraisal raises a number of challenges. When teachers are confronted with high-stakes consequences of appraisal on their career and salary, they are likely to be less inclined to reveal weak aspects of their practice and focus on their own potential for development, which in turn jeopardises the developmental function. As such, self-appraisal of teachers might be less meaningful when it is associated with a process with high stakes for teachers. While in Uruguay teacher appraisal processes which are internal to the school are common, they tend to serve mainly as an input for the annual appraisal by inspectors and seem to be less used formatively to identify professional development needs of teachers. Overall, the review team formed the impression that there is an over-emphasis on the accountability function of teacher appraisal, with less attention paid to genuine professional discussions about effective teaching. Opportunities for feedback tend to be rather limited for Uruguayan teachers. Teacher appraisal is very much dominated by its importance to obtain tenure, select the school at which to teach and improve chances for a promotion.

Second, it appears that the approach inspectors follow in the appraisal process is often mechanistic and compliance-based with a focus on assigning a score to each teacher. Appraisal criteria seem to centre on formal aspects such as punctuality rather than on actual teaching competencies (Vaillant, 2012). The appraisal criteria used are rather limited in spite of the tradition of classroom observation. This also relates to the lack of a national framework of teaching competencies (see below). For example, the evaluation form that primary education inspectors use for teacher appraisal, which is provided by CEIP, in addition to a section for general observations, only requires a mark for each of the following areas (in addition to an overall mark):

1. Teaching (Theory/Practice Relation)

   1.1 Planning; 1.2 Organisation; 1.3 Professional Development; 1.4 Teacher Intervention; and 1.5 Attention to individual students.

2. Learning (Management of learning)

   2.1 Outcomes achieved in the process; 2.2 Attitude of children to learning.

3. Links (Communication)

   3.1 Classroom climate; 3.2 Collaborative work; 3.3 Learning networks and communities.

In general secondary education, the teacher inspection report template covers the following main areas for inspectors' appraisal: i) activities developed by the teacher; ii) pertinence of the materials produced; iii) use of different formats for the materials; iv) development of reference spaces in the subject; v) update in ICT use; vi) adaptation of materials and classes to pedagogical and didactic guidelines; vii) collaboration with other

teachers. The template then requires an overall mark and provides sections for making a judgment on the teacher's aptitude, offer an opinion on the teacher, and further comments and suggestions.

Third, the review team also formed the view that the provision of professional development appears not systematically linked to teacher appraisal. The identification of professional development needs is not a requirement of established teacher appraisal practices. The teacher appraisal by inspectors does not result in a systematic professional development plan for each teacher appraised. Similarly, even if practices differ across schools, in most cases teacher appraisal processes internal to the school do not have as their primary objective the establishment of a professional development plan for each teacher in the school. Without a clear link to professional development opportunities, the evaluation process is not sufficient to improve teacher performance and, as a result, often becomes a meaningless exercise that encounters mistrust – or at best apathy – on the part of teachers being evaluated (Danielson, 2001; Milanowski and Kimball, 2003; Margo et al., 2008).

Fourth, teacher appraisal is not based on an agreed national framework of teaching competencies and is not systematic in its operation, especially in the case of secondary teachers. This can hamper the consistency of teacher appraisal processes across schools (and inspectors) and the inability of the system to assure the quality of such processes. The lack of a framework of competencies also explains the difficulties in providing appropriate feedback to teachers on the part of the inspectors.

Also, in secondary education, visits by inspectors tend not to be regular, to the point that some teachers may not receive any visit for several years. This means that they miss their yearly report impacting on the point system that forms the basis for selection of schools in which to work. This is largely due to the lack of inspectors in secondary education, as described earlier.

Among teachers from four Latin American countries studied by Tenti Fanfani (2005), a proportion of 47.1% Uruguayan teachers declared themselves to be dissatisfied with the appraisal system. During the visit by the OECD review team, teachers expressed critical views of the appraisal system in the sense of providing very general reports and of emphasising formal rather than pedagogical aspects of the teacher's work. Similar views were expressed by school principals, indicating that inspector appraisal is too reliant on compliance with the curriculum rather than focused on actual teaching practices. The dissatisfaction with the traditional inspectorate system in Uruguay mirrors a broader assessment of inspectorates in other countries. A recent review noted the move in several countries from traditional school inspections based more on verifying compliance with established norms to inspections providing information on strengths and weaknesses to feed into improvement processes (Slater, 2013). School inspections are more likely to contribute to improvement when they lead to self-evaluation and provide teachers with constructive feedback (Churches and McBride, 2013).

Induction, mentoring and continuing professional development face a range of challenges

In international comparison, the participation rates in professional development of Uruguayan teachers appear to be low. According to PISA 2012 data, Uruguayan principals of schools attended by 15-year-olds reported that 33.1% of mathematics teachers in their school attended a programme of professional development with a focus on mathematics during the previous three months, below the OECD average of 39.3% (Argentina: 48.3%, Brazil: 36.3%,

Chile: 28.0%, Colombia: 21.9%, Mexico: 46.6%) (OECD, 2013a).Similarly, according to teacher self-reports for TERCE (organised in 2013), the proportion of Uruguayan teachers who received professional development in their subject in the previous two years was 18.8%, 27.6%, 25.5%, 26.6% and 29.1% for Year 3 mathematics, Year 6 mathematics, Year 3 language, Year 6 language and Year 6 natural sciences respectively (against TERCE averages of 23.6%, 31.2%, 28.5%, 31.5% and 19.5% respectively) (UNESCO/OREALC, 2015). There are indications that this might result from the combination of a number of factors such as the little relevance of the supply of professional development programmes, the limited entitlement to free professional development, the little time available to teachers to engage in professional development, and the little tradition of school-based professional development.

While the existence of a national institution (Institute for Advanced and Higher Studies, IPES) that provides teachers with formal post-graduate courses and a range of professional development activities is commendable, the fact is that this offer is in the city of Montevideo. Other providers (e.g. the *Universidad de la República* and private universities) are also mostly based in Montevideo. As a result, teachers in other locations of the country have insufficient opportunities for professional development near to where they live and work and can only attend formal courses in the summer. A commendable exception to this is the co-ordination of professional development programmes in technical-professional secondary education at the regional level through the Regional Units of Continuous Education. In addition, while a good proportion of professional development activities are free of charge (e.g. those provided by IPES), teachers are not entitled to be paid working time to undertake professional development activities. These are often taken on Saturdays or during periods where there are school holidays. This results from associating teacher compensation mostly to teaching hours. At the same time, particularly in secondary education, teachers' heavy workload does not give much room for professional development activities.

