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Articles

Introduction

Gross National Happiness

Other Articles Related to Teaching, Teacher Education, and Curricular Considerations

REFLECTION ON THE 32ND ISFTE SEMINAR, BHUTAN

Introduction

The 32nd ISfTE Seminar was one rare experience that the Paro College of Education, Royal University of Bhutan organized where hundred thirty two delegates from more than twenty countries participated besides twenty two accompanying persons who made it to the seminar. It has set history in the life of ISfTE where a huge number of delegates ever made-it to participate in the tiny Kingdom of the Himalayas. The 32nd ISfTE Seminar achieved one of the philosophical goals of Bhutan that is "Gross National Happiness" where all the participants were contented and returned to their home with a smile besides other unique and rich experiences.

The Preparation of the Seminar

The college decided to form two bodies to organize the 32nd ISfTE Seminar in Bhutan, The Advisory Body and the Organizing Committee. After the formation of these two bodies the job descriptions were laid with the primary objective to make the seminar a success.

Different individuals with various experiences were pulled in the committee to start working towards the preparation of the seminar. We worked on the website, brochures, movie clip to promote maximum participation, sought sponsors, booked hotels, trained guides, and started working on the other organizations to name few. Further, two conveners were sent to attend 31st ISfTE Seminar in Norway basically to observe and learn through their organization and to promote participation for the 32nd ISfTE Seminar.

The whole process of experiences was a memorable one although not to forget that many challenges were confronted to set the seminar. It was a learning experience for most of us who organized the seminar, and we are happy that the seminar was a grand success.

Participants

The table shows a glimpse of the delegates who participated in this historic ISfTE Seminar along with their accompanying persons.

Sl. No.	Country	Number of Participants	Accompanying Person
1	Australia	24	2
2	Bhutan	35	0
3	Brazil	2	1
4	Canada	2	0
5	Denmark	6	1
6	Ecuador	1	0
7	Hong Kong	10	0
8	India	5	1
9	Japan	3	0
10	Nepal	1	0
11	New Zealand	1	1
12	Nigeria	2	0
13	Norway	3	0
14	South Africa	5	3
15	Spain	2	0
16	Taiwan	2	1
17	Thailand	1	0
18	United Kingdom	1	0
19	USA	24	12
20	Vietnam	2	0
	Total	**132**	**22**

Conduct of the 32ⁿᵈ ISfTE Seminar

The seminar began with a welcome dinner and a cultural show where almost all the delegates made it in their colourful clothes. The next day the participants registered for the seminar before entering into the hall for the start of the 32ⁿᵈ ISfTE Seminar. The Honorable Education Minister of Bhutan blessed the opening ceremony of the Seminar where he delivered a powerful speech on the importance of 21ˢᵗ century education and the role of teachers. In the seminar we saw a series of interesting Keynote addresses from different speakers that included Dr. Rajeev Sangal from India, Professor Tom Maxwell from Australia, Dr. Debbie Young from the USA, Dr. Pema Thinley and Dr. Dorji Thinley from Bhutan.

The participants were divided into eleven paper groups in which the participants shared their papers inviting constructive feedback. The paper groups were the highlight of the seminar and most participants shared their satisfaction being a part of the paper group. Apart from the paper group presentations the delegates were taken to a few important places in which they were exposed and experienced the culture and tradition of the country of Bhutan.

Later we saw the Hong Kong conveners present their proposal to host the 33ʳᵈ ISfTE Seminar in Hong Kong in May 2013 and finally it was followed by the presentation of the paper groups that concluded the Seminar with a positive note of happiness.

Feedback of the Seminar

In general the feedback on the conduct of the 32ⁿᵈ ISfTE Seminar was exceptionally good except for few comments to improve on the future conduct of the seminar. The detail report on the feedback by the delegates will be shared at a later date.

Conclusion

On the whole the 32ⁿᵈ ISfTE Seminar was one of the largest in the history of ISfTE and almost all the delegates expressed their satisfaction the way it was conducted. For the College and the organizers it came as a blessing to have hosted such a huge international conference- one of its kind. We look forward hosting a similar one in the near future with better organizational skills and vigor.

Submitted by:
Kezang Tshering, Convener

ABOUT THIS EDITION

All of the articles in this edition of JISTE were originally presented at the seminar in Bhutan. Each article selected for publication received feedback from the paper group in which its author(s) presented it, went through a double-bind review, and further editing by the author(s). Because so many articles were accepted for publication, this edition of JISTE is the largest ever published with 19 articles by 30 authors from nine different countries. Several other articles from the Bhutan seminar will be in the next edition of JISTE.

Peggy J. Saunders and Karen Berg Petersen, Editors

A MODEL FOR REFLECTION TO BE USED IN AUTHENTIC ASSESSMENT IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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Keynote for Bhutan Seminar

Abstract: *In this paper a model for the development of reflection is developed. The model is then linked to Reiman's zone of proximal reflection to show how feedback on authentic assessment tasks can develop micro and macro reflection. Since action research is a complex task also demanding reflection, action research in the final internship is presented as the capstone authentic assessment task in teacher education. Some implications for teacher education are presented.*

Introduction

Teachers develop their knowledges, skills and attitudes through formal and informal pre- and in-service education. In these, reflection is considered integral to professional development (Dewey, 1933; Grundy, 1995; Jones, 2009; Schön, 1983). Thus reflection has been a strong theme of writing in teacher education over the last two decades and more, but a model for development of reflection and how this development is achieved are not well developed. The purpose of this paper is to address these concerns and in passing consider practical ways to deepen reflection.

There has been a considerable amount of writing on "reflection". Ovens (2002) analysed these as three sets of writing which overlap: (a) the situational (e.g. Lave and Wenger – e.g. disassociations from experienced life); (b) the phenomenological (van Manen and Schön – e.g. being "present"); and (c) the critical (the Frankfurt School – e.g. critiquing assumptions) (after Ovens, p. 508-511).

Thought of in another way, Ovens' insights point to three substantive areas of reflection: the situational, the phenomenological and the critical. This is an important insight for teacher educators and is something to which we will return.

Reflection - Some Basics

Dewey (1933) defined reflection as "an active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends" (p. 9) and more recent writings reflect his definition. Dewey (1933) made a qualitative distinction between reflective action and "routine action" (p. 6) which is guided by impulse, tradition and authority. Schön's (1983) reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action are also well known in the teacher education field. What is perhaps less well known is the idea of reflection for action, i.e., an active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge that will be used in the future and its appropriateness for the task.

Perhaps the most generic and thus most helpful work is from van Manen (1977), following Habermas, wherein he proposed a hierarchy of forms of reflection: (a) Technical reflection: efficiency and effectiveness of means for ends, e.g. can the students see the board?; (b) Practical reflection: examines goals and means, their assumptions and outcomes. Understanding is important, e.g. do I have the skills for this task?; and (c) Critical reflection: encompasses the other two above and adds morality, ethics, politics

(justice and equity), and implies action, e.g. whose interests are served?

In the complex world of teaching, each level may be useful in its own right, a point made by Hatton and Smith (1995). Research by Hatton and Smith and others cited by them, indicates that this hierarchy provides the basis for a developmental sequence.

A Model for Reflection Development

The van Manen (1977) hierarchy can be used in teacher education to create an initial, linear model for the development of reflection; from technical to practical then critical reflection. The role of the teacher educator/mentor becomes one of identifying strategies over time for moving the student teacher's reflection deeper. "Deeper" here means from technical through practical to critical reflection although linearity in the social world always needs to be problematised (see the next section). There are clear implications here for teacher education units/subjects and courses/programs. However, this initial model can be extended by considering the interaction between reflection and learning.

Reflection and Learning

Reiman (1999) and Hoffman-Kipp, Artiles, and López-Torres (2003) agree that reflection is both a meta-cognitive and a social practice. Some, e.g. Cranton (2006), place rationality at its heart. I think that rationality has its place but the imagination, intuition, and emotion also play their part (Dirkx, 2001). In terms of what to reflect upon, Kemmis (2009) explained that the foci of reflection need to be held in tension with one another when thinking about practice. We can think of Kemmis' foci as the same as Ovens' three substantive areas of reflection. These ideas can be brought together through the recent doctoral work by Jones (2012).

Jones (2012) carefully analysed 26 case study interviews of intern teachers in the final year of a B.Ed. (Primary). Reflection was central to the study. She was interested in the nature of learning resulting from reflection in and on each intern's self-identified challenge during the internship. She found that the challenge was often accompanied by strong emotions. She used Mezirow's transformative learning (Mezirow & Associates, 2000) as the key theoretical position and in so doing built upon her LEARnT theory of learning (Jones, 2009). In brief, and for the purposes here, Jones (2012) found that for transformative (double loop) learning to occur, interns' reflections: (a) Encompassed prior learning, the problematic/non problematic context and had to have support (belonging) and autonomy [situational]; (b) Included the capacity for presence in the face of challenge, dissonance and highly emotional states [phenomenological]; and (c) Included the propensity to be critical [criticality].

Her work showed that *some* interns can critically reflect upon their practice and that the confluence or combination of the three creates opportunities for deep learning. It is interesting to note that these three findings of Jones' by and large correspond to the three categories identified by Ovens (see square brackets in the three points immediately above) but for deep learning to occur, it appears that all three need to be kept in tension as Kemmis (2009) indicated.

