Teaching-life Histories: An Analysis of Initial and Continuing Training for Twenty-first-century Teachers*

Testimonios de vida docente: un análisis de la formación inicial y continua para el profesorado del siglo XXI

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Abstract: This research analyses the teaching practice of retired teachers with the objective of inquiring into the initial and continuing training that twenty-first-century teachers need. To this end, a semistructured interview was conducted with an incidental, non-probabilistic sample of 325 participants and performed quantitative analysis of the data with SPSS 23. The descriptive parameters were produced using frequency

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analysis. Contingency tables were produced to verify if sex or year of birth explained perceptions of the training required of to be a good teacher. The results revealed significant differences between those born before 1948 and those born after that year.

Keywords: Continuing education, Lifelong learning, Teachers, Twenty-first century.

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Resumen: Esta investigación analiza la práctica docente de maestros jubilados con el objetivo de indagar en la formación inicial y continua necesaria para el profesorado del siglo XXI. Se realizó una entrevista semiestructurada a una muestra de 325 participantes de carácter incidental no probabilístico, analizando cuantitativamente los datos con el programa estadístico SPSS 23. Se realizaron tablas de contingencia para

comprobar si el sexo o el año de nacimiento explican las percepciones sobre los requisitos formativos necesarios para ser un buen maestro. Los resultados arrojaron diferencias significativas entre los nacidos antes de 1948 y después de esa fecha.

Palabras clave: Formación continua, Formación permanente, Maestros, Siglo XXI.

HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE

here can be no doubt that, over the course of its long history, the school has created what has become known as "school culture". This type of culture, which has become a record of daily classrooms life from past eras, reveals the influences of scientific and pedagogical theories and the application of policies that are consistent with the prevailing ideology at any given moment, but above all it reveals educational praxis. This is what has been called "the school's empirical culture": distinguishing features of the vocation and a professional culture defined and accredited by experience (Escolano Benito, 2002; 2016). This study will make use of teachers' experiential epistemology not only to examine the present, but also to derive insights that could serve future teachers in the twenty-first century.

As a historical object, the school has had a relatively short lifespan. Its beginnings can be traced to Dominique Juliá's study (1995), which focuses on understanding the school's inner life –that is, what happens in its classrooms each day. Microhistories and ethnographies of the school characterize students and teachers in the context of the day-to-day work that goes on in classrooms. They are therefore an effort to understand the history of the school in fine detail.

In parallel with this interest in understanding the intrahistory of the school (Ruiz Berrio, 2006), there has been an impetus for the creation and expansion of education museums whose objectives centre on the restoration, conservation, custody and dissemination of educational heritage. In 2010, the University of Salamanca created the Centro Museo Pedagógico de la Universidad de Salamanca (University of Salamanca Museum Centre for Pedagogy; CeMuPe), whose remit is to fulfil a social, pedagogical and historical role by training generations of teachers on a personal and intellectual level. Education museums are clearly now a phenomenon, and they are not about collecting or exhibiting objects but are institutions that interact with the society and environment around them. In CeMuPe's case, the objective is to allow university students to take part in interpreting the genesis and evolution of and the changes within educational processes over the course of time.

The interest in the historical aspects of educational praxis and teacher training is increasingly present, as not only the growing historiography on the subject shows, but also the inclusion of these lines of research in the current training development of prospective teachers and, even, their appeal for a general audience. In any case, it is about emphasising how these processes originate and evolve in a given time through a look from inside the school.

A tangible result of the afore mentioned interest is the growing awareness, conservation and enhancement of the historical-educational heritage for the study and analysis of school culture. In this sense, life stories emerge as key elements of the so-called oral culture of the school (Martín Fraile 2017). The importance of oral culture, within the school culture, lies in the need to fill the silences and absences that material sources entail. For this reason, life stories "are not just another method or technique, it is a unique perspective of analysis as they are capable of synthesizing what historical reality has made of people" (Hinojosa Luján, 2012, p. 63).