There are indications that the range of professional development courses available may be limited. In its interviews with teachers and school principals, the OECD review team formed the impression that professional development offerings were not responding to the learning needs of teachers. For instance, the lack of diversity of offerings at IPES was often mentioned by teachers. Courses at IPES seem to concentrate on teaching methods and didactics and seem more limited in specialised areas such as addressing learning difficulties in the classroom, integrating students with special needs, teaching in multi-year classes or teaching in rural areas. Professional development courses also seem targeted at qualified teachers and offer little specific training to non-qualified teachers. This might reflect the fact that professional development providers have little information about the professional development needs of teachers.

The potential lack of adequate learning opportunities for teachers might also result from the fact that teacher appraisal processes inform little the supply of professional development opportunities. As seen above, individual teacher appraisal has no direct link to an individual professional development plan for the teacher. There is clearly further room in Uruguay for better linking teacher appraisal to individual professional development, which is desirable given that teacher development is one of the main goals of teacher appraisal (OECD, 2013b). At the same time, the review team formed the impression that schools take little responsibility for managing whole-school strategies for professional development. In particular, individual teacher professional activities seem to have little connection to a potential school development plan as they remain a decision individually taken by the teacher. The link between, teacher appraisal, teacher professional

development and school development is essential to ensure teachers give priority to acquiring those competencies that better fit the needs of the schools (OECD, 2013b).

The "co-ordination" meetings, which are organised in *Aprender* and full-time schools in primary education and in all schools in secondary education, provide the only time for school-based professional collaboration. However, as conveyed by teachers and principals to the OECD review team during its visit, this time is often taken up with administrative matters, and teachers have no other paid time to work together and learn from each other. The potential impact on teacher quality resulting from school-based collaborative work is highly imperilled by the absence of sufficient school autonomy to provide teachers with opportunities to work together and share their practices. Many studies about successful within-school teacher professional development and collaboration stress the importance of the school leadership in generating learning communities within the school (for a review see Calvo, 2014) (see also Chapter 4).

Also, a gap in the organisation of the teaching career in Uruguay is the absence of a regulated systematic induction or mentoring process for teachers as they enter the school system. While mentoring programmes may be in place in some schools, there are no guarantees that beginning teachers are adequately supported as they enter the career. This is in contrast to the more systematic organisation of school practice for teacher candidates during their initial teacher education, which takes place in Practice schools.

Finally, there does not seem to be a process to evaluate or accredit professional development programmes. Hence, the quality of the programmes is not guaranteed and little use is made of any analysis of the programmes' impact.

Policy recommendations

The challenges analysed in the previous section concerning working conditions, the recruitment system, career progression, initial preparation and professional development opportunities suggest the need for a comprehensive review of teacher policies and improvements in a range of key areas. This section provides some policy directions. These require focusing on teachers as professionals in terms of the quality of their preparation, their working conditions and the scope they are given to be proactive and creative in their classrooms and schools as well as in relation to colleagues beyond those boundaries.

Develop a competency framework for the teaching profession

Uruguay needs to have a basic reference of what good teaching means. This means establishing a clear competency framework for the teaching profession that signals to teachers and to society as a whole the core knowledge, skills and values associated with effective teaching at different stages of a teaching career. A clear, well-structured and widely supported competency framework for teachers can be a powerful mechanism for aligning the various elements involved in developing teachers' competencies (OECD, 2005).

A competency framework for teachers should contain quality criteria or indicators for professional teaching practice and should be applied in developing teacher education curricula, appraising individual performance, establishing career structures and guiding professional development (OECD, 2005). Teachers' practices and the competencies that they need to be effective should reflect the student learning objectives that the school system is aiming to achieve. A competency framework for teachers needs to be informed by research and express the sophistication and complexity of what effective teachers are

expected to know and be able to do. It should also express different levels of performance and responsibilities expected at different stages of the teaching career.

The development of a competency framework for the teaching profession should include a strategy for national consultation: a variety of actors at different levels and from different contexts should participate in the consultation process, to generate knowledge and ownership of the framework across the country. There is also a need to ensure appropriate feedback mechanisms: following implementation, the competency framework can have periodical revisions to ensure that it remains aligned with other elements of the system, and that it is useful in the promotion of teacher professionalism.

Another objective is that the competency framework is clear to teachers. This "making sense" of the competency framework by teachers is essential to transform their practice. Extensive socialisation of the framework for teachers can be done at several stages of teachers' careers (NBRC, 2010):

- During initial teacher education courses so that beginning teachers already have a clear understanding of what is expected from them.
- In induction and mentoring programmes to ease the transition between initial education and school-level practice (Hobson, 2009).
- In-service teachers must receive training on the use of the competency framework and its implications for classroom practice.

There are several examples of competency frameworks for teachers used in other education systems such as the "Good Teaching Framework" in Chile (*Marco de Buena Enseñanza*, Ministry of Education of Chile, 2008) and the "Teacher Good Performance Framework" in Peru (*Marco de Buen Desempeño Docente*, Ministry of Education of Peru, 2012), both of which have drawn its principles from Danielson's framework (Danielson, 1996 and 2007) (see Box 5.1).

Box 5.1. **Competency frameworks for teachers in Chile and Peru**

In Chile, the Good Teaching Framework (*Marco para la Buena Enseñanza*) specifies the following dimensions: i) domains (4); ii) criteria within domains (20); iii) descriptors for each criterion (70); and iv) performance levels for descriptors. The four domains are: i) preparation for teaching; ii) creation of an environment favouring the learning process; iii) teaching that allows the learning process of all students; and iv) professional responsibilities. Each criterion is accompanied by a description of its meaning, and examples of how a teacher might demonstrate skill, either through their teaching in the classroom or through the plans they create, or through other artefacts reflecting their professionalism.

In Peru, the "Teacher Good Performance Framework" (*Marco de Buen Desempeño Docente*) specifies the following dimensions: i) domains (4); ii) competencies within domains (9); iii) performance descriptors (40). The four domains are: i) preparation for student learning; ii) teaching for student learning; iii) participation in school management in collaboration with the community; and iv) development of teacher professionalism and identity. Both frameworks list under each domain a set of competencies and statements of how these are demonstrated in teacher observable performance.