More specifically, Jones' work indicates that the linear model (Figure 1) needs to be refined in a similar way that van Manen suggested: critical reflection encompasses the previous levels (Figure 1). The tension is shown by the double-headed arrows. It is also the case that the higher levels can feedback to the lower levels enabling greater insights (also shown by the double-headed arrows in Figure 1). An important

caveat to the refined model is that even an experienced critical reflecter may find her/himself compelled back to technical

reflection depending on the situation and experience.
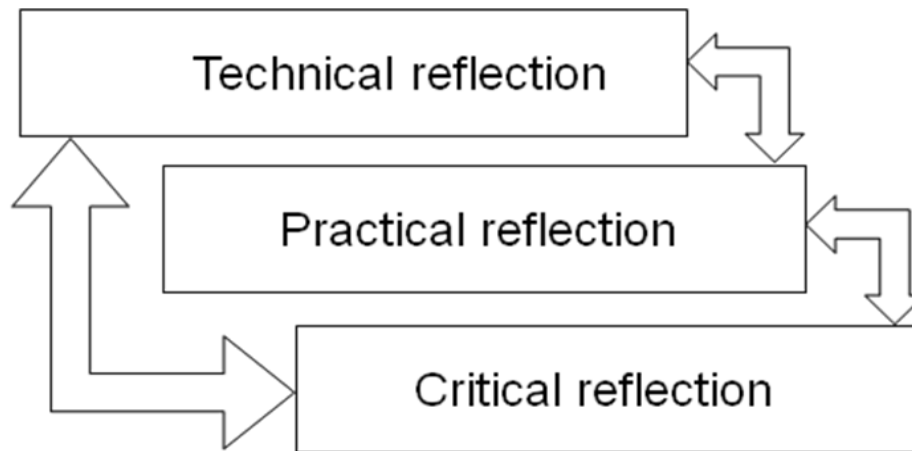
Figure 1. Refined model of micro and macro reflection development

The overall movement from technical through practical to critical reflection is also supported by the well known research of Furlong and Maynard (1995) in which the neophyte teacher initially focuses upon technical matters such as classroom control. The model appears to be appropriate for long term reflection development (macro). Can the model be used at the micro level, say, by the teacher educator? This issue is the subject of the remainder of the article.

Sites for Reflection - Authentic Assignments

There has been some considerable, and appropriate, emphasis on reflection upon practice teaching and the internship (Grushka, McLeod, & Reynolds, 2005). Practica and internships normally happen off campus in the hurly burley of real time, people, and places hence their authenticity. Other authentic sites can be created (Cornish & Jenkins, 2012). These sites can be the focus for assessment tasks, hence authentic assessment tasks.

I argued elsewhere (Maxwell, 2012) that authentic assessment tasks in the

professional pre-service courses like teaching need to be consistent with Gibbons et al. (1994) Mode II knowledge production. The substantive nature of assessment tasks has to focus upon Mode II because, taking examples from Gibbons' criteria for Mode II, in teaching and teacher education situatedness, agency, and transdisciplinarity are what matter (Carr, 2009; Kemmis, 2009). The argument can be summed up: Assessment tasks in teacher education can be said to be authentic where "educators care for the subject matter and thus engage students in genuine dialogue around ideas that matter" (Kreber, Klampfleitner, McCune, Bayne, & Knottenbelt, 2007, p. 22).

The second part of my argument (Maxwell, 2012) was that authentic tasks have the following five characteristics built into their construction and feedback:
(a) assessment is used to engage students in learning that is *productive*; (b) feedback is used to actively *improve* student learning; (c) students and teachers become *responsible partners in learning* and assessment; (d) assessment for learning is placed at the *centre* of subject and program design; and (e) assessment

provides inclusive and trustworthy *representation* of student achievement (Boud & Associates, 2010, p. 2-3).

Even the university-based assignment can be authentic, for example, a discussion of gender equity based in the experience of one or more practica and how what has been experienced might be changed.

Responses to Authentic Assignments – The ZPR

When authentic assignments are thought of as the result of considerable reflection then new possibilities unfold; *quality* assignment feedback can stimulate further reflection/learning. Reiman's (1999) work on journaling provides seven response categories for guiding written reflections, and these can also be used in the usual assignments. However in their research, Hattie and Timperley (2007) found, counter intuitively, that praise was ineffective as feedback for learning and so Reiman's second response set (praises and encourages) has not been included in Table 1 (below). The responses in the six categories support Hattie and Timperley's critical question on feedback for student learning: "where to next". Specific written/verbal comments would depend upon the persons involved. Thinking of assignment feedback in this way invites a dialogue (between the student teacher and the teacher educator). For many of us this will mean finding new ways for the student teacher to respond to assignment feedback (perhaps as a second assignment phase). Such a second phase would force the student teacher to re-consider (reflect upon) the first effort based on the assignment specification *and* on the teacher educator's feedback. Unfortunately this second phase is necessary to ensure that the meta-reflection actually occurs.

Reiman (1999) also explored Piagetian and Vygotskian approaches to learning and showed how support and challenge are critical in the development of reflection. He identified the zone of proximal reflection (ZPR), following Vygotsky, as the area within which support and challenge is needed. The ZPR puts the emphasis upon reflection as the key process for learning when considering what might be done better. *Responses using the six categories come into their own using the ZPR idea.* In other words feedback can be scaffolded within the teacher educator's understanding of each student's ZPR in response to that part of the assignment. This is possible since the text is evidence of the student's level of thinking/practice. The quality of the feedback depends upon the teacher educator's ability to identify the ZPR correctly and in the choice of the response to simulate deeper levels of thinking following the model (Figure 1). Some examples of possible teacher educator responses to different assignment patterns are given in Table 1.

Table 1

Summary of categories guiding written reflections on assignments incorporating van Manen's levels of reflection (after Reiman, 1999)

Reiman's Response Category (as appropriate depending on the kind of assignment) [A]	Assignment Pattern (**T**=Technical; **P** = Practical; **C**=Critical) [B]	Possible Teacher Educator Response (**T**=Technical; **P** = Practical; **C**=Critical) [C]
Accepts feelings	**T**: Student teacher (ST) has difficulty discerning feelings in both self and others. **P**: ST discerns feelings of self and others **C**: ST understands feelings and questions their basis	**T**: Teacher educator (TE) shares own feelings. Indicate feelings have a place in learning. **P**: TE accepts feelings and questions their source. **C**: TE extends questioning where possible e.g. to power relations
Acknowledges and clarifies ideas	**T**: ST perceives knowledge as fixed and employs a single "tried and true" model. **P**: ST understands a range of ideas, and shows how these work. **C**: ST identifies what ideas are appropriate in various situations	**T**: TE relates ideas to observed events and alternatives are appropriate. **P**: TE accepts ideas and asks why questions. **C**: TE asks such questions as "whose interests are served?", "What would you do in situation X?"
Prompts inquiry	**T**: ST rarely reflects on process(es) but gets things done (ritualizes). **P**: ST shows how (own) goals are dependent upon processes and their assumptions **C**: ST indicates that inquiry is essential to practice (problematises).	**T**: TE asks why did these processes work (for you)? What if the situation were different? **P**: TE extends by questioning the appropriateness of the processes and goals. **C**: TE asks questions that encourages a broader socio-historical analysis.
Provides information	**T**: ST provides information as facts. **P**: ST shows how information is relative. **C**: ST understands how information is an instrument of power.	**T**: TE shows how facts are socially constructed and how they are dependent upon assumptions through examples. **P**: TE asks such questions as "whose interests are served?" **C**: TE extends by asking what actions are implied.
Gives directions	**T**: ST lacks agency/insight. **P**: ST understands the issues. **C**: ST understands the issues and considers which are right and prudent.	**T**: TE arranges a conference to explore the situation. **P**: TE asks what actions the ST might undertake. **C**: TE does not need to direct.
Responds to existing problems	**T**: ST has difficulty accepting responsibility for problems and blames others. **P**: ST accepts responsibility for actions and understands outcomes. **C**: ST accepts responsibility and acts rightly and properly.	**T**: TE arranges a conference to discuss the situation. **P**: TE asks what the ST might do **C**: TE does not need to act.

The model can guide micro as well as macro forms of development. When feedback on individual assignment tasks (micro development) is extended over the period of the three to four year course/program, macro development of reflection can take place. The latter requires agreement by unit/module/subject co-ordinators in the course/program as a whole. If this were to happen, the Boud and Associates (2010) 4th proposition on quality assessment in higher education can be fulfilled. The proposition states in part: "assessment practices [need to be] carefully structured in early stages of courses to ensure students make a successful transition [from] university study [into] their chosen field" (p. 2).

Without too much effort many kinds of assignments can be re-conceptualised in this way. It is not essential, but desirable, that the teacher education course wishing to develop quality of student teacher reflection to the macro level should have the refined model embedded in subjects/units/modules assessment tasks (micro). In the next section I argue for action research as the capstone authentic assessment task wherein the development to critical reflection can be assessed.

Action Research

Action research (AR) is *the* research methodology for the professions (Green, 2009) and is consistent with Mode II knowledge production. Action research has been defined as "an investigation where, as a result of rigorous self-appraisal of current practice, the researcher focuses on a 'problem' … and on the basis of information … , plans, implements, then evaluates an action then draws conclusions on the basis of findings" (McIntyre, 1991, in McIntyre, 2000, p. 1).

McIntyre's definition is consistent with either the technical or practical forms of reflection. In contrast, the definition by Kemmis and McTaggart (1988) is more consistent with critical reflection. In their definition, AR is

> a form of collective self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of these practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out. (p. 5)

These distinctions are useful for those teacher educators who want to move from classroom AR to the more emancipatory form (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000) consistent with deep levels of reflection.

The usefulness of action research is well recognised in teacher education. For example, Price (2001) and Levin and Rock (2003) discuss case studies in the United States. Ax, Ponte, and Bouwer (2008) consider action research as part of teacher pre-service education in the Netherlands, and in Australia, Ginns, Heirdsfield, Atweh, and Watters (2001) give an account of research of the professional growth of a group of beginning primary school teachers using participatory action research. I reported two action research projects undertaken by teacher interns (Emerson & Maxwell, 2011; Mead & Maxwell, 2010). Ponte, Beijard, and Ax (2004) gathered teacher educators' perceptions of their use of action research in the USA, the UK, and Australia. Additionally action research has been used in in-service teacher education (Elliott, 1990; Maxwell, 2009). All of these studies indicate AR is a process of improvement: sometimes in the teaching/learning, e.g., development of certain skills, sometimes in the situation, e.g., effective transitional movement between learning sequences, or both, e.g., learning how to deal with a specific child who has behaviour difficulties and who unsettles the class.

These examples are more consistent with the McIntyre definition above. Other studies are more overtly concerned with emancipatory action such as addressing gender inequities in the playground. Such studies are more consistent with the Kemmis and McTaggart (1988) definition.

