

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 INEEed is a potential opportunity to systematise this process, but would require extending the mission beyond evaluation to be fully successful. INEEed 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 INEEed 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 INEEed 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 INEEed 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

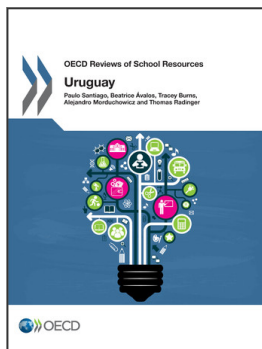
There is a need to raise the status of initial teacher education. The implementation of the plans to establish a National Pedagogic University could help in this respect by providing greater structure to initial teacher education and raising its status to university level. A priority should be to improve 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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