Source: Ministry of Education of Chile (2008), *Marco Para la Buena Enseñanza* (Good Teaching Framework), *www.cpeip.cl/usuarios/cpeip/File/Documentos%202011/MBE2008.pdf*; Santiago, P. et al. (2013), *Teacher Evaluation in Chile 2013, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264172616-en*; Ministry of Education of Peru (2012), *Marco de Buen Desempeño Docente* (Teacher Good Performance Framework), *www.perueduca.pe/documents/60563/ce664fb7-a1dd-450d-a43d-bd8cd65b4736*.

Reconceptualise teacher employment to account for all activities performed by teachers

Making the work of teachers more effective in Uruguayan schools necessitates a whole new concept of teacher employment. As explained in OECD (2005), teachers are expected to have broad roles. Some examples of areas of broadened teacher responsibility are: initiating and managing learning processes; responding effectively to the learning needs of individual learners; integrating formative and summative assessment; teaching in multicultural classrooms; introducing new cross-curricular emphases; integrating students with special needs; working and planning in teams; evaluation and systematic improvement planning; ICT use in teaching and administration; projects between schools; management and shared leadership; providing professional advice to parents; and building community partnerships for learning (OECD, 2005). These broad responsibilities are simply not compatible with a conception of teacher employment associated mostly with teaching as a paid activity. Clearly, Uruguay needs to move to employment under a workload system whereby teachers work a specified number of hours per week (e.g. 40 hours), a proportion of which are devoted to teaching. Such conception of teacher employment recognises that teachers need time for engaging in a range of other tasks, including the adequate preparation of lessons. This is likely to make the profession more attractive and to reduce the number of teachers with unreasonably high teaching loads. This reform will necessitate considerable resources but should be a priority for the application of extra resources devoted to education.

The need to consider in teacher contracts an adequate distribution of teaching and non-teaching obligations was recognised in the 1966 ILO/UNESCO Recommendations Concerning the Status of Teachers (Articles 90-93) (UNESCO/ILO, 2008). This highlights the need to provide proper recognition to the non-teaching tasks that teachers perform. Hence teacher compensation should be specified in terms of both teaching and non-teaching responsibilities, possibly with the institution of a ratio (say 60/40) between them for a whole working load (say 40 hours). Non-teaching responsibilities would include lesson preparation, student marking, student counselling, time for professional development and communication with parents and should take into account the specific school context (e.g. rural location).

This approach would imply specifying the number of working hours at a given school for individual teachers and could give individual schools some autonomy on how to use the full working loads of their teachers (i.e. allocating different proportions of teaching/non-teaching tasks to teachers depending on the functions individual teachers perform at school).

Create a career structure for teachers associated with a teacher certification process

Develop a proper career structure for teachers

In Uruguay, there are no opportunities for promotion or to diversify roles for teachers who would like to remain in the classroom. As a result, schools and teachers could benefit from a career structure for teachers that comprised (say) three career pathways: teacher, established teacher, and accomplished/expert teacher. The different career pathways should be associated with distinct roles and responsibilities in schools associated with given levels of teaching expertise. For instance, an established teacher could assume responsibility for the mentoring of beginning teachers and an expert teacher could take responsibility for the co-ordination of professional development in schools. Voluntary access to the top career pathways should be associated with formal processes of appraisal

through a system of teacher certification (see below). Also, each of the career pathways should be organised according to steps indicating a clear salary progression. A teacher who would like to remain in the classroom and not assume new responsibilities should be given the opportunity to progress within the "teacher" career path. Such progression should be regulated through a process of teacher certification (see below).

The existence of a career structure for the most part accomplishes two important functions: the recognition of experience and advanced teaching skills with a formal position and additional compensation; and the potential to better match teachers' skills to the roles and responsibilities needed in schools, as more experienced and accomplished teachers may be given special tasks within schools. These convey the important message that the guiding principle for career advancement is merit and have the benefit of rewarding teachers who choose to remain in the classroom. Given the potential greater variety of roles in schools as the teacher goes up the career ladder, the career structure fosters greater career diversification. These are likely to have a positive motivational effect.

Qualified teachers (i.e. with a teacher education degree) would access the career in its initial "teacher" stage and the transition to "established teacher" could be associated with the acquisition of tenure. However, access to the top stages of the career (established teacher, expert teacher) should require teaching qualifications. This would work as an incentive for teachers to acquire teaching qualifications (possibly through specific training programmes for those non-qualified teachers who have been some years in the education system, as suggested below). Also, education authorities should consider introducing a formal entry examination for individuals who have no teaching qualifications to access teaching (and the initial stage in the teacher career). This examination could cover both disciplinary and pedagogical competencies.

Set up a system of teacher certification to determine career progression

The accountability function of teacher appraisal that is currently being achieved through the annual formal teacher appraisal by inspectors could be transformed into a process of teacher appraisal for career progression through a certification process associated with the teacher career structure suggested above – with progression within career paths and access to distinct career paths.

Each teacher in the system would be required to periodically (say every four years) be the subject of a formal appraisal for certification (or re-certification), regardless of the career stage. The purpose would be to certify teachers periodically as fit for the profession. The appraisal could determine advancement (or not) to the next salary step within a given career path. Such appraisal would also identify underperformance – i.e. if poor appraisal, a mandatory professional development plan would be established and a new appraisal would be required one year later; and two consecutive poor appraisals could lead the teacher to be removed from the post. This process, which would not involve a promotion or be associated to tenure, could be organised by school inspectors. It should be mostly based on the practice of teachers, involving classroom observation and the preparation of a portfolio with selected evidence of the teacher's work with students (lesson preparation, student work, examples of student assessments).

Once teachers meet certain requirements (related to experience and performance), they could also voluntarily request a formal appraisal to access a new career path (as "established" or "accomplished/expert" teacher). Established teacher could be associated

with the acquisition of tenure. Both the appraisals for certification and to access a new career path, which are more summative in nature, need to be undertaken under a national framework, with reference to the competency framework for teachers, have a strong component external to the school and more formal processes to ensure objectivity and fairness (Santiago and Benavides, 2009). These processes could be governed by an accredited commission at the departmental level under the supervision of inspection services. Such commissions could be formed by distinguished teachers, recognised school leaders and inspectors. The specific appraisal for promotion or tenure, in addition to the instruments mentioned above, could also include an examination (*oposición*) to look into more detail at the competencies of the teacher. The appraisals for career progression of a given teacher should also be informed by the input by the respective school principal and inspector.