All forms of AR have reflection as central. Different forms of reflection will create different outcomes for the action research process. Thus AR as an authentic *capstone* task would ideally be informed by critical reflection (rather than the practical or technical). Depending upon the internship circumstances, each may be acceptable but my assessment criteria would distinguish amongst these. Situational and phenomenological reflection pave the way for critical reflection. However, as Jones (2012) found, the student has to have a propensity for criticality to achieve critical reflection and how to stimulate the latter is an interesting issue.

Additionally, action research is applicable for the uncertain futures that neophyte teachers face (Jones, 2012; Maxwell, Harrington, & Smith, 2010). It provides a process for significant challenges to professional practice to be investigated. As Grundy (1995) has indicated, action research is suited to professional development; it supports better understanding of practices, situations, or both. Transformation of these can occur through critical reflection and action. Action research provides a process for life-long learning in the profession.

Conclusions

This paper assumed that reflection was an essential part of teacher education. A key idea was van Manen's use of Habermas to create a hierarchy of technical, practical and critical reflection. This led to an initial linear model for reflection development. Following a consideration of Jones' (2012) findings, a refined model was generated based upon van Manen's hierarchy. The model can be used as the basis for deepening student teacher reflection. Based on responses within the zone of proximal development to authentic assessment tasks micro level development can take place and over the period of the course these developments can be consolidated (macro development). Implied here is the need for a second assignment phase so that the student could learn/reflect on the thoughtful feedback directed in the student's zone of proximal reflection. The paper concluded with an argument for action research as the logical capstone authentic assignment in a teacher education course especially where this builds upon prior authentic assessment tasks.

A model is needed to deepen students' reflection, a concept so often taken for granted in the teacher education literature. The model appears to be applicable across jurisdictions and indeed internationally. There is the basis here for teacher educators to develop skills in teaching reflection at the micro level leading to development at the macro level. The refined model presented here needs to be tested. The development of reflection through feedback in the student's ZPR on authentic assignments, ending in action research, can contribute to the personal and professional development of student teachers particularly where critical reflection is developed over time. If, for example, a learned attitude of racism were successfully addressed by this process then not only does the student teacher benefit but so does society as a whole. Assignments being authentic assist this process just as does students' own authenticity. Applied over a career, teachers endowed with the ability to reflect critically become wise and can make a considerable contribution to their students' learning, to society and, indeed, add to the happiness of others.

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BHUTANESE TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL ORIENTATION IN THE PRIMARY CLASSES: A FACTOR ON QUALITY EDUCATION

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Abstract: *In recent years, Bhutan has taken huge steps to provide education to all Bhutanese children. However, the poor performance of the high school graduates in the Call Centre interview and their failure to get selected for employment due to their poor communication skills in English ignited widespread debate amongst the general public on the quality of education in Bhutan. Educators believe that this claimed decline is a misperception rather than the reality. Thus, this paper attempts to study this issue by examining the pedagogical practices in primary schools through teaching observations and interviews with a sample of teachers from different schools in western Bhutan.*

The findings indicate that teacher dominated lessons generally prevail in the primary classrooms with detrimental student learning outcomes. This situation has implications about teacher education programmes and other stakeholders. Thus, it sends a message that there is a risk of declining quality in education if appropriate measures are not adopted.

Introduction

Since the introduction of the New Approach to Primary Education (NAPE) in Bhutanese schools in the 1990s, the apparent decline in the quality of education has been discussed at length. More recently these issues have become prominent after the detrimental Call Centre interview (Kuensel, May 3, 2006) which revealed that only 7.5 percent of the 600 high school students who applied were found competent for the job. Since then the issue of decline in education standards has been widely regarded as a reality with general criticism by policy-makers, education officials and representatives of the people (chimis). This has led to a widespread belief that the quality of education in the country is declining. Following the concern raised by some of the people's representatives, the issue was further deliberated in the 85th session of the National Assembly in 2006. The media reports questioning educational quality further stimulated community concern.

According to the literature such concern over the quality of education is a universal issue (Cheng & Tam, 1997; Heyneman, 1997). Bhutanese educators, on the other hand, argued that the decline in the education quality was more a misperception than the reality (CERD, 2007); besides, there was no real evidence to show that the quality of education in Bhutan had declined. A proper study of the matter was therefore needed to establish the actual situation. At around same time as this research, a 10 member education sector review commission also conducted large scale research to examine the entire education system in Bhutan.

The United Nations International Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) describes (UNESCO, 2004) five dimensions of quality education: "healthy learners; conducive environments; relevant curricula; child-friendly pedagogy; and useful outcomes" (p. 31). Teachers play a crucial role in fulfilling each of these dimensions. In any educational reform

geared towards improving the quality of education, it is important to understand that teachers' ways of teaching are a critical concern (UNESCO, 2004). This imperative allows us to assert that teachers are at the heart of achieving a quality education system. Although Cheng and Tam (1997) commented that "education quality is a multi-dimensional concept and cannot be easily assessed by only one indicator" (p. 23), we decided to study the contribution and impact of the 'teacher factor' to the quality of education in Bhutan by focusing on the pedagogical orientation of the teachers in primary schools. Thus the research question was, "What pedagogical practices do primary school teachers commonly apply in their teaching?"

Views on Quality Education

When people discuss the quality of education, they use either classroom, market place, or societal conceptions of quality (Beeby, 1966). The present concerns shown by the Bhutanese people reflect basically the societal conception of quality and encompass broad social criteria used by the people to judge the outcomes of the Bhutanese school system. In its continuing attempt to define quality education, UNESCO, under the chairmanship of Delors, claims quality education should consist of four pillars of learning: "learning to know; learning to do; learning to live; and learning to put education in the perspective of life-long learning" (UNESCO, 2005 p. 30). These four pillars of learning determine the process of quality education and can be used as quality indicators. The UNICEF approach to quality education is more relevant to schools and the work of teachers. In the Bhutanese context, we need to consider if the five dimensions put forth by UNICEF are present in the school system in order to see if Bhutan is ready to demand quality in education. For instance, are there healthy learners in the Bhutanese

schools? Are they looked after well or supported well by their parents? Many school children attend school well away from home staying as dependents of relatives. We wonder how much care such students receive and if their situations are conducive for learning?

Teachers and their Pedagogical Knowledge

Teachers are at the heart of the education system, and they play a most important role in ensuring quality learning. Nothing can substitute for an effective teacher in a student's learning (Holt, 2003; Osborne, 1999; UNESCO, 2004). Irrespective of the condition of the school, effective teachers can deliver better outcomes. This projects the importance of teachers and their teaching in the school. Even when there are significant differences in learners' backgrounds, teachers can exert a powerful influence in raising the levels of achievement (UNESCO, 2004). In any reform geared towards improving quality of schools, the teachers' ways of teaching are of critical concern (UNESCO). It is important that teachers possess sound pedagogical knowledge and skills to make teaching-learning processes effective and meaningful (Cole & Knowles, 2000; Shulman, 2003). It is judged that Finland has one of the best education systems in the world today and that the key to such success goes to teachers and their "pedagogical" expertise (Linnakyla, 2006, p. 251). Their teaching produces results; their teaching is effective.

What is effective teaching? It is really quite difficult to actually define effective teaching. Osborne (1999) says good teaching can be defined only in general terms. He strongly points out that effective teaching involves both "what? as well as how?" (p. 83) the teacher teaches. Elaborating on this, Osborne notes that good teachers should have mastery in the subject material and in translating it to the

students; a wide repertoire of teaching techniques; and a skill in balancing the their authority and their accessibility to students. A UNESCO report (2004) states that one of the stumbling blocks of quality education in sub-Saharan Africa is undesirable teaching practices like "rigid, chalk-and-talk, teacher-centred, lecture-driven pedagogy" (p. 152). Pedagogical renewal in that part of the world generally means switching to learner-centred, activity-oriented pedagogy although institutionalisation of such renewal in schools and training institutions has produced inconclusive results (UNESCO, 2004). In Bhutan, teachers are trained to make use of a variety of child-centred methods during their pre-service programme, but what they actually do in schools is a different reality. This disconnect raises the question about why what the teachers learned about methods and strategies in their training is lost during their induction as beginning teachers.

It has become increasingly important for Bhutanese teachers to allocate more time for their students to engage in self-learning and research based activities. In such circumstances it will be necessary for teachers to ensure that students increase personal efforts and depend less on the teachers to direct their learning. With the introduction of concepts such as a child friendly school, child-centred teaching and learning, child-centred pedagogies, and constructivist strategies into the Bhutanese education system, it is opportune for teachers to reflect on their role in the school system. They need to ask themselves if they are moving towards giving more independence for students to learn. Is there a gap between current learning theory based on research and actual practices in Bhutanese classrooms? If answers are in the affirmative, it is necessary to engage classroom teachers in radical pedagogical reforms. Educational reforms in developed nations such as

Australia have adopted the concept of *productive pedagogies* to improve teaching and learning in their schools (Fields, 2005).

It is more effective to adopt the concept of democratic procedures in the teaching-learning process advocated by some prominent educational practitioners (Davis, 2001; Joyce, Weil & Calhoun, 2000; Tomlinson, 1999). Teachers can improve instruction and encourage students to learn better by following four basic rules: "promote student's intellectual development, help students contextualise new information, help students retain and retrieve new information, and help students develop effective learning skills" (Davis, 2001 pp. 177-178). Therefore, this study was aimed at unveiling current pedagogical practices of primary school teachers in Bhutan.

Sample/Participants and Tools

For an in-depth understanding of the current teaching practices prevalent in Bhutanese primary schools, 18 primary schools with levels from pre-primary to class VI were selected for study. These schools are from the more densely populated and accessible western districts of Haa, Paro, Thimphu, Wangdue, Chukha, and Punakha. The participants in this study were 36 teachers (2 from each of the participating schools), and their teaching experiences ranged from 1 year to 27 years. To obtain a wider perspective of teachers' pedagogical practices, the sampling was done based on the idea of purposeful sampling (Merriam, 1998). Therefore, selection of the research participants was based on the following criteria: (a) 2 teachers from each of the 18 schools; (b) teachers teaching different subjects; (c) teachers teaching different class levels. One teacher from each school was selected for interview.