The research that we present here, which focuses on interviews with retired teachers, has provided very diverse and thorough information on teachers' initial and continuing training, indicating what the characteristics of such training should be in the twenty-first century. The study highlights the value of oral testimonies, as it rests upon the practical experience lived by teachers during the exercise of their professional career, which should be used and taken into account as a basis for the training of the teacher of the XXI century. It is, therefore, part of the intangible legacy of the school, a heritage that should be preserved, revalued, studied and transmitted to improve teacher training and move the study of the History of Education forward.

TEACHER TRAINING TODAY AND TEACHER LIFE HISTORIES

Initial and continuous training

In general, there are currently two opposing models in infant and primary-level teacher training. Prats (2016) sums this point up concisely: on the one hand, there is a training model that is focused on professional and professionalizing teaching, and on the other, there is the Anglo-Saxon model, which is pragmatic but does not feature epistemological reflection. Prats (2016) asserts that the current framework navigates between

models that encourage transversal or fundamental competencies and those which are not limited to particular professional skills; between training fo-

cused on the school as an operations centre and theoretical training with an eye on practice; between orientation toward educators' ethical engagement as independent professionals and a focus on their specialization as officiants of decisions made far from the school; and between models based on universities and ones that involve alternative paths (p. 27).

Based on such premises, the European Higher Education Area has updated training and selection systems for teachers, though it is interesting to examine the institutional context in which these two processes are carried out. According to Álvarez López (2015), international bodies such as UNESCO, the OECD or the EU itself have not been particularly explicit when it has come to establishing a mechanism for access to the teaching profession; there have only been "generalist intentions". However, producing a more detailed analysis, Álvarez López agrees with other authors such as Valle (2012) insofar as there is a model for the obtaining of professional, practical and research competencies in which it is primarily public administrations that lead the process of selecting teachers (Álvarez López, 2015).

In the case of Spain, Baelo and Arias (2011) have conducted a thorough study of the training model that emerged after the passing of the Organization of the General Educational System Act of 1990. This model took a critical view of its predecessor, which was promoted by the General Education Act of 1970 and was a technical or technocratic model that trained teachers in the acquisition of technical knowledge, planning of teaching, evaluation by objectives and so forth. The new approach presented a model that involves reflection on practice, in which the teacher is a researcher in the classroom and reflection on activities is prized. However, by the twenty-first century, these reforms, especially in relation to teacher training, were incomplete. This was what the former general secretary of education Alejandro Tiana asserted in a volume edited by Ayala and Luzón and entitled La Formación del Profesorado en el siglo XXI (2013). Tiana reflects on two categories of problems here. On the one hand are the mode and model of training adopted, for which a more balanced interaction with the whole educational system should be sought. On the other is the discrepancy between reforms of initial teacher training and the teaching profession itself; there has not been an improvement in the quality of work performed by teachers, who lack incentives in several areas -for example, continuing training and teamworking.

There is a general agreement over the distinction drawn between initial training and continuing training within the stages of educators' training. However, many authors have noted a lack of consistency between teachers' initial training and their continuing training. For example, a study by Cantón Mayo, Cañón and Arias

(2013) based on a sample of new teachers highlights a lack of links between initial training and teachers' practical needs. Also located within this line of research is a study by Valle and Manso (2014) that reveals that although initial teaching experience is of great use for acquiring the competencies involved in being a professional teacher (64% of the sample), it is insufficient: more than three-quarters (77%) of the sample disagreed that there was currently a link between initial training and the undertaking of professional teaching activities, and 82.6% advocated a specific initial training programme.

Some bodies have sought solutions to this divorce between initial training and teaching practices. The conclusions on the role of today's teachers that emerged from Spain's Twenty-First Meeting of Autonomous Communities' School Boards (2015) highlighted what was needed in the two areas of teacher training. First, in terms of initial training, there was a call to build a well-defined professional identity and tailor a programme that allows solid preparation that accords with the professional competencies required for teaching. On the other hand, it was held that continuing training should be considered as a teacher's right and duty and that there should be an updating and adapting of it in response to social changes, in addition to teachers' being provided with shared environments for reflection and learning within the schools where they work.