Rethink the system for the recruitment and deployment of teachers

The current system of recruitment and deployment of teachers to schools works against there being a stable team of teachers committed to the school's educational project, is not constructed to optimise the matching between teachers' skills and schools' needs and leads to an inequitable distribution of teacher resources across schools. These undesirable effects call for the reform of the current approach to select, recruit and deploy teachers to schools. Hence, the new model needs to give more stability to teaching bodies within schools, respond better to the needs of individual schools and ensure more experienced and high-quality teachers are willing to work in disadvantaged schools.

It is recommended that the new model builds on a number of principles. First, greater stability needs to be provided to both teachers and schools. As suggested above, tenure should correspond to the 1st major step in the teaching career and correspond to the appointment as "established" teacher through the competition recommended above. In primary education, tenure should be offered at the school level (as is currently the case) and in secondary education, tenure could be offered for a zone within the department (the teacher would be given preference for a given school but would only be sure to be appointed to a school within a given zone). Competitions for new tenured posts would be organised every year, including in secondary education. Similarly, competitions for promotions to the "accomplished/expert teacher" stage could also be organised every year. Then, all other schools' teacher needs not to be filled by tenured posts would be the subject of an annual open competition which should present two major differences compared to the current system: i) once a teacher is selected for a position his or her term in the school should be for at least three years and renewable if both the school and the teacher are in agreement (but providing the teacher with the option of leaving the school before the agreed term for the contract); and ii) appointments would not be on the basis of teaching hours but rather working hours, increasing the probability for a teacher in secondary education to work only in one school.

Second, recruitment methods and selection criteria need to take better account of the specific needs of individual schools. Competitions for tenured positions and promotions should include the input of the principals and inspectors of the school(s) associated with the specific positions. This could include them specifying the profiles of the positions at stake which could then be used to define the competitions' selection criteria. And, they could also be part of the commissions making the final selection of the successful candidates. Regarding non-tenured positions, the approach could continue to be based on a registry of teachers ranked according to a range of criteria and in which teachers express preferences

for schools. However, two major modifications are suggested: i) schools should express its views in terms of the adequacy of the top candidates to their specific needs; ii) criteria to rank teachers in the registry need rethinking. The school principal, together with the inspector in charge of the school, should be able to express their preferences over a given number of top candidates in the registry (say top three) who have expressed interest in working at the school.

Third, criteria to order teachers in the registry need to encourage better equity in the distribution of teachers across schools. Criteria to order teachers in the registry could include the step within the "teacher" career stage, seniority of the teacher, rating at the most recent appraisal for certification (as suggested above, every four years, or if not available, results in initial teacher education) and meeting a certain number of minimum requirements regarding professional development activities and regular attendance. However, it could prove useful to introduce a system of "bonus points" for the teacher registry for teachers who have teaching experiences in difficult or remote schools. These "bonus points" could also be given consideration for tenure positions. This would give incentives for teachers to work in more vulnerable schools and would help beginning teachers to more quickly access a post in a school of their preference. This is intended to address the concern that beginning teachers are mostly assigned to the more difficult and unpopular schools, with potentially adverse consequences for student learning and their own career development.

Improve teacher compensation

Maintain efforts to improve the remuneration of teachers

As further resources become available to the school system and as efficiency gains are realised, a top priority for the allocation of the newly available resources should be the improvement of teachers' compensation and working conditions. The objective is to improve the status of the teaching profession, attract better candidates to teaching, ensure teacher education candidates complete their studies, make teaching more appealing to males, and ensure teachers have adequate incentives to be effective in their daily practice. This need is well recognised by the Uruguayan government as shown in recent efforts to improve teachers' salaries. These efforts should be sustained in the years to come, result in the significant improvement of teacher salary conditions, and go alongside efforts to improve working conditions. A significant step in this direction would be, as suggested above, the recognition that non-teaching activities should also be remunerated. Compensating teachers for a full workload (rather than teaching load) will go a long way to improve the attractiveness of the profession.

In light of the expansion of enrolment in secondary education, the growth of full-time education in primary education as well as the broadening of special programmes to address equity in schools, it is important to ensure that good qualified candidates enter the teaching profession at an adequate rate (and remain in it).

Make the compensation system more flexible

In complement to the current approach of addressing inequity through the provision of additional resources to disadvantaged schools (e.g. *Aprender* schools, Community Teachers Programme), the response to the current inequities in the distribution of teachers across schools also requires that the compensation system is made more flexible. Incentives should target individual teachers so disadvantaged schools are in a better position to attract more

experienced and higher quality teachers. This would involve paying special allowances or in-kind support for teachers who work in schools facing more challenging circumstances (e.g. serving vulnerable populations, remote schools). The objective would be to compensate individual teachers for the more challenging working conditions. The principle of targeted allowances could also apply to areas or subjects in which teachers are in short supply.

Improve the provision and status of initial teacher education

There is a need to make initial teacher education more attractive. In part, the response concerns the overall attractiveness of the profession (salaries and working conditions). But it is also important to raise the status of initial teacher education. The implementation of the plans to establish a National Pedagogic University could help in this respect by providing greater structure to initial teacher education and raising its status to university level. It would also have the potential to reorganise the overall supply of initial teacher education by consolidating some providers offering lower quality programmes. A number of other strategies can be considered. These include: providing more information and counselling to prospective teacher candidates so that better informed enrolment decisions are made; procedures that try to assess whether the individuals wanting to become teachers have the necessary motivation, skills, knowledge and personal qualities; financial incentive schemes to recruit candidates with high-level competencies (such as scholarships); and flexible programme structures that provide students with school experience early in the course, and opportunities to move into other courses if their motivation towards teaching changes.