Data were mainly gathered through participant observations and semi-structured interviews (Bogden & Biklen, 1998; Minichillo, 1995). Teaching observations were carried out with all 36 teachers and detailed field notes in the form of researcher comments were kept in a form specifically designed to record any evidence of characteristics of good teaching (see above section on teachers and their pedagogical knowledge for characteristics of good teaching). For in-depth information, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a total of 18 teachers (one from each participating school who were also observed) with the help of an interview guide. A list of pre-prepared questions was used to guide the researchers in conducting interviews. Each interview took about half an hour to one hour. All observations and interviews were conducted by both the researchers. Interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and later verbatim transcriptions were carried out by the researchers.

Two lessons each were observed for 27 participants and one lesson for each of the nine remaining participants. These nine teachers were not available for their second observation. A total of 63 lessons were observed comprising 18 in English, 19 in mathematics, 10 in Dzongkha, 9 in environmental studies, 2 in science and 5 in social studies/history.

Interview and observation data were analysed by developing themes and patterns through coding. The data obtained through observation/field notes were used to supplement the information collected through interviews. Therefore, the data collection in this research was convergent in nature, which provided opportunity for triangulation (Burns, 2000). The process of triangulation helped to strengthen the research findings by making it possible to reach more accurate and reliable conclusions. As interview transcripts were read and reread, several themes emerged which were catagorised into two major themes as presented in the next section.

Data Presentation and Discussion

This section presents both positive and negative practices that were prevalent in the primary classrooms under two major categories, Opportunity Themes and Barrier Themes, which were derived from development of the themes and patterns. For ethical reasons, each participant is referred to as Participant 1, 2, 3 … 36.

I. Opportunity Themes

Many positive and encouraging practices were observed in the primary classrooms visited. They are described below and gave evidence of promoting opportunities for effective teaching.

Philosophical Orientation
The interview data revealed that the teachers in the primary schools, in general, hold some kind of philosophical beliefs about teaching. These beliefs were expressed by many participants as related to guiding and a mutual sharing of experiences and knowledge among teachers and students (Participants 2, 3, 6, 17 & 20). Further, these teachers considered that teaching should be a two way process whereby both the teachers and students learn from one another. Participant 7 conveyed this idea somewhat differently:

> Teaching meaningfully means teaching with variety. Teaching should not be limited to information input from teachers but rather we should take into account children's experiences and further put these into group discussion. (Interview 8/10/07)

Other participants also considered that along with the teacher's awareness and understanding of individual differences of the students, a variety of teaching-learning

approaches was an important element for stimulating learning. Participant 10 also stressed the importance of a teacher's aptitude, his/her professional commitment and physical and mental soundness and that these factors contributed immensely to the quality teaching and learning. Further, Participants 7 and 12 considered that communicating at the students' levels and being friendly with them motivated the students to express themselves freely.

These views expressed during interviews enabled the researchers to broadly conclude that teachers strongly believed in student-centred teaching and learning. This positive philosophical orientation of the teachers is certainly an indication that the Bhutanese education system is moving in the desired direction according to policy and curriculum documents.

Pedagogical Orientation
The quality of education will largely depend upon the pedagogical knowledge teachers have as well as the pedagogy they use. Hence, it should be evident that teachers practice a wide variety of strategies in their daily teaching-learning activities. The interview data revealed that teachers broadly make use of the following strategies while teaching: questioning methods, discussion, presentation, demonstration, inquiry learning, co-operative methods, explanation, group work, deductive and inductive strategies, field trips, project method, role play, simulation, and lecturing (Participants 2, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 23 & 25).

In general, the different lessons observed were categorised into three broad types: student-centred; semi-student-centred; and traditional. All lessons observed that were dominated by student activities were put in the student-centred category, while those lessons largely dominated by teacher exposition were put in the traditional category. Those lessons which had some elements of both traditional and child-centred methods were placed into the semi-student-centred category. Some of the student-centred lessons observed were student presentation; teacher demonstration, questioning, and discussion followed by practicing dialogue; display of sight words on chalkboard and reading, students' copy work and doing matching activity; student demonstration, group work and presentation; reading after teacher who shows aids; and listening and drawing activity. Some other indicators of lessons included in the student-centred teaching category were indicated by the teaching aids used and class seating arrangements. These lessons in general had teaching aids such as a mirror, worksheets, pictures, newsprint, real objects, and sight words. Class seating indicative of student centred teaching was evident in informal and group arrangements and even informal sitting on the floor.

Lessons that are grouped under semi-student-centred are short field trips with questioning and discussion; student reading and questioning technique; questioning/discussion/writing; a combination of teacher explanation and whole class discussion (with teacher domination); showing a picture and saying a sentence, students repeating, teacher writing a sentence on the chalkboard and reading once again for students. Findings also indicated that most lessons were dominated by oral activity with few writing opportunities being available for students.

Caring Teachers
Classroom observations and interactions with students revealed that the Bhutanese teachers generally possessed a caring nature for their students. This attribute of teachers was demonstrated in their approachability and frankness as well as in their habit of referring to their students by their names. Not only did they exhibit a caring nature in the classrooms, but this

was also expressed in the interviews (Field note, 25/10/07). Such practices were observed frequently and were considered to be conducive to effective learning. The importance of this trait as one of the characteristics of good teaching is also spelled out in the 1994 Ontario Royal Commission on Learning (cited in Osborne, 1999). Thus, it is essential for all teachers to possess this quality to ensure meaningful learning.

Subject Teachers' Collaboration

A collaborative culture especially among groups of subject teachers in schools seemed to be well maintained in most situations. According to Participant 12:

> We have a very good collaborative culture in the school. For instance, I teach math, and we have a senior math teacher who [has] taught for almost 14 years. So if I have any problem with my math lesson, or if I run short of strategies, I go to her for support. She is always there to help me. (Interview 11/10/07)

Participants also revealed that although they and fellow teachers did not conduct formal discussion sessions, they did discuss casually about their teaching, which actually provided them some valuable insights for future improvements (Participant10).

Concept of Child Friendly School

Findings from the current study indicate that teachers generally understood the concept of a child friendly school (CFS) as advocated by the Curriculum Division, Ministry of Education (Thinley, 2007). For instance, Participant 3 defined a CFS as "giving opportunity to the teachers to be open with their students, not threatening them, and not scaring them. It is all about creating a conducive and free environment where children could come forward and talk to the teacher" (Interview, 3/10/07). Some participants (2 & 7 for instance) said that with the introduction of a CFS they have given up traditional ways of teaching.

Others believed that they should not accuse and scold students but rather interact with them in a friendly way (Participant 10, 12, 13, & 25). Conversely there were also some participants (e.g., 33) who admitted that there were many teachers who did not clearly understand the concept of a CFS.

II. Barriers Themes

There were also practices and issues, referred to as barriers in this study which inhibited effective teaching.

Philosophy vs Pedagogical Practices

Data on teachers' philosophical understanding was basically obtained through interviews in order to understand the beliefs of teachers on teaching and ultimately to provide some insights into their pedagogical orientations. Data on pedagogical practices were obtained through both interviews and teaching observations. Triangulation of the data from the interviews and observations revealed that there was a gap between what the teachers actually practiced and what they believed to be desirable. The comparison of the philosophical orientation of the teachers gathered through interviews with that of the teaching observation data revealed that there were some significant contradictions.

As elaborated above under the opportunity theme, generally teachers considered guiding and facilitating learning in students as central to their teaching beliefs, based on the findings from the interview data. However, they were not able to implement their ideas in real classroom situations. Thus, it appeared that they knew the jargon and even believed it, but had not been able to translate their ideas into practice.

Data from this study also revealed that over eighty percent of the teachers interviewed supported the importance of

student-centred teaching and learning. On the other hand, the class observations found that many of the lessons observed conformed to semi-student-centred and teacher-centred methods. There were some teachers who believed that student-centred teaching did not work very well in their classes. This may be true because of lack of either teachers' skills or resources and lack of students' experiences based on independent learning. Participant 33 commented that while high achievers did well using the student-centred methods, low achievers did not; hence, the teachers were obliged to adopt teacher-centred methods (Interview, 30/10/07). Given this belief, many of the lessons observed were inclined towards semi-student-centred methods, and there were still other teachers who preferred traditional chalk-and-talk methods. This was evident in the observation of a lesson taught by Participant 7, who without any introduction wrote a definition on the chalkboard while the students copied it down. After explanation of the definition, students were given an individual writing activity. The lesson involved mostly teacher talk and explanation, and there were no teaching aids other than the usual textbook, chalk, and chalkboard. The second lesson incorporated more student involvement in group activity and worksheets as teaching aids; however, the lesson had some characteristics of traditional teaching such as "teacher reading and students repeat in chorus" and "teacher being excessively in control of the class."

Teacher Dominated Lessons

Teacher dominance reflects teachers' beliefs about their role in controlling students when teaching. Findings from this study suggest that Bhutanese classrooms still need a major shift in this paradigm. The notion of teacher being the source of all knowledge for a student is still apparently prevalent in the minds of both teachers and students.

While analysis of interview data revealed that teachers were keen on activity based teaching, the analysis of data from lessons observed conveyed a somewhat different story. Only one teaching observation was made with 9 of the teachers and two lessons with the other 27 teachers. The research findings indicate that students were not challenged to learn and that such teaching style does not cater to individual student's needs. Teacher dominated ways of teaching set limits to opportunities for students to think and consequently restrict the development of their critical thinking – a skill that is so important in today's world. As discussed in the opportunity themes, many participants claimed that they used a variety of strategies, but teaching observations revealed otherwise in many cases. The researchers' observations revealed a mix of teachers who used activity-based approaches as well as lectures. Some claimed they use activity-based teaching, but often student activity occurred only as a follow up of the topic already taught.