These are not easy tasks, as achieving efficaciousness requires the establishment of "an unbroken continuity in training that covers initial teacher education, introduction to the profession and continuing, career-long professional development that includes opportunities for formal, informal and nonformal learning" (Tejeda, 2016, p. 178). This was suggested by Spain's Conference of Deans and Heads of Educational Institutions (2018), which understands training and access to the teaching profession today as a continuous process in which it is essential to develop a framework that ensures a professional career, something that does not exist at present in Spain. To this end, the proposal has been made, first of all, to offer high-quality initial training that is based on scientific knowledge of the education sciences and is suited to the needs of the system and of teaching professionals. Second, with regard to continuing training, the goal must be to strengthen the public network for permanent training (structures and programmes) through collaboration with universities' education faculties and schools.

There has therefore clearly been a search for consensus over a profile of professional competencies for teaching that offers continuity and coherence to both initial and continuing training. Such a profile must also include ICT skills, which are required in today's society and are an indispensable and transversal part of both the training of future teachers and continuing training. However, recent stud-

ies seem to indicate that teachers have not sufficiently developed digital competencies, and a lack of ICT training in university classrooms has been highlighted (Llamas and Macías, 2018). Similar conclusions were reached by Romero-Martín, Castejón-Oliva, López-Pastor y Fraile-Aranda, (2017), whose study aimed to analyse the acquisition of competencies of this type in teachers' initial and continuing training within higher education at various levels across practically the whole of Spain. The investigation revealed that among teaching staff there is a high level of perception in terms of the use of ICT, but teachers' attitudes condition whether the introduction of it is accepted or rejected. Moreover, this and other studies (Tárraga Mínguez, Sanz-Cervera, Pastor Cerezuela and Fernández Andrés, 2017) indicate the existence of a paradox in terms of levels of digital literacy among future teachers, who have very positive ideas about their grasp of ICT that contrast with the didactic and pedagogical use that they make of digital tools. However, there is a unanimous view that ICT skills are key to improving teaching and learning processes.

Life histories from the past for the present life

Based on the above premises, this paper is part of a larger research project, that of collecting oral and written testimonies from teachers who were born in the first half of the 20th century. It is a fundamental primary source for a historical reconstruction of the School meaning and life. Thus, a deep and critical analysis of life in the school of the twentieth century can be carried out through the historical record and reconstruction of testimonies in a geographical space that corresponds to the provinces of Salamanca, Zamora and Ávila (university district of Salamanca).

The analysis of cases will also let us bring to the present life histories of those teachers that for their interest justify a more specific research, rescuing from oblivion the memory of those who have dedicated their life to teaching in a model way. In addition, it provides enough information to carry out a comparative study of different subjects, their presence and their importance in the curriculum, the methodology used, etc.

Specifically, the main objective in this paper is to ascertain what students and teachers know about the teaching profession that they work in or are about to work in, and the bearing of this on initial and continuing training and on all contributory aspects. As Esteve (2014) argues, "in the knowledge society, the quality of the educational system and teacher training are key elements, because to improve economic development we need to maintain an educational system that trains people to an advanced scientific and technical level" (p. 20).

To this end, nothing surpasses highlighting the importance of those who have dedicated their entire working lives to this vocation: retired teachers. They are a source of great potential owing to the fact that they are located at the crossroads of the end of their teaching careers and can therefore providing doubly valuable information. First of all, their retrospective view offers the key aspects of the initial and continuing training that they received, which will of course have been conditioned by the historical context of their life cycles. In a profession in which experience is the basis of the daily praxis, this aspect has scarcely been the focus of research produced to date, meaning that their testimony, which in itself is already valuable, has something new to offer. Second, precisely because they are at a turning point in their lives, retired teachers' reflections have an element of *paideia*, true teaching about the forms that "knowing how to be" and "knowing how to do" should take in teacher training delivered at the higher-education level.