A priority should be to improve the quality of initial teacher education programmes. This requires accreditation procedures ensuring that teacher education institutions are evaluated on an ongoing basis and that the teacher education sector as a whole is subject to periodic review and debate. This should consider the preparation and quality of the teacher education staff, the amount and use of resources, implementation of the curriculum considering student views, and improvement in progression and completion rates as well as activities implemented to reach this purpose. The evaluation of programmes should encompass efforts on the part of the institutions themselves to verify their effectiveness through collection and analysis of evidence from their own current and former students through institutional monitoring and research, as for example on the quality of the future teachers' content knowledge, the quality of needed skills for learning and the learning occurring during practicum experiences (Osman and Venkat, 2012; Kirby et al., 2006).

In the Uruguayan context, a particularly important criterion of the relevance of teacher education programmes concerns their completion rates. Teacher education programmes need to ensure their adequacy to the student populations they receive (i.e. older students, most of whom have a full-time job). The latter would involve addressing the overloaded curriculum, giving more emphasis to practice than theory, offering flexible schedules for classes, developing a modular approach to courses or diversifying approaches to assess teacher candidates.

Teacher education institutions also need to assume further responsibilities in reducing the number of non-qualified teachers currently in the system. This could involve the establishment of specific programmes of study for non-qualified teachers which would recognise teachers' experience in schools (giving them programme credits), be offered on a part-time basis and supplemented with on-line activities. These would focus mainly on the development of pedagogical competencies.

In addition, the organisation of studies in initial teacher education requires improvement. For instance, an increase in the common components of teacher preparation programmes for different levels of education and specialisations would increase opportunities for working in different educational levels and specialisations as teacher demand and career interests change. Teacher education programmes for secondary education teaching, in particular, should be less specialised and allow the graduate to teach in a broader range of specialisms. Preparing secondary teachers for two disciplines within related areas (e.g. physics and chemistry) rather than a single discipline would allow individual teachers to more easily find enough teaching hours at the same school.

Finally, there is a clear need to strengthen the preparation of all teachers to deal with the diverse needs of their students. Teaching students from a disadvantaged family or with special educational needs should not be an isolated task for specialist teachers (part of special programmes as the Community Teachers Programme) as most teachers face these realities in schools every day. In Uruguay special provisions for children with disabilities are particularly limited, especially in secondary education. Hence, it is of great importance to mainstream elements of teaching special education students in general initial teacher education and not just in separate or specialised courses. Currently, there seem to be no courses and activities geared to this purpose in primary and secondary teacher education, and a little by way of in-service provisions. It is suggested that there be a review of the curriculum in order to include relevant contents and that the development of strategies for working with special needs' students be part of the field experiences required during teacher education at primary and secondary level. Preparation to work in rural schools and particularly for multi-year teaching needs also to be included in the initial and primary teacher education programmes and their practical experiences. The teacher education curriculum should also include curriculum contents and activities oriented to handling teaching demands with highly vulnerable school populations. These must consider the different characteristics and needs of young children and youth in the cities, and especially Montevideo, as well as in rural locations.

Strengthen school-based teacher appraisal for formative purposes

There needs to be a stronger emphasis on teacher appraisal for development purposes. Given that there are risks that the developmental function is hampered by the high-stakes inspector-based annual teacher appraisal process, it is proposed that a component predominantly dedicated to developmental appraisal, fully internal to the school, be formalised. This development evaluation would have as its main purpose the continuous improvement of teaching practices in the school. It would be an internal process carried out by senior peers and the school management. The reference standards would be the suggested competency framework for teachers but with school-based indicators and criteria. This appraisal should also take account of the school objectives and context. The main outcome would be feedback on teaching performance which would lead to an individual plan for professional development for each teacher in the school. It can be low-key and low-cost, and include self-appraisal, peer appraisal, classroom observation, and structured conversations and regular feedback by the school management and experienced peers. It could be organised once a year for each teacher, or less frequently depending on the previous appraisal of the teacher. The key aspect is that it should result in a meaningful report with recommendations for professional development. Of course, it can draw on the experience most schools in Uruguay have had with internal teacher appraisal processes. The need is for

these to become systematic and consistent across schools through the introduction of the competency framework as the main reference and the provision of guidelines and instruments at the national or departmental level.

This approach requires school leaders to invest a considerable amount of time in pedagogical leadership. This could benefit from a broader school leadership team which would allow the school principal to devote more time to pedagogical leadership (see Chapter 4) and would require greater training for school leaders to conduct teacher appraisals. School principals could receive training in appraising teachers on the basis of the teacher competency framework, including for instance with the use of appraisal rubrics. Rubrics are descriptive scoring schemes to guide analysis of observed performance and other evidence such as teaching materials, student assessment, etc. (Oakleaf, 2009). They describe what is needed in respect to specified criteria to rate a performance as high or low.

In order to guarantee the systematic and coherent application of teacher developmental appraisal across Uruguayan schools, it would be important to undertake the external validation of the respective school processes. An option is for school inspection procedures to include the audit of the processes in place to organise teacher developmental appraisal, holding the school principal accountable as necessary. The inspection support structures could play an important role in ensuring that schools develop ambitious developmental appraisal processes to be properly documented in school activity reports.

Strengthen the provision of professional development

There is a clear need for professional development to become a more regular practice among teachers in Uruguay, with an adequate time entitlement, greater diversity of activities, led by school development plans and with a supply which reflects teachers' developmental needs. There must be an explicitly stated expectation that every teacher engages in a career-long quest of improved practice through professional development activities. This is likely to require providing teachers with dedicated release time and financial support for professional development than is currently the case. It is important that the professional development system benefits all teachers in the school system. In this sense, it is important to improve the supply of professional development activities outside Montevideo. This could build on the capacity of teacher education providers that are located outside Montevideo.

Teacher professional development also needs to be associated with school development if the improvement of teaching practices is to meet the school's needs. To be most effective, professional development programmes should be co-ordinated at the school level in association with school development plans, so that teachers are aware of the learning goals pursued by their colleagues and potential areas for collaboration. Such joint efforts can contribute to establishing learning communities within schools.

Also, suppliers of professional development programmes need to better connect to the professional development of teachers. This suggests a range of possible actions: better interaction between professional development providers and individual schools; an assessment on the part of the school inspection of the professional development needs of teachers on the basis of the information collected through individual teacher appraisals; or strategies to directly survey teachers about their professional development needs. It would be advisable to collect all available information on the current offer of courses and activities for teachers, assess current gaps, conduct a review of teacher specific needs, and evaluate the quality of courses they have attended in view of improving them.