Further, the findings indicated that the Bhutanese education system also has many teachers who teach in a very rigid, chalk-and-talk method similar to the one noticed by UNESCO (2004) in the sub-Saharan Africa. The following description is typical of traditional lessons in the English language teaching observed in this study: the teacher explains different kinds of nouns and writes these on the chalkboard; the students copy these into their books; further explanations on common and proper nouns are made; a common task is given with no consideration for individual student's needs or interests; the students are seated in rows discouraging student communication; hardly any reinforcement is made during two thirds of the class observation time (Field note, Participant 30, 20/10/07).

The researchers also observed that while most of the classrooms were arranged for

groups of students to interact (e.g., Participants 3, 5 & 6), there were still many classrooms, which had students sitting in rows (e.g., Participants 1, 2 & 4). Such traditional seating arrangement restricts student movement and hampers effective communication in the class. However, it is also important to understand that some classrooms were arranged in the traditional way because of lack of space and appropriate furniture.

Inadequate Teaching-Learning Materials

According to Heyneman, (1997) one of the main causes of declining quality of education in the Middle East and North Africa is the inadequate supply of resources. In the Bhutanese context, while many teachers used teaching aids in the classrooms, there were some who used only chalk and chalkboard as the main teaching aid. The interview data revealed the difficulty in obtaining teaching aids, and there were also cases where the students were asked to bring their own learning aids, for instance, Participant 7 remarked that "whenever we run short of resources in the school, we ask children in different groups to bring the same turn-wise" (Interview, 8/10/07).

Teaching is also affected by a poor supply or non-availability of teaching aids, particularly in remote areas as revealed by our observations and interviews. A teacher was observed making students undertake a hands-on activity on symmetry using just two broken mirrors in a crowded class (Participant 33), the mirrors being passed from one set of paired students to another. During the interview some participants shared their concern on the acute shortage of teaching-learning materials. One participant said "I manage with whatever resources I get. For example, even if there is a need for four charts, I put everything in one chart" (Participant 20, 22/10/07), thus making compromise on the quality of teaching-learning materials used. Such frequent compromises are likely to have a deleterious impact on the quality of education.

Heavy Workload

The interview data showed that primary teachers in Bhutan generally have heavy teaching loads. On an average they have 30-35 sessions of 40-50 minutes in a week. Another stumbling block for teachers that is often alluded to is the large number of students in a class; often classes have more than 50 students. According to Participant 6, classroom management is the most difficult thing with huge class sizes (Interview, 4/10/07). The same participant commented that, "Monday to Thursday I teach all the 8 periods" (Interview, 4/10/07). Findings from this study also indicated that teachers were carrying other responsibilities in the school besides regular teaching. Participant 6 claimed that, "In the morning I come to school at 8 am and if I am on duty I have to supervise social work, cleaning, lunch, and [evening] prayer before going home" (Interview, 4/10/07). Similarly Participant 10 pointed out that after the classes are over teachers often become involved in organising extra-curricular events such as sports, literary and cultural activities (Interview, 9/10/07). All commitments result in limited time for lesson preparation and marking assignments. When teachers undergo such practical difficulties, it poses the question: How can quality teaching be expected? It is critical that the system provide adequate support to the teachers by providing an environment conducive to quality teaching.

Observations also showed that there were teachers who attempted child-centred activities in cramped classrooms while others have opted for traditional chalk-and-talk even when the class size permitted activity based teaching. This interesting finding is an indication that all relevant stakeholders reflect on their teaching style in collaboration with efforts to improve teacher attitudes, the class

sizes, provision of resources and workloads that directly affect student learning.

Findings from this research corroborate findings from two national level studies conducted by the 10 member Education Sector Review Commission and Royal Education Council (2008) at around same time as this research. Such similar findings related to teaching-learning practices in the Bhutanese classrooms from these studies are a cause of concern and relevant stakeholders need to address this issue at the earliest.

Recommendations

Some recommendations are made for consideration based on the findings of this study.

Pedagogical Shift

Analysis of the research findings suggests that there is a need for a shift in the pedagogical practices of Bhutanese teachers. Although there are teachers who are performing extremely well, this study revealed that there are many who need to change their attitude and approach to teaching. Teachers need to adopt learner-centred teaching and learning approaches.

Creating Enabling Conditions for Teachers

On the one hand, the findings of this research confirm that many teachers are philosophically and theoretically well oriented, while on the other, the majority of teachers continue to embrace traditional chalk-and-talk methods. The Bhutanese education system needs to look at some of the other enabling factors such as the morale of the teachers, workloads, and provision of adequate teaching-learning resources. We understand that improvements in the schools can take place only if the mind-sets of our teachers

are ready and receptive to change (Fullan, 1992); however, teachers can change only if they are satisfied and happy in their careers. Research has shown that the morale of the Bhutanese teachers is generally low which can have negative impact on their performance (Dorji, 2007). Therefore, it is recommended that more research needs to be conducted into improving the morale of teachers.

Adopting Best Practices for Diverse Needs of Learners

Teachers in primary schools seemed to make use of a limited range of methods and strategies, which do not cater to the needs and interests of individual students. This clearly indicates that teachers are not aware of the individual differences and their students' learning styles. Teachers should consider the learning styles of all their students not just assume that their own teaching styles are appropriate. Methods such as cooperative learning and Howard Gardner's multiple intelligences need to be fostered.

Professional Development for Teachers

The 21st century educational landscape is changing fast, especially in response to new technology and communications; hence, it is critical that the national education system stays abreast of such developments. Education stakeholders have to consider the importance of teacher professional development and take advantage of best practice in the teaching-learning process. The findings from this study corroborated the findings of earlier research (CERD, 2007) that professional development is an unmet priority for teachers. The Ministry of Education needs to devise innovative measures to address the need for professional development of primary school teachers. This would mean making it mandatory for all teachers to attend at least one such course at least every two years.

Conclusion

This paper investigated the pedagogical practices of primary school teachers in the western Bhutan. The findings have implications for both pre- and in-service teacher education programmes and education policy. It is pertinent to ask if the pre-service programmes are actually training teachers who can handle a class with a variety of instructional strategies and that educational policies are designed based on field realities. Therefore, it is time that teacher education colleges and the Ministry of Education re-examine their programmes and policies to see if they are in line with the recent developments in education and the needs of the children. Teaching and learning processes are not just an affair for teachers and students in the schools. All stakeholders such as the teacher education colleges, the Ministry of Education, parents, university, and other related organisations share these responsibilities. However, further research focused on pedagogical practices of Bhutanese teachers at all levels of schools would provide more insights into the existing nature of teaching and learning practices in the education system in Bhutan and how these can be improved.

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MEASURING THE EDUCATION DIMENSION OF
GROSS NATIONAL HAPPINESS: WHAT REALLY COUNTS?

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Abstract: *Teacher educators and teachers have a responsibility to use measures of learning that will best reflect what really counts in education. In Bhutan a focus on the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) as a measure of the country's progress and prosperity has created the necessity for measures that are unlike those currently available with western-style reporting. This paper focuses on the measurement of the Education Dimension of GNH. Based on the level of alignment of the current GNH Education Dimension with the Mission of the Bhutan Ministry of Education, alternative measurement is proposed based on engagement with learning and lifelong learning. The intention is to encourage a focus that is less on the actual knowledge gained and more on the process of gaining that knowledge. It is hoped to begin discussions about indicators to inform the practice of teachers, teacher educators and policy makers, and thus the further development of alternative measures of what really counts.*

Key words: process of learning, Gross National Happiness, education, Bhutan

Introduction

Teacher educators and teachers in all countries have dual responsibilities. First, they must ensure that the teaching of future citizens is undertaken in accordance with the policies that are in place in their respective countries. In addition, they have a responsibility to make changes in their classrooms and schools that will help to inform the policy making at a national level. This paper is designed to begin discussions to encourage teacher educators and teachers to consider alternative measures of student "success" that might in the future influence what is valued in the measurement of education at a national level in their country. While the focus in this paper is on interesting developments in Bhutan, it is hoped that the ideas proposed would also be considered in other countries.

Bhutan has taken a bold step forward in placing a strong emphasis on the concept of *Gross National Happiness* (GNH), rather than Gross Domestic Product, as a measure of the country's progress and prosperity. This innovative policy shifts the perspective of what is valued by a country, in this case Bhutan, focusing less on material wealth, i.e., production and money, and more on the lives of citizens, i.e., spiritual health and connection between people and environment. Current western-style reporting does not provide suitable measures for reporting GNH and so different, more relevant, measures are being developed and refined by Bhutan. The success thus far of the focus on GNH as an alternative indicator of prosperity has been recognised internationally, placing even greater importance on designing relevant measures of GNH.

Although the focus on GNH impacts all levels of governance in Bhutan, this paper considers only the Education Dimension of GNH and the measures that are used for that dimension. Based on the level of alignment of the current Education Dimension with the Mission of the Bhutan Ministry of Education, alternative measurement is proposed which places a stronger focus on engagement with learning and lifelong learning. This is intended to place less emphasis on the actual knowledge gained, the product of

education, and more emphasis on the gaining of that knowledge, the process of education. It is also intended that the indicators discussed will inform the practice of teacher educators, teachers, and policy makers and thus the further development of the education dimension.

Gross National Happiness

The Bhutanese concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) identifies the values and principles of wellbeing needed to fulfill a good life (The Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2011). GNH takes an holistic approach to sustainable development and progress with importance being given to non-economic aspects of wellbeing that are not usually taken into consideration in account keeping at a national level. The concept GNH, introduced by His Majesty the Fourth King of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck in 1972 to reflect the country's Buddhist ideals, is based on four pillars: good governance, sustainable socio-economic development, cultural preservation, and environmental conservation.

On the fifteenth Day of the fifth month of the Male Earth Rat Year (corresponding to 18 July 2008), the first modern Bhutanese Constitution was adopted and Article 9 officially recognised the importance of GNH by promising that "The State shall strive to promote those conditions that will enable the pursuit of Gross National Happiness" (Constitution Drafting Committee, 2008). Having officially acknowledged the importance of GNH in Bhutan, the government then needed a means of reporting on the achievement of this policy statement.