In short, the aim is to provide keys and guidelines for carrying out the duties of the teaching profession by using teachers' prior knowledge to face the future's challenges. This implies, as Bolívar (2014, p. 715) argues, transforming life stories into life histories, which will allow them to be understood and placed in the sociocultural context to which they belong.

METHODOLOGY

Education museums in general, and the CeMuPe in particular, have focused their gaze on studying and investigating educational heritage. As Shigunov, Fortunato and Touriñán (2017) have stated, setting up a museum is not only a commendable endeavour but also a historically and didactically focused way to link museums and education. This is so because education museums entail understanding the museum as an educational environment and allow education to be undertaken based on formal, nonformal and informal processes in pursuit of common, specific and specialized learning.

In the framework of CeMuPe activities there are three open lines of research. The first two are material culture (didactic resources, furniture, fixtures and school tools, photographs) and written culture (textbooks, school notebooks, educational serials, miscellaneous documents). And a third line is provided by historical-educational and nonmaterial heritage that is about to disappear and is fragile and intangible in nature: the oral culture transmitted by the school's leading players, namely teachers and students, via their testimonies. This study focuses on the latter line –that is, investigation of this oral culture and the subsequent creation of an archive of "teaching-life stories" from retired teachers. Gradual and complex work

has resulted in the creation of the CeMuPe's "Teachers' Archive," which consists of 1,500 booklets in which each teacher has left an imprint of his or her life in the school, as well as of his or her duties and feelings (Martín Fraile, 2017).

In this context, an investigation that starts from a sample of 325 interviews with retired teachers is presented. These interviews were collected in teacher's booklets by the research team and collaborating students of the Project, which this study is part of. Each interview consists of a set of questions for retired teachers of various ages and backgrounds. Its analysis, following a twofold qualitative and qualitative methodological strategy, allowed us to obtain very diverse and complete information about pre-service and in-service teacher training; this information was based on the own experience of retired teachers that, at the same time, shall serve as a reflection for the future of the teaching profession.

Participants

This study is part of a larger investigation that seeks to analyse the testimonies and experiences of retired infant and/or primary-level teachers who worked in different rural and urban schools in Spain.

The sample of people who participated in this study in 2017 is incidental and not probabilistic. It comprises 325 testimonies from retired teachers who worked in the autonomous communities of Castilla y León and Extremadura. They were between 61 and 94 years of age, and the average age was 72 (SD=6.11). Women made up 65.7% of the sample and men 32.2% (Table 1).

Table 1. Frequency according to participants' sex

SEX	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	VALID PERCENTAGE	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE
Valid	Female	218	65.7	67.1
	Male	107	32.2	32.9
	Total	325	97.9	100.0
Missing	System	7	6.9	
Total	332	100.0		

Note: Compiled by the authors.

According to a distribution of age groups (Table 2), 51.2% were born before 1948 and 41.9% after that year; the remaining percentage corresponds to missing data (6.9%). As will be seen, whether a participant was born before or after 1948 produces significant differences in terms of the elements analysed.

Table 2. Frequency according to participants' age

AGE GROUP	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	VALID PERCENTAGE	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE	
Valid	<=1948	170	51.2	55.0	55.0
	>1948	139	41.9	45.0	100.0
	Total	309	93.1	100.0	
Missing	System	23	6.9		
Total	332	100.0			

Note: Compiled by the authors.

In terms of analysis of sample members' qualifications, the majority of the teachers who took part (81.3) completed teacher-training degrees (known in Spain as a *magisterio*) with different specialities (Table 3). A total of 9% took teacher training focused on infant education, and approximately 5% studied other degrees related to education, among which the fields of pedagogy and psychology stand out.