Successful professional development programmes involve teachers in learning activities that are similar to ones they will use with their students (OECD, 2005). The most effective forms of professional development seem to be those that focus on clearly articulated priorities, provide ongoing school-based support to classroom teachers, deal with subject matter content as well as suitable instructional strategies and classroom management techniques, and create opportunities for teachers to observe, experience and try new teaching methods (OECD, 2005). In this context, school-based professional development activities are particularly important and seem to receive little attention in Uruguay. Professional development should create opportunities for teachers to engage in school-focused research and development, individually and collectively. Such programmes support teachers in studying and evaluating their own teaching strategies and school programmes, and in sharing their findings with their colleagues, and through conferences and publications (see OECD, 2005, for specific examples).

Teacher collaboration linked to school improvement efforts is widely recognised as a powerful tool for school and teacher performance improvement. In Uruguay, although it is currently difficult in terms of available school and teacher time to collaborate and engage in school-based professional development activities, there are schools that do so. On this basis it would be advisable to organise meetings with staff from schools that have experience and manage to work more collectively together with schools that want to do so. This, of course, requires opening the possibilities for greater autonomy at the school level to organise the work of teachers so that there is time and opportunity to work together and learn from each other.

Beyond each school, there is scope for joint partnerships between teachers and education authorities to support collaborative teacher professional development. An interesting initiative involving teacher unions and the Ontario Ministry of Education in Canada, led to the establishment in 2007 of a Teacher Learning and Leadership Programme (TLPP) with three main purposes: "a) support experienced teachers to undertake self-directed advanced professional development; b) develop teachers' leadership skills for sharing their professional learning and exemplary practices; and c) facilitate knowledge exchange for spread and sustainability of effective and innovative practices" (Lieberman et al., 2015). The process and effects of the programme were studied over a period of two years and results showed an effect on the professional culture among teachers in the sense "that 'insiders' can learn both new ways of working with their students, and ways to lead their colleagues. They also share what they are learning with others" (Lieberman et al., 2015).

Networking is a powerful tool for teacher communication and learning. Education authorities should use the facilities provided by the CEIBAL Plan to connect teachers from different schools with the purpose of exchanging experiences, as well as teaching strategies and materials.

Note

1. TERCE is an international student assessment carried out by the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC/UNESCO) in 2013. It assessed Year 3 and Year 6 students in 15 countries (plus one Mexican state) in reading, writing, mathematics and natural sciences (Year 6 only).

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ANNEX 5.A1

Descriptive data on teachers

Table 5.A1.1. **Number of teachers, by level and type of education, selected years between 2000 and 2014**

	2000	2002	2006	2010	2014	Difference 2002-14 (%)	Difference 2006-14 (%)
Early childhood and pre-primary education							
Public schools supervised by ANEP – Classroom teachers	2 769	2 920	2 909	2 946	2 961	1.4	1.8
Private schools regulated by ANEP – Classroom teachers	..	..	1 064	825	1 007	..	-5.4
Private schools regulated by MEC – All staff	..	..	..	..	4 492	..	..
Primary education							
Public schools – All staff	15 231	15 535	16 169	18 577	19 671	26.6	21.7
Inspectors	235	235	236	261	279	18.7	18.2
Mainstream education	13 074	13 277	13 675	14 748	15 237	14.8	11.4
Education in colonies	39	38	38	38	39	2.6	2.6
Special education	925	930	931	961	972	4.5	4.4
Special teaching services	162	97	127	147	125	28.9	-1.6
Special teachers	758	905	1 109	2 330	2 923	223.0	163.6
Co-ordination and support	38	53	53	92	96	81.1	81.1
Private schools – Classroom teachers	..	..	5 737	6 708	8 389	..	46.2
Public secondary education – general programmes							
Lower secondary							
Subject-teachers	..	..	12750	16 016	15 523	..	21.7
Teaching hours	..	..	..	223 737	224 702	..	..
Upper secondary							
Subject-teachers	..	..	5 360	6 796	7 664	..	43.0
Teaching hours	..	..	..	82 171	95 125	..	..
All secondary							
Subject-teachers	20 476	26 779	18 110	22 812	23 187	-13.4	28.0
Teaching hours	301 126	299 306	254 798	305 908	319 827	6.9	25.5
Public secondary education – technical-professional programmes							
Lower secondary – subject-teachers	3 451	3 393	4 335	4 028	6 959	105.1	60.5
Upper secondary – subject-teachers	3 638	4 050	7 533	6 127	14 263	252.2	89.3
All secondary – subject-teachers	7 089	7 443	11 868	10 155	21 222	185.1	78.8

..: Not available.

Note: Data for early childhood, pre-primary and primary education refer to head counts. Data for secondary education are based on the number of subjects, i.e. teachers who teach more than one subject are counted as different teachers.

Source: MEC (2000, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014), *Anuario Estadístico de Educación* (Education Statistical Yearbook), 2000, 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014 editions, *www.mec.gub.uy/innovaportal/v/11078/5/mecweb/publicaciones_?3colid=927*.

Table 5.A1.2. **Number of teachers, public schools maintained by ANEP, 2007**

	Total	Direct teaching	Indirect teaching	Technical posts	Other functions
Early Childhood education, Pre-primary and Primary education (under supervision of CEIP)	20 802	16 613	2 822	157	2 707
Secondary education, general programmes (under supervision of CES)	16 323	14 384	3 301	101	595
Secondary education, technical-professional programmes (under supervision of CETP)	6 624	5 854	716	246	239

Note: Data is based on the latest Teacher Census, organised in 2007. The census covered teachers working in public institutions maintained by the National Public Education Administration (ANEP) only. Hence, data for early childhood and pre-primary education do not include teachers in schools managed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and by the Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay (INAU). Also data on technical-professional programmes include teachers in programmes at the tertiary level (a minor proportion of programmes supervised by CETP). Direct teaching refers to teachers who have a regular interaction with students in the classroom. Indirect teaching involves interaction with students but with no regular classes. Technical posts refer to school leaders or inspectors.

Source: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública – Consejo Directivo Central, ANEP-CODICEN (2008), *Censo Nacional Docente ANEP-2007* (National Teacher Census ANEP-2007), *Dirección Sectorial de Planificación Educativa*, *División de Investigación, Evaluación y Estadística*, Montevideo.