Recognition of the importance of GNH and the need to measure GNH, amongst those more used to standard economic measurement, was evident in the United Nations General Assembly invitation to member states (UN News Centre, 2011)

"to pursue the elaboration of additional measures that better capture the importance of the pursuit of happiness and well-being in development" (para. 2). International collaboration on the development of the GNH concept has been encouraged through a series of International Conferences on Gross National Happiness including Bhutan in 2004, 2008 and 2010; Canada in 2005; Thailand in 2007; and Brazil in 2009. Now, there is even an international move to support the concept of the Happy Planet Index (New Economics Foundation, 2009), which extends the GNH concept by taking into account the ecological efficiency involved in the achievement of the measured wellbeing.

Measuring Gross National Happiness

As GNH has grown in importance so has the need for developing new measures for reporting GNH and any uptake of such measurement by countries apart from Bhutan, for example, United States of America (USA) (http://www.gnhusa.org/ vermont-town-meeting-gnh-survey-2011/), places even greater importance on the measures used. This increases the need for a refined tool that governments can use for accountability on the measurement of happiness. This has been reflected in GNH-related professional activities, which now include conferences that have focused on the measurement of GNH, for example, Changing What We Measure from Wealth to Well-Being in 2010 (http://www.sandokaiproductions.com/ httpgnhusaorgconference/) and Measuring What Matters in 2012 (http://www.gnhusa.org/ gnhusa-2012-conference-measure-what-matters/gnhusa-2012-measure-what-matters/).

In 2005 the Royal Government of Bhutan began to develop indicators to measure the consistency of governance with the GNH values. Prior to this, Gross National

Happiness was a concept that was discussed academically but could not be measured or reported in any critical way. In 2006 an inter-sectorial collaboration led by Dasho Karma Ura (The Centre for Bhutan Studies) and Michael Pennock (Vancouver Island Health Authority) developed and pilot tested a population survey measure of GNH (Pennock & Ura, 2011). For the survey development the four pillars originally used to underpin the concept of GNH in 1972 were expanded into nine equally-weighted domains: psychological wellbeing, health, time use, education, cultural diversity and resilience, good governance, community vitality, ecological diversity and resilience, and living standards (The Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2011).

The 2006 pilot survey included a demographics section and items from each of these nine domains with a mixture of objective, subjective, and open-ended questions. There were 350 respondents aged 15 years or above, and the survey initially took 7 to 8 hours to administer to each respondent. The survey was found to be too lengthy and feedback was provided to stakeholders to inform extensive reduction and refinement of the instrument (Educating for GNH, n.d.). Detail of the methodology can be found in The Centre for Bhutan Studies (2011), with a step-by-step simplification presented in Pennock and Ura (2011). Since then there have been two official surveys of GNH in Bhutan with enumerators (interviewers) visiting citizens to collect data based on the survey items.

The *First Gross National Happiness Survey* (December, 2007) included about 750 variables and was carried out only in 12 districts with a sample size of only 950 respondents because of budget restrictions (Educating for GNH, n.d.). It took an average of 5 to 6 hours to interview each respondent. An overall GNH index was developed from the data but was not considered valid for analysis due to the limited sample size. However, these 2007 data have enabled further refinement of the indicators.

The *Second Gross National Happiness Survey* (April, 2010 to December, 2010) involved 8700 targeted respondents across all 20 dzongkhags (administrative/judicial district). There were 7142 respondents with fully completed surveys. It took an average of 3 hours to complete the survey, but extensive travel times due to the remoteness of some villages meant that on some days enumerators could only interview one respondent. In the 2010 survey, there were 33 indicators spread over the nine domains with objective indicators given higher weights in the overall GNH Index than the subjective and self-reported indicators. The 33 indicators have been shown to be statistically reliable and easily understood by large audiences (The Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2011). Many of the items in the GNH survey are specific to Bhutan, but an abridged version of the survey for use in other jurisdictions is available (Pennock & Ura, n.d.).

Analysis of survey results showed that 41% of Bhutanese are *happy* (sufficiency in at least 6 of the 9 domains) with a higher level of happiness for men than for women and in urban areas than in rural areas. More detailed results are available in The Centre for Bhutan Studies (2011). While the results of the survey are interesting, the focus of this paper is how well the items reflect what is considered important in education in Bhutan.

The Education Domain

Of particular interest is how the education dimension could more accurately reflect the intent of the Bhutanese education system. Within the education domain there are four indicators: literacy, schooling, knowledge, and values (The Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2011). These indicators

were adopted because they were considered to be more accurate for reflecting the education dimension than more conventional school-based outcomes like enrolment rate, dropout rate, pass percentages, school infrastructures, and pupil-instructor ratios, which had previously been used in Bhutan.

For the initial version of the survey the two objectively measureable indicators *Literacy* and *Schooling* (30% weighting each) had only one contributing sub-indicator each: ability to read and write (Literacy) and highest level of education (Schooling). The other two indicators *Knowledge* and *Value* (20% weighting each and more subjective) each had five contributing sub-indicators: local legends and folk stories, local tshechu (annual religious festivals), traditional songs, constitution, and how HIV/AIDS is transmitted (Knowledge) and the justifiability of killing, stealing, lying, creating disharmony in human relations and sexual misconduct (Values). All these education items focused on measuring the *product of the educative process*.

With the revised versions of the survey, the education dimension items have changed and the 2010 survey (available at The Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2011) had 25 education items, some of which had multiple questions. There was still a strong focus on knowledges attained, but there was a new focus on satisfaction with aspects of the school system, and very few items related to values despite the fact that it is one of the four education indicators.

There has been international support for the development of alternative indictors in education (e.g., Okuma-Nystrom, 2007). Like the author of this paper, Okuma-Nystrom wanted to see change and although not qualified to develop specific indicators was able to suggest alternative indicators for consideration. Some of those suggested by Okuma-Nystrom were a

school's problem-solving mechanisms; a school's contribution to the civil society and collaborations within the school. This paper now aligns the education dimension indicators with the mission of education in Bhutan to determine possible areas into which to direct new indicators.

Aligning the Education Dimension Indicators with the Current Bhutan Ministry of Education Mission

To better assess the suitability of the education items in the GNH survey, the following question needs to be considered: Are the current measures of the education dimension compatible with the Bhutan Ministry of Education (n.d.) mission statement? The mission clearly articulates what is valued in learning in Bhutan both within the formal education system and beyond it and has seven clear aims to guide the governance of education in Bhutan. In this discussion the aims have been paraphrased; full wording of each aim is available from Bhutan Ministry of Education (n.d.).

The education dimension indicators currently being used to measure GNH effectively cover only two of the seven aims of the Mission. Most directly, knowledge relates to aim #2 (build a system combining received knowledge and innovation) and values relates to aim #4 (prepare citizens with the right values, skills, usefulness and gracefulness). Three of the aims would be difficult to measure through interviewing citizens because they are pitched at a more systemic level: aim #1 (develop sound policies), aim #5 (build cadre of highly motivated and competent educators), and aim #7 (enable model seats of learning). This leaves two aims—aim #3 (create learning spaces to engage all) and aim #6 (promote continuous and lifelong learning)—to provide the potential for developing a broader range of indicators for the education dimension.

The mission indicates that education needs to value students being more focused in their learning and any review of the education dimension indicators in the GNH survey should take into consideration how the knowledge of engagement with learning and lifelong learning can inform this process. This effectively involves a shift to considering the *process of learning* in addition to the product of that learning process which is currently included in the survey. However, the quest to capture the true essence of the education dimension of GNH is probably not a simple matter. One of Bhutan's senior monks explained to Herman (2010), who was on one of his many GNH-focused education-related working visits to Bhutan, the abstract nature of the search for a way to gauge Gross National Happiness.

Create Learning Spaces to Engage All

Happy healthy learning involves *engagement with learning* which can be defined as "students' psychological investment in, and effort directed toward learning, understanding, or mastering the knowledge, skills, or crafts that academic work is intended to promote" (Newman, Wehlage, & Lamborn, 1992, p. 12). Describing engagement as "energy in action" (Russell, Ainley & Frydenberg, n.d.) focuses attention on the connection between the learner and the activity and aspects of this connection including attitudes, interest and self-efficacy in particular learning situations. When defining and measuring engagement, care should be taken not to confuse it with the closely related construct, motivation, which is "about energy and action" (Russell et al.). There are three distinct types of engagement: behavioural, cognitive and emotional engagement (Fredricks, Blumfeld, & Paris, 2004).

Behavioural engagement involves positive conduct (e.g., adhering to classroom norms, absence of non-disruptive behaviours); involvement in learning tasks (e.g., effort, persistence); and participation in school-related activities (e.g., athletics, governance). Emotional engagement involves affective reactions in the classroom (e.g., interest, happiness); affective reactions to the teacher (e.g., liking, respecting); and identification with school (e.g., belonging, valuing). Cognitive engagement involves psychological investment in learning (e.g., desire to go beyond the requirements, preference for challenge); inner psychological investment (e.g., desire to learn, desire to master skills); and self-regulation (e.g., use of metacognitive strategies, evaluating cognition when accomplishing tasks).

With the implementation of a GNH-focused curriculum in Bhutan, Herman (2010) reported, after a 2007 visit to Changbangdu Primary School, that teachers were already noticing that their students were more focused. This focus would support the students in making a better connection with their learning task, i.e., engaging with their learning.

So how has engagement been measured in education? There has been widely reported development of various measures to capture the three types of engagement (see Russell et al., n.d.). Research has tended to identify that teachers are more aware of behavioural engagement than emotional or cognitive. For example, when Reading (2008) worked with a group of teachers at a school to brainstorm, refine, and implement a set of indicators and related measures to gauge the level of engagement in the classroom, there was a predominance of behavioural indicators. The process began with the teachers identifying what engagement looked like in the classroom, and these reported indicators provide a good sense of what is seen in the classroom when students are connected with their learning.

While examples provided here are mainly about engagement with learning within the school environment, consideration needs to be given also to engagement with learning in Bhutanese post-formal schooling. The three types of engagement, behavioural, emotional and cognitive, are proposed by the author as a starting point for discussion about possible indicators to represent engagement with learning in the education dimension of the GNH survey.