Table 3. Participants' qualifications

	QUALIFICATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	VALID PERCENTAGE	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE	
Valid	General teacher training	157	47.1	49.4	85.2	55.0
	Primary-level teacher training	84	25.2	26.4	35.8	100.0
	Infant-level teacher training	30	9.0	9.4	9.4	
	Basic general education teacher training	30	9.0	9.4	94.7	
	Pedagogy	5	1.5	1.6	96.2	
	Psychology	3	.9	.9	97.2	
	Others	9	2.7	2.8	100.0	
	Total	318	95.5	100.0		
Missing	System	15	4.5			
Total	Total	333	100.0			

Note: Compiled by the authors.

Instrument

To conduct this study, oral and direct interviews with the teachers were used as the only procedure. These were structured through a set of *ad hoc* questions collected in writing that focused on aspects such their teaching experience, educational practices, conception of the magisterium, the social function of teaching and their outlook for teaching as a profession. We have described the design, development and validation of the survey in other studies (Fraile, 2015; 2017). Specifically, in this research we analysed answers to the question: *What initial and continuing training should teachers undertake?*

Teachers' oral and written testimonies are an essential primary source and instrument for research. Through their stories, it is possible to undertake a historical reconstruction of the meaning of the school and of school life. A collective record, even if it is expressed by individuals via their memories of their teaching lives, is the "footprint" of a fragile, living testimony that is on the verge of disappearance and that constitutes oral memory. The research conducted at the CeMuPe, meanwhile, entails a reconstruction or oral history based on these testimonies, through which it is possible to access the history of the school on the one hand and the mission –vesterday and in the future– of the teacher in the school on the other.

Procedure

The research deploys a methodology that is both quantitative and qualitative. After we collected the 1,500 oral testimonies, we randomly selected 325 of the teachers' views to analyse their perceptions on the training that should be required to produce a good teacher. We conducted a content analysis, through which we obtained the categories that were most frequently repeated in the teachers' responses. These were as follows: the need for continuing training, ICT training, training in didactics and practical methodology, cultural training and content, training in educational psychology, training in school management, training in personal aptitudes and values, diversity-awareness training and training in family-school mediation.

Through this approach, and taking advantage of the existence of the CeMuPe, we designed an activity together with students at the Zamora Teacher Training University College (Escuela Universitaria de Magisterio de Zamora). Retired teachers who were willing to conduct an oral interview that was simultaneously recorded in writing were selected. With this interview information that provides an understanding of the key aspects of their profession could be obtained. The activity design required each student to contact one of these retired teachers and conduct several

meetings with that person, in which answers to the questions were given. In turn, the students had to record their responses in writing in a booklet for this purpose.

Having established the categories, we performed quantitative analysis of the data with SPSS 23. The descriptive parameters were produced via frequency analysis. To ascertain if sex or year of birth explain perceptions on the training that should be required to produce a good teacher, we produced contingency tables. Sex and year of birth were the independent (or explanatory) variables and "training needs" was the dependent variable.

RESULTS

Table four presents the frequencies of the nine most common categories from the teachers' responses to the question about the type of training that they believe a teacher should have.

Table 4. The most frequent categories on training that a teacher must have

PROFILE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Need for continuing training	246	74.1
Didactics and practical methodology	149	44.9
Training in ICT	130	39.2
Cultural training and content	116	34.9
Training in educational psychology	100	30.1
Training in personal aptitudes and values	46	13.9
Diversity-awareness training	16	4.8
Training in school management	12	3.6
Family-school mediation training	10	3.0
Others	33	9.9

Note: Compiled by the authors.

As can be seen, the need for continuing training turns out to be the most common category in the teachers' responses (74.1%), followed by training in didactics and practical methodology (45%) and training in ICT (39.2%). This is what testimonies assure:

El maestro debe reciclarse continuamente, estar atento a las nuevas tecnologías y tendencias pedagógicas" (Subject n.º 754, 74 years old, Salamanca). Los profesores que desarrollamos la labor en Educación Primaria debemos contar con una sólida formación científica tecnológica polivalente... Los últimos cursos que he realizado han sido sobre las nuevas tecnologías" (Subject n.º 742, 71 years old, Béjar, Salamanca).