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Annex A

The OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools

The **OECD Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools** (also referred to as the School Resources Review) is designed to respond to the strong interest in the effective use of school resources evident at national and international levels. It provides analysis and policy advice on how to distribute, utilise and manage resources so that they contribute to achieving effectiveness and efficiency objectives in education. School resources are understood in a broad way, including financial resources (e.g. expenditures on education, school budget), physical resources (e.g. school buildings, computers), human resources (e.g. teachers, school leaders) and other resources (e.g. learning time).

Seventeen education systems are actively engaged in the review. These cover a wide range of economic and social contexts, and among them they illustrate quite different approaches to the use of resources in school systems. This will allow a comparative perspective on key policy issues. Participating countries prepare a detailed background report, following a standard set of guidelines. Some of the participating countries have also opted for a detailed review, undertaken by a team consisting of members of the OECD Secretariat and external experts. Insofar, the participating countries are (in bold those that have opted for an individual review): **Austria**, **Belgium (Flemish Community)**, Belgium (French Community), **Chile**, **Colombia**, the **Czech Republic**, **Denmark**, **Estonia**, Iceland, **Kazakhstan**, **Lithuania**, Luxembourg, the **Slovak Republic**, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and **Uruguay**. A series of thematic comparative reports from the OECD review, bringing together lessons from all countries, will be launched as of late 2016.

The project is overseen by the Group of National Experts on School Resources, which was established as a subsidiary body of the OECD Education Policy Committee in order to guide the methods, timing and principles of the review. More details are available from the website dedicated to the review: *www.oecd.org/education/schoolresourcesreview*.

ANNEX B

Composition of the review team

Beatrice Ávalos, a Chilean national, holds a Ph.D. from St. Louis University, USA and is an associate researcher at the Centre for Advanced Research in Education, University of Chile, where she leads a research group on teacher related topics. She was awarded the 2013 National Prize in Educational Sciences by the Chilean government. Between 2007 and 2010 she co-ordinated the Chilean application of the IEA TEDS-M study at the Ministry of Education. Formerly, she was Senior Lecturer at University of Wales, Cardiff and Professor of Education at the University of Papua New Guinea, and more recently has participated in the Latin American UNESCO review of teacher policies. She has carried out consultancy work for several international organisations including The World Bank, UNESCO/OREALC, the Academy for Educational Development as well as on request of countries in Uruguay and Bolivia. She has published extensively on themes related to teachers, teacher education, policy and educational development both in Spanish and English. She has also contributed with articles to several International Handbooks on Leadership, Educational Change, School Improvement, Continuing Professional Development of Teachers and the International Handbook of Teacher Education.

Tracey Burns, a Canadian national, is a Project Leader and Analyst in the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation at the OECD. She is responsible for the publication Trends Shaping Education 2013 and the Trends Shaping Education Spotlight series. She also leads the Governing Complex Education Systems project, which looks at the challenges that governments face in steering complex education systems and the role of knowledge in that process. Also at the OECD she has previously worked on projects on Teacher Education for Diversity, Systemic Innovation in Education, and Evidence-based Policy Research in Education. Previous to her current work she worked on social determinants of health and on education and social inclusion issues at both the OECD and in Vancouver, Canada. Tracey holds a Bachelor of Arts from McGill University, Canada and a Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology from Northeastern University, United States.

Alejandro Morduchowicz, an Argentinian national, is Education Lead Specialist at the Education Division of the Inter-American Development Bank. He is based in the Country Office of Guatemala in charge of operations in that country. He is a researcher and senior economist specialised in education planning, management, public policy analysis, economics and financing. In the field of management and planning he has worked in the development and implementation of reengineering education administration systems, in the design and management of teacher careers and has carried out different studies about teacher administration, school effectiveness and sectorial planning of supply and demand.

With regard to the field of economics and financing he has participated in the design of models to optimise the efficiency of resources allocation in education. He has also elaborated studies about human capital, resources allocation in education, and equity and efficiency of public school finance. He has written many papers on the above mentioned subjects. He holds a degree in Economics from the Universidad de Buenos Aires and a postgraduate degree in Economics from the Instituto de Torcuato Di Tella.

Thomas Radinger, a German national, is a Policy Analyst with the OECD Directorate for Education and Skills. He joined the Organisation in September 2011 to contribute to the OECD Review on Evaluation and Assessment Frameworks for Improving School Outcomes. Thomas is a co-author of the project's final synthesis report "Synergies for Better Learning" (2013) and took the lead in the analysis of school leader appraisal. Between October 2012 and January 2015, he was involved with the development of the OECD Education GPS, an online platform to disseminate OECD data and research on education to a broader audience. As of February 2015, Thomas is working with the OECD School Resources Review team.

Paulo Santiago, a Portuguese national, is a Senior Analyst in the OECD Directorate for Education and Skills, where he has been since 2000. He is currently the co-ordinator of the OECD School Resources Review. He has previously assumed responsibility for three major cross-country reviews, each with the participation of over 20 countries: a review of teacher policy (2002-05), leading to the OECD publication "Teachers Matter"; the thematic review of tertiary education (2005-08), leading to the OECD publication "Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society"; and a review of evaluation and assessment policy at the school level (2009-13), leading to the OECD publication "Synergies for Better Learning". He has also led reviews of teacher policy, tertiary education policy and educational evaluation policy in over 25 countries. He holds a Ph.D. in Economics from Northwestern University, United States, where he also lectured. He co-ordinated the review and acted as rapporteur for the review team.