Promote Continuous and Lifelong Learning

The concept of lifelong learning emerged as a response to the need to provide more learning opportunities for those who had not benefited from the learning opportunities provided to younger citizens. Now the concept has evolved to encompass all learning across one's lifespan. Lifelong learning has been described by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2004) as aiming to "improve knowledge and competencies for all individuals who wish to participate in learning activities" (p. 1). The OECD has indicated that policy makers are responsible for ensuring that opportunities are provided to equip and motivate citizens at all stages of life to undertake further learning.

A useful underpinning for lifelong learning is provided by considering the eight key competences proposed by the European Communities (2007) as contributing to a successful life in a knowledge society: communication in the mother tongue; communication in foreign languages; mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology; digital competence; learning to learn; social and civic competences; sense of initiative and entrepreneurship; and cultural awareness and expression. Of these, digital competence, learning to learn, and a sense of initiative and

entrepreneurship are not covered directly in the GNH survey education dimension.

Canada was the first country to develop an aggregate measure of lifelong learning, the *Composite Learning Index* (Saisana & Cartwright, 2007). This index is a combination of data from a variety of established sources, such as the OECD's Programme for International Students Assessment (Canadian Council on Learning, 2010). The index consists of 17 indicators (each with from one to four measures) across four pillars: *Learning to Know*, *Learning to Do*, *Learning to Live Together* and *Learning to Be* (Canadian Council on Learning, 2010).

Learning to Know involves access to learning institutions, university attainment, post-secondary education participation, high-school dropout rate, and youth literacy skills. Learning to Do involves availability of workplace training, participation in job-related training, and access to vocational training. Learning to Live Together involves access to community institutions, volunteering, participation in social clubs and organisations, and learning from other cultures. Learning to Be includes exposure to media, learning through culture, learning through sports, broadband internet access, and access to cultural resources.

Interestingly, the results of the 2007 measurement in Canada of the composite learning index identified that urban areas scored higher on the Know and Do pillars while the rural areas scored higher on the Be and Live Together pillars (Saisana & Cartwright, 2007). This may partially explain why the current version of the education dimension of the GNH survey with its knowledge focus in Bhutan finds less happiness in rural areas.

These four pillars of lifelong learning, Learning to Know, Learning to Do, Learning to Live Together, and Learning to Be, are proposed by the author as a

starting point for discussion about possible indicators to represent lifelong learning in the education dimension of the GNH survey.

Beginning the Discussion

The ideas proposed above were presented to Paper Group Two at the 32nd Annual International Society for Teacher Education (ISfTE) Seminar held at the Paro College of Education (Bhutan) in May 2012. This group consisted of ten teacher educators from six different countries who brought a variety of perspectives to the table. They were asked to propose possible alternative indicators for measuring the two areas: (a) create learning spaces to engage all and (b) promote continuous lifelong learning. They found it difficult to let go of "traditional" indicators and to propose indicators that may better represent what really counts in education. Due to time constraints group discussions were focused on one particular aspect of each of these two areas.

For the area create learning spaces to engage all, the discussion was focused on Emotional Engagement. This focus was chosen because it had previously been reported (Reading, 2008) as one of the less traditionally recognised types of engagement. After first suggesting the rather traditional *school dropout rate*, the group went on to propose *sharing with others*, *learning independently*, *persisting with tasks over a sustained period,* and *continuing with learning over a long period of time* as possible indicators. While these could be considered indictors of behavioural or cognitive engagement, they were not necessarily emotional engagement. The only indicator proposed that had the potential to indicate emotional engagement was *satisfaction with learning*, which was suggested as an indication of the recognition of the value or usefulness of learning. At one point

discussion digressed to the style of question asked in the national GNH survey and it was proposed that those responding to the survey be allowed to tell a story about when they were engaged with learning, rather than responding to closed questions.

For the area promote continuous lifelong learning, the discussion was focused on Learning to Live Together. This focus was chosen because of the importance of family and community to the Bhutanese way of life. The group found it easier to propose indicators for this suggesting: *participating in family*, *participating in military*, *volunteering for service*, *accessing learning groups,* and *learning outside school*. The only indicator proposed that did not fit was *accessing the internet*, which would better fit in Learning to Be.

The indicators shared above were the outputs from a short discussion session with only ten discussants. Although these discussants were representative of six different countries, the proposed indicators should not be taken as indicative of universally accepted indicators. Confounding the process was the lack of time for discussants to develop a deeper understanding of Emotional Engagement and Learning to Live Together and the short time that was allocated to the brainstorming process. However, the indicators do demonstrate that it is possible for teacher educators and teachers to broaden their horizons as far as indicators of what really counts in education are concerned.

It is not necessary to rely entirely on such open discussions to broaden perspectives on indicators used to measure what really counts in education. Teacher educators and teachers should look to their governing bodies to source professional learning and support in expanding their horizons on possible indicators to use to report on

student "success". In Bhutan, the Ministry of Education has now put in place a policy of Educating for Gross National Happiness and to meet the challenge of implementing that policy they have provided a guiding document *Educating for Gross National Happiness* (Bhutan MoE, 2012) accompanied by a roll-out of professional learning for teachers.

Chapter Two of the guiding document (Bhutan MoE, 2012) provides examples of indicators from the policy level down through implementation and monitoring to assessment for each of the guiding principles of GNH. One example of the suggested indicators is "accept their mistakes and are ready to learn from them", which is proposed as an indicator of impact on student psychological well-being. Despite being an important part of developing a healthy and happy student, this is not a traditional measure reported in education. Another example of suggested indicators is "students are calm, dedicated to their work and benevolent", which is proposed as an indicator of culture. Again, this is an attribute that all teachers would like to see demonstrated by their students but is not traditionally measured and reported in education.

There is a broad range of such indicators suggested in the guiding document that provides an important source for informing discussion and practice in Bhutan. The challenge now becomes how to measure and report such indicators at the classroom and/or school level to better represent what really counts in education. This guiding document, or a similar document from another country, should be used to inform discussions in other countries as well.

Continuing the Discussion

Bhutan is leading the world in taking a bold step forward to improve the relevance of reporting about education. This has involved changes at both the policy level and the school level. Both teacher educators and teachers must take some responsibility in assisting this process to occur. The intent of this paper has been to introduce ideas for discussion about expanding the view of what really counts in education. Specifically, discussion seeds were sown to consider more appropriate indicators when measuring the education dimension of GNH in the Bhutanese context. A variety of indicators of engagement with learning and of lifelong learning were introduced but other sources of ideas for indicators should also be considered. It is acknowledged that the proposed ideas for indicators, unlike those already in the GNH survey, have not been tested or calibrated for national implementation. However, it is hoped that they may be considered in discussions for any future round of revision of the indicators.

So why is this important to teacher educators, teachers, and policy makers? An effective way to impact the teaching profession is to start with teacher educators who can then have discussions with pre-service teachers and in-service teachers to spread the message. Hopefully, an effective paradigm shift in schools as to what really counts will translate to change at the national level in policy and, in particular in Bhutan, in the GNH survey.

This paradigm shift may also assist in addressing other issues. For example, one challenge in approaches to teaching in Bhutan reported by VanBalkom and Sherman (2010) was the restrictive assessment practice caused by the reliance on a traditional approach to teaching. While this paper is not addressing teaching approaches or assessment practice directly, it is hoped that having teacher educators, and thus teachers, expand their view about what is important in learning, will assist them to expand their horizons in assessing learning.

The aim is to continue discussions to inform policy and practice at the national measurement level by sharing ideas that can be implemented at the school level and then filter through the system until demand dictates change at the national level. This paper was prepared initially to stimulate such discussions at the *International Society for Teacher Education 2012 International Seminar*. The contributions to the beginning discussion of members of Paper Group Two at the seminar are much appreciated but not acknowledged individually as was their preference. Now, it is hoped that the discussions will broaden to encompass the requirements and possible changes in other countries as far as what really counts in education. All countries need to take the lead from Bhutan by encouraging the measurement of what really counts in education through engaging in discussions both informal and formal, researching practice, and reporting findings widely.

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EXPLORING AUTHENTIC HAPPINESS IN LIFE AND WORK

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Abstract: *As a lead educator at my institution, my practice is informed by my belief that work and happiness need to be aligned so they are integrated and authentic. This relates to what I do, that it is meaningful and congruent with my strengths and self-knowledge. My endeavor is to enhance the quality of life and living through education. I avoid placing my own attitudes, values, and beliefs on my students and encourage them to consider 'how who they are affects what they do' through reflecting on themselves and taking action if they so choose. This paper looks at authentic happiness, self-knowledge, work, and praxis. It focuses on individual character strengths, attitudes, values, and beliefs, and the question: How does who you are affect what you do?*

Keywords: teacher education, authentic happiness, positive psychology, self-knowledge, phenomenology, work-based strengths, documentary, reflective practice, praxis

Introduction

Examining attitudes, values, and beliefs and considering the effect they have on our lives greatly interests me and aligns with Aristotle's (384–322 BCE) notion of eudaimonia (of being true to one's inner self), Seligman's (2002) a "good life," and Ryff and Singer's (2008) related wellbeing dimensions including personal growth, autonomy, and purposeful living. Having meaningful work and seamless integration of praxis are essential components to my well-being and living well.

This paper outlines the theoretical underpinnings to my research and discusses why I believe what I do and how I promote the quality of life and living through education. It describes my focus on strengths and developing awareness of self-knowledge/self-concept through exploration of attitudes, values, and beliefs of my students and their professional identity by embedding critical reflection opportunities within my teaching. Recent research is outlined, where documentary was used as a mode of representing analysed qualitative data in an authentic and accessible way and then integrated into practice for students to examine their own perspectives and perceptions. My experience of the 32nd ISfTE conference in Bhutan is shared and its significance is aligned to my beliefs.