Cultural training and training in educational psychology were mentioned respectively by 35% and 30% of the sample, as the testimony of subject n.° 590 proves:

El maestro en el periodo de estudio debe adquirir una amplia formación cultural, así como una sólida base de conocimientos específicos del área o áreas que va a impartir (Subject n.º 590, 70 years old, Cerecinos del Carrizal, Zamora).

By contrast, training in school management and in family-school mediation situations were the least frequent (3.6% and 3.0%). The participating teachers did not consider them relevant to be a good teacher relative to other categories that they considered more important.

By complementing this study's quantitative data with a qualitative study of the comments from the teachers, it was possible to ascertain that many of the teachers emphasize that "training should be mandatory, be conducted in the school itself and within working hours, and take into account stages, years, levels and subjects" (subject n.° 424) and highlight the positive value of exchanging experiences with peers during training courses (subjects n.° 1.000, 439 and 920).

Table five contains the frequency and percentages of positive responses by sex and by the training need, and it also contains the experimental value (Chi square), the p value and the contingency coefficient from the test carried out to verify the strength of the relationship between both variables. As the table shows, although the frequencies in terms of the perceptions of men and women are different, with the percentage from women being greater than that from men, these differences are not significant.

Table 5. Differences by sex in teachers' perception of training needs

TRAINING NEEDS	SEX	FREQUENCY	% WITHIN SEX	% WITHIN TRAINING	VALUE	P-VALUE	CONTING COEFF
	Female	165	75.7	68.2	.52	.47	.004
Continuing training	Male	77	72.0	31.8	-		
ICTTi-i	Female	86	39.4	67.2	.00	.97	.00
ICT Training	Male	42	39.3	32.8			
Training in practical	Female	96	44.0	66.2	.09	.76	.02
methodology	Male	49	45.8	33.8			
Cultural training and	Female	81	37.2	71.7	1.66	.20	.07
content	Male	32	29.9	28.3	_		
Training in educational	Female	61	28.0	62.9	1.10	.29	.06
psychology	Male	36	33.6	37.1			
Training in school	Female	8	3.7	66.7	.00	.97	.00
management	Male	4	3.7	33.3	_		
Training in personal	Female	28	12.8	62.2	56	.45	.04
aptitudes and values	Male	17	15.9	37.8	.30	.43	.04
Diversity-awareness	Female	10	4.6	62.5	15	70	.02
training	Male	6	5.6	37.5	15	.70	.02
Family-school mediation	Female	6	2.8	60.0	23	22 62	.03
training	Male	4	3.7	40.0	.23	.63	.03

Note: Compiled by the authors.

In terms of the differences between teachers born before 1948 and those born after that year, it must be said that the relationship between the year of birth and the need for ICT training, training in practical methodologies, cultural training and training in educational psychology is significant. The association between them is moderate, as the contingency coefficient shows.

This is also reflected in certain testimonies that consider other resources more important than ICT:

Las nuevas tecnologías solo las utilizaría como complemento, nunca sustituyendo ni al libro, ni al cuaderno (Subject nº 1154, 75 years old, Alba de Tormes, Salamanca).

Instead, teachers born after 1948 considered training in ICT, in practical methodologies and in educational psychology to be more relevant. As subject n.° 808 indicates,

[...] la formación continua es necesaria para no quedarse anclado en el pasado. Un ejemplo muy significativo de mi generación ha sido la formación y adaptación de las nuevas tecnologías. Hay quien siguió aferrado a la tiza y el encerado y quien se adaptó a las nuevas herramientas de trabajo (Subject n.º 808, 68 years old, Villavieja de Yeltes, Salamanca).

By contrast, those born before 1948 perceived cultural training to be more important (Table 6).