ANNEX C

Visit programme

Tuesday, 17 March 2015, Montevideo	
08:30-10:30	**National Institute for Educational Evaluation** (*Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa*, INEEd): Opening meeting ● Members of the governing board ● Members of the executive directorate and the technical units
11:30-12:30	**National Public Education Administration (ANEP)** ● Pre-primary and Primary Education Council (*Consejo de Educación Inicial y Primaria,* CEIP) ● General Director and remaining Counsellors of CEIP
12:30-13:30	**National Public Education Administration (ANEP)** ● Secondary Education Council (*Consejo de Educación Secundaria,* CES) ● General Director of CES
14:30-15:45	**Thematic Discussion: School Funding and Budget** ● ANEP-Central Governing Council (*Consejo Directivo Central,* CODICEN) ● Sectoral Directorate of Planning and Budget ● Sectoral Directorate of Economy and Finance ● CEIP: Administrative Planning Division ● CES: Directorate of Policy and Budget and Finance Division ● Technical and Professional Education Council (*Consejo de Educación Técnico-Profesional,* CETP): Finance and Accounting Programme
16:00-17:15	**Thematic Discussion: Human Resources** ● ANEP-CODICEN: Sectoral Directorate for Human Resources ● CEIP: Division for Human Resources ● CES: Teachers' Department; Division of Competitions for Teaching Positions; Division for non-teaching staff ● CETP: Division for Human Resources
17:15-18:30	**Thematic Discussion: Analysis, Evaluation, Statistics and Planning** ● ANEP-CODICEN: Sectoral Directorate for Educational Planning ● CEIP: Education Planning Division ● CES: Directorate for Planning and Educational Evaluation ● CETP: Education Planning Division
Wednesday, 18 March 2015, Montevideo	
08:30-11:00	**SCHOOL VISIT 1:** Liceo No. 58 "Mario Benedetti", Montevideo Secondary education, general programmes (CES) ● Group of students ● Group of teachers ● School management
11:30-12:30	**CES Inspection** General Inspector
16:30-17:15	**Ministry of Economy and Finance** The following meetings were originally planned for this afternoon but cancelled: Office of Planning and Budget (*Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto*, OPP); and CEIP Inspection.

Thursday, 19 March 2015, Paysandú	
13:30-16:30	**SCHOOL VISIT 2:** Escuela Aprender No. 87, Paysandú Primary education with pre-primary education (CEIP) ● School management ● Group of teachers ● Group of students ● Representatives of parents
17:00-17:45	**Departmental Co-ordinating Commission for Education of the Department of Paysandú** (*Comisión Coordinadora Departamental de la Educación*) ● CES Regional Inspector ● Director of *Instituto de Formación Docente* of Paysandú (Teacher Education Institutes, IFD)
18:00-18:45	**Regional Campus of the CETP, Paysandú** Director
Friday, 20 March 2015, Río Negro and Flores	
08:30-11:00	**SCHOOL VISIT 3:** Escuela Técnica de Young, Río Negro Secondary education with technical-professional programmes (CETP) ● School management ● Group of teachers ● Group of students
14:00-16:30	**SCHOOL VISIT 4:** Escuela Rural Paraje Andresito, Flores Rural common primary school with pre-primary education and Years 7, 8 and 9 ● School management ● Group of teachers ● Group of students ● Representatives of parents
Monday, 23 March 2015, Montevideo	
08:30-11:00	**SCHOOL VISIT 5:** Escuela urbana común No.7, Cerrito, Montevideo Common primary school with pre-primary education ● School management ● Group of teachers ● Group of students ● Representatives of parents
12:00-12:45	**Association of Institutes in Private Education** (*Asociación de Institutos de la Educación Privada*, AIDEP) ● General Director
12:45-13:30	**Uruguayan Association of Catholic Education** (*Asociación Uruguaya de Educación Católica*, AUDEC) ● General Director
14:30-15:30	**National Public Education Administration (ANEP)** The Teacher Training Council (*Consejo de Formación en Educación,* CFE) ● General Director of CFE
15:30-16:30	**Thematic Discussion: Infrastructure** ● ANEP-CODICEN: Sectoral Directorate for Infrastructure ● CEIP: Division for Maintenance and Small Works ● CES: Division for Infrastructure ● CETP: Architecture Division
16:30-17:15	**The Child and Adolescent Institute of Uruguay** (*Instituto del Niño y Adolescente del Uruguay*, INAU) ● General Co-ordinator of Early Childhood Policy
17:15-18:00	**National Public Education Administration (ANEP)** ● General Internal Audit
Tuesday, 24 March 2015, Montevideo and San José	
08:30-11:00	**SCHOOL VISIT 6:** Liceo Rincón de la Bolsa, Ciudad del Plata, San José Secondary education, general programmes (CES) ● School management ● Group of teachers ● Group of students
12:00-13:30	**Seminar with Uruguayan researchers** ● Lucas D'Avenia, Universidad de la República, Uruguay, Faculty of Humanities and Educational Sciences ● Pablo Mazzini, Consultant ● Denise Vaillant, Institute of Education, Universidad ORT, Uruguay ● Adriana Aristimuño, Faculty of Human Sciences, Catholic University of Uruguay
14:30-18:30	**Review team meeting**

Wednesday, 25 March 2015, Montevideo	
08:30-09:30	**Teachers Technical Assemblies** (*Asambleas Técnico Docentes*) Teacher Advisory Councils to the ANEP ● CES ● CETP ● CFE
09:30-10:15	**Teacher unions** ● Uruguayan Federation of Primary School Teachers (FUM) ● Public general secondary school teachers in the National Federation of Secondary School Teachers (FENAPES) ● Public professional and technical school teachers in the Staff Association of the Uruguayan University of Labour (AFUTU) The meeting did not take place given the absence of teacher union representatives.
10:30-11:15	**Programme Directors in charge of Inspection Services, CETP**
11:30-12:30	**Non-governmental organisations in the education sector** ● Liceo Jubilar ● Instituto del Hombre ● El Abrojo ● Centro Educativo Espigas
12:30-13:40	**Ministry of Education and Culture** ● National Director of Education
14:00-15:30	**Final delivery by review team: Preliminary impressions** ● ANEP-CODICEN (President, Counsellor) ● ANEP-CFE (General Director, Counsellors) ● ANEP-CETP (General Director) ● INEEd ● Stakeholders
15:30-16:30	**Initial preparation and professional development of teachers and school leaders** Representatives of providers: ● Normal Institute of Technical Education (Instituto Normal de Enseñanza Técnica, INET) ● Regional Centre for Teachers – Centre (Centro Regional de Profesores – Centro, CERP Centro) ● Regional Centre for Teachers – South (Centro Regional de Profesores – Sur, CERP – Sur) ● Teacher Education Institute of Canelones (Instituto de Formación Docente de Canelones, IFD) ● Teacher Education Institute of San José (Instituto de Formación Docente de San José, IFD) ● University ORT of Uruguay ● Catholic University of Uruguay
16:30-17:30	**CEIP Inspection** ● Technical inspector

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Uruguay

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