Table 6. Differences between teachers born before 1948 and those born after 1948 in relation to the training required to be a good teacher

TRAINING REQUIREMENTS	AGE GROUP	FREQUENCY	% WITHIN BIRTH YEAR.	% WITHIN TRAINING	VALUE	P-VALUE	CONTING COEFF
	< 1948	126	74.1	55.0	.00	.99	.00
Continuing training	>1948	103	74.1	45.0			
ICTT ::	< 1948	49	28.8	39.5	20.7	.00*	.25
ICT Training	>1948	75	54.0	60.5			
Training in practical	< 1948	53	31.2	37.9	.09	.00*	.30
methodology	>1948	87	62.6	62.1			
Cultural training and	< 1948	80	47.1	72.1	20.36	.00*	.25
content	>1948	31	22.3	27.9			
Training in educational	< 1948	33	19.4	35.1	21.64	.00*	.26
psychology	>1948	61	43.9	64.9			
Training in school	< 1948	3	1.8	27.3	3.55	.06	.11
management	>1948	8	5.8	72.7			
Training in personal	< 1948	20	11.8	47.6	1.07	.30	.06
aptitudes and values	>1948	22	15.8	52.4			

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Table 6. Differences between teachers born before 1948 and those born after 1948 in relation to the training required to be a good teacher

TRAINING REQUIREMENTS	AGE GROUP	FREQUENCY	% WITHIN BIRTH YEAR.	% WITHIN TRAINING	VALUE	P-VALUE	CONTING COEFF
	< 1948	5	3.0	31.3	3.80	.05*	.11
Diversity-awareness training	>1948	11	7.9	68.8			
Family-school mediation	< 1948	4	2.4	40.0	.94	.33	.05
training	>1948	6	4.3	60.0			

Note: Compiled by the authors.

DISCUSSION

Teacher training must take into account the world within which teaching duties will be conducted, and so the responsible institutions must make decisions about the competencies involved in and the meaning of being a teacher today. Therefore, the current social demands placed on teachers entail the assumption of responsibilities that previously corresponded to the family, such as "personal independence and development, a critical spirit and the transmission of values and culture, as well as other new social functions such as conflict resolution, mediation, orientation, encouragement and social assistance" (Zapico-Barbeito, Martínez Piñeiro and Montero Mesa, 2017, p. 87). These demands are complicated by teachers' lack of social recognition, which is explained by the low criteria for access to qualifications, excessive student enrolment and training that could be improved. Social engagement and a global view should characterize the twenty-first-century teacher (Bona, 2016), and to these it is necessary to add, as we mentioned at the beginning of this study, adequate training in ICT, which has a transversal effect on both initial and continuing teacher training.

And as Esteve states (2014), the keys to the twenty-first-century world are education, human capital and the knowledge society. In this regard, education "in the latter half of the twentieth century ceased to be considered exclusively as an element for students' personal development and began to be planned with social objectives on the basis that it was considered one of the basic economic drivers" (p. 18). The substantial differences in the results that we have observed over the course of this investigation should be interpreted in precisely this context. On the one hand, the group of teachers born before 1948 tended to stress above all a form

of teacher training based on cultural knowledge and disciplinary content, just as their state-school-focused training did. On the other hand, it seems that teachers born after this year lean more toward training in ICT, inclusion and methodologies. These conclusions can be compared with those from the study by Valle and Manso (2014), which reveals that 38% of respondents attached more importance to knowledge than they did to didactic-pedagogical training. The remaining 62% took the opposite view.

To explain the factors that make teachers attribute greater relevance to one aspect or another, it is necessary to examine the educational and historical context that they have lived through. In the case of those born before 1948, the answer might be found in the training received during the Spanish Second Republic and, above all, in the first stage of the Franco era. It is true that the Second Republic promoted reform of Normal Schools (1931), establishing cultural, professional and teaching-practice components within teacher training (Pérez, 2000, p. 319). But it is no less true that, due to the limited lifespan of the republican system, such reforms would have had a low impact on the sample of teachers that we worked with.

Francoism's educational legislation is another matter entirely. This was the period when the majority of those born before 1948 would have undertaken training and teaching, and it would explain the importance that they attributed to content over the other aspects. The Primary Education Act (1945), which drew on values identified with the regime's ideology, gave great weight to subject-knowledge training: religion, geography and history (which fell within a subject called "National Spirit Training"), as well as the Spanish language, mathematics and physical education (Egido, 1994, p. 82).

On the other hand, to understand the change in trend among teachers who were born after 1948, it is necessary to consider in detail the string of education laws that characterized the Spanish educational system from the latest stage of Francoism to the democratic transition and the current period (Martín Fraile, 2017), as well as amendments to teacher-training curricula and what all this meant in terms of differences in the initial and continuing training received by the teachers in the sample. In this regard, of particular relevance are the pedagogical developments that resulted in the General Education Act of 1970, the 1971 Pilot Scheme for Teacher Training, the Organization of the General Educational System Act of 1990 and the 1991 teacher-training curriculum. These reforms sought to adjust education to the new times and to the demands of the population in response to new social needs (González Pérez, 2013).

The General Education Act broke with the traditional model for schools and educational practice promoted by national-Catholicism. It initiated a process

of technocratic change in school culture, adapting teaching practice to the new regulations and fostering a process of pedagogical innovation and renewal as well as an openness to the reception of new international currents, the incorporation of innovations and technology in schools, equal opportunities and the professionalization of Spanish teachers (González Pérez, 2013, 2014). The 1971 Pilot Scheme, meanwhile, entailed an improvement in aspiring teachers' professional training. It implemented a pedagogical qualification, updated didactic methodologies and reinforced modern pedagogy, insofar as teachers "were trained in pedagogical and psychological techniques for teaching practice, providing students with abilities, skills and knowledge that are useful to completion of their classroom activities... teaching grounded in the *magisterio* was phased out in the didactic and methodological approaches of the new curriculum" (González Pérez, 2013, p. 36).

This reformism led to the adoption, two decades later, of the Organization of the General Educational System Act (1990) and to a new reform of initial teacher training in the form of the 1991 curriculum. This pair of regulations further encouraged pedagogical, theoretical and practical developments; the incorporation and use of new technologies in the classroom; a new way of approaching diversity; and a greater transformation of teacher training. However, "changes of direction in terms of previous educational guidelines were disconcerting to a substantial proportion of teachers... and there was some resistance to new things" (González Pérez, 2013, p. 35).

Such aspects were precisely what were most highly valued by teachers from this era, as this research, which aligns with other studies such as the afore mentioned work by Valle and Manso (2014), has demonstrated. Primary-level teachertraining practices are inadequate and improvable, with a connection between contents and their specific didactics required. In addition, they stress a lack of training in socio-educational competencies and skills in terms of both the transmission of knowledge and the day-to-day reality of the classroom.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study reflect the clear convergence between the three aspects of school culture –praxis, policies/regulations and theory –as well as the different training needs prioritized by the 325 teachers in the selected sample. The findings reveal the value that retired teaching professionals have to offer when they are given opportunities to be heard, to participate in methodological proposals for learning and to make plans for improvement that then resonate within the profes-

sion. These may serve as a summary of the categories that emerged through teachers' different testimonies.

The relevance of this study lies not only in its results but also in their usefulness when it comes to reflecting on teacher training in the twenty-first century. Throughout the investigation, efforts were made for students who in the future will be teachers to learn first hand and in full voice the opinions of professionals who dedicated their professional lives to educating generations of children. This was why teacher-training students were involved in the completion of tasks with the retired teachers and why subsequently in the classroom they discussed the aspects that most strongly caught their attention, generating intergenerational contexts where they were able to deliberate freely and giving them an essential departure point for reflection in the earliest moments of their professional careers.

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