Accessing Authentic Happiness

Happiness, sought by many as the answer to human satisfaction, is a much-discussed idea with two main principles being focused on traditionally by philosophers and psychologists: hedonism and eudaimonia. Hedonism is defined by Peterson, Park, and Seligman (2005) as "maximizing pleasure and minimizing pain" and eudaimonia as "…a state of well-being and full functioning that derives from a sense of living in accordance with one's deeply held values—in other words, from a sense of authenticity" (Wright, 2008). My interest in happiness, wellbeing, and life satisfaction links with Positive Psychology principles with a particular focus on individual strengths. Positive psychology is defined as "the scientific study of optimal human functioning [that] aims to discover and promote the factors that allow individuals and communities to thrive" (Sheldon, Fredrickson, Rathunde, Csikszentmihalyi, & Haidt, 2000). Seligman (2002) described a "good life" as a result of knowing and using your

signature strengths every day in the main realms of life and suggests this as the way "to obtain abundant gratification and authentic happiness" (p. 161). In line with these philosophers and psychologists, I enjoy connecting my strengths to my work (Davey et al., 2011; Haines, 2011) agreeing with Jennifer Fox-Eades (2008) in her book *Celebrating Strengths* where she wrote that by using your top strengths often you will experience great fulfilment and feel happiest. Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi (1988) speak of this as being in *flow*.

Rationale

Students entering into the College of Education pre-service primary educators' degree at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand originate from a cross section of social and cultural backgrounds and bring a diverse mixture of attitudes, values, and beliefs with them. I aim to encourage my students to develop a deeper understanding of themselves and believe teachers need to be aware of the beliefs and attitudes they carry and to be prepared to critique and modify these in life and work. Palmer (1998) wrote of the impact self-knowledge has on the way we teach and on the way we are with our students. Hamachek (cited in Cattley, 2007) writes "Consciously we teach what we know; unconsciously we teach who we are" (pp. 341-342). Self-actualisation is an ongoing process, and the more I reflect on the 'me' within me and on the self I am in the world, the more knowledge I grow about my-self.

Due to my interest in these areas, I begin my courses with an inquiry into self-knowledge. I challenge my students to consider their self-knowledge and start by asking them to examine their attitudes, values, and beliefs – not because I want to change them or think that mine are the ones to follow – but because I want them to consider if their values, attitudes, and

beliefs work for them. As a teacher educator I am very interested that my students have genuinely considered the profession they are entering and the strengths they bring to teaching. My aim is to empower them but also to engage them in critical reflection and to develop an understanding of the powerful position they will hold as teachers in many students' lives. Branch and Paranjape (2002) wrote, "Reflection leads to growth of the individual - morally, personally, psychologically, and emotionally as well as cognitively" (p. 1187). I agree and actively encourage my students to be reflective practitioners.

Theoretical Underpinnings and Praxis

As a starting point I encourage my students to complete Peterson and Seligman's (2002) Values in Action Survey (VIA) which importantly allows us a shared vocabulary for classroom discussion. The VIA survey is a positive psychology measure and is a self-responded internationally accepted online questionnaire and measures the respondent's degrees of endorsement through a series of questions and statements that require reflecting on the 24 identified strengths in the VIA Signature Strengths classification (Peterson, 2006; Peterson & Seligman, 2002, 2004). According to Peterson and Seligman, "using your top five VIA strengths gives rich expression to one's signature strengths of character…" and helps define your true self (Peterson, 2009, p. 2). Positive psychology is described by the University of Pennsylvania (2007) as 'the scientific study of the strengths and virtues that enable individuals and communities to thrive' (para. 1).

In Ryff and Singer's (2008) multidimensional model of psychological wellbeing, the dimensions of personal growth, autonomy, and purposeful living are focused on in my praxis. Aligned with

authenticity—following my heart/passions in a way that is true to me (Taylor, 1991; Waterman, 2008) matches Norton's (1976) description of eudaimonia as the feeling of "…being where one wants to be, doing what one wants to do" (p. 216). Being true to myself is an integral part of my practice and teaching to my strengths is acknowledged in previous research from anonymous surveying from my students, from teaching evaluations, and from colleagues' observations of my teaching (Davey et al., 2011; Haines, 2011).

In the course of my research I realised I enjoyed hearing people's stories and asked myself what I could create to contribute to wider society and make a difference in the wider world. I knew whatever I did would need to acknowledge my interest in and commitment to the visual arts. Widening the context of my research fields in the areas of strengths, identity, reflection, and authenticity led to my using documentary as a creative mode of representing analysed data. This resulted in *Project Happiness - The Lived Experience* a documentary that represents analyzed data and considers the research question: *How does who you are affect what you do?* Concurrent to the digital portrayal was a written report outlining the process and the analysis of the data gathered through videoed interviews. Congruent with my beliefs of seamless integration, I used my strengths to portray others' strengths, self-knowledge, attitudes, values, and beliefs relating to their work. Project Happiness - The Lived Experience was a review of eight participants' self-knowledge and their work. Each participant was shown in their different work environment with summation and from a broad funnelling showed the refining and illumination of what this research found. A montage of the documentary is available for viewing through the VIA Channel at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aPHJS ve1zF0

The VIA survey was used in the documentary as a platform and as an articulation of the participants' strengths. Through this documentary I encourage viewers to examine their own perceptions and perspectives through viewing the analyzed data of the participants in the documentary by reflecting on the embodied knowledge of the participants and relating this back to their self-knowledge and their work – why we act as we do, a knowing that, a knowing how and a knowing from within (Shotter, 2009), and I use the documentary montage within my teaching to facilitate discussions with my students.

My intention was to create an artistic, creative documentary that reviewed people who considered themselves to be happy in their work and used their knowledge of self and strengths in their work. I wanted to represent these participants and their stories authentically, in a way that may be inspirational, and/or was an identification point and alignment for other people in their lives agreeing with Renov's (2004) comments that documentary acts as both a mirror and a screen and provides "a reflective surface on which to register the self" (p. 186) offering opportunities to illuminate the world around us.

I used the principles of phenomenology (van Manen, 1990, 2002) to study the identified lived experiences and the science of positive psychology as a measure of self-knowledge (Peterson, 2006; Peterson & Seligman, 2002, 2004; Seligman, 2002). Whereas van Manen (2002) wrote that the aim of phenomenology was to take the lived experience and translate it into a "textual experience of its essence – in such a way that the effect of the text is at once a reflexive re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful: a notion by which a reader is powerfully animated in his or her own lived experience" (p. 36), I related a 'visual'

experience in place of a 'textual' experience where the 'viewer' not the 'reader' is powerfully animated and encouraged to be reflexive.

Future Challenges

The research presented through the documentary (Haines, in press) was designed to present analysed data in an accessible, visual format to vicariously motivate and inspire viewers towards self-empowerment. Developing the methodology of using documentary to represent data in this way and making this available for people with less self-knowledge and who are not in a position of knowing what they want from their work or who are not happy in their work is a future challenge. I would like to move into a wider context with new documentaries and tread new pathways to motivate and inspire people to reflect on their self-knowledge/self-concept and *how who they are affects what they do*. Using a strengths-based approach to develop self-knowledge, self-awareness, and reflection and making research accessible through the visual media of documentary are goals and relate to an individual's well-being, which in turn relates to the bigger picture of the well-being of humanity. The development towards self-empowerment into the collective consciousness is a future consideration.

2013 ISfTE Seminar at the Royal University of Bhutan

I feel very privileged to have attended the 32nd seminar of the International Society for Teacher Education in Paro, Bhutan. Before the conference began we had two days of sightseeing, and we were taken to several Dzongs (temples) and other places of interest. Our guides provided history lessons and as we slowly adapted to the red rice and chilli, chilli, and more chilli with a little cheese every now and then, we learned about Bhutan, famous for Gross

National Happiness (GNH). We learned this term was coined by the 4th King in response to a journalist's inquiry into Bhutan's GDP. The King responded that Gross Domestic Product was not as important in Bhutan as Gross National Happiness.

Buddhism provides very strong spiritual philosophies and values throughout Bhutan and in the education system, and one of the most enlightening things I took away from the conference was that daily for five-fifteen minutes at the beginning and end of the day, all classroom students are soon to practise mindfulness. These mindfulness sessions are to encourage students to contemplate their place in the world and how they fit within it. The education system and the belief system underpinning this very much align with holistic education and empowerment and in Bhutan's development as a rapidly developing nation, moving forward with advancement and technologies and changes due to globalisation.

The 2012 32nd ISfTE conference on 'Educating for Gross National Happiness: Role of Teacher' was inspirational. The keynoters spoke of a holistic approach to educating and how the Bhutanese government is backing their efforts to upgrade their teaching systems to fit their underlying philosophies in a very connected way – for example by funding programmes and bringing in specialised teachers aligned with their philosophies.

Dr. Deb Young from Naropa University, Boulder, Colorado, USA, is a specialised teacher currently in Bhutan developing a GNH classroom model with the College of Education at the Royal University of Bhutan (RUB). She was a keynote speaker at ISfTE and spoke of nurturing the concrete world and questioned: why is it weird to question/think differently? Dr. Young spoke of classrooms that co-create new knowledge not transit knowledge. Her

words resonated with me strongly: words that spoke of the art of teaching and bringing heart into our classrooms. Phrases such as: 'Teaching is the way you are in the world' and 'Heart and soul is the art of teaching' had me sitting up in delight. She said, 'Teachers help to shape the minds and the direction of almost every future inhabitant on earth.' I believe as teachers we do hold great power, and I take this responsibility seriously both in my own work and in the 'seeds' I plant with my students to consider this within their lives as teachers. The essence of my thinking begins with an individual's strengths and works from the inside out. I see my place as a teacher educator as awakening souls and minds and hope to model this to my students to take into their classrooms. I believe as Dr. Young said, that the methods used in teaching do 'invigorate or pigeon-hole' students, and I align with her idea that 'the journey of happiness is both the end and along the way.' Dr. Young suggests 'Bhutan has the opportunity to be the nation that leads the world's future towards mindful intention and attention bringing meaning and purpose in life through the interconnectedness and balance between individuals and the collective… to cultivate humanitarian values such as compassion and peace.' The philosophies Dr. Young spoke of in our paper group discussion of Bhutan's development of mindfulness and self-awareness align well with my own.

Aligning within the New Zealand Context

In the New Zealand Curriculum within the Key Competencies section, which outlines 'capabilities for living and lifelong learning', it is written: "People adapt and adopt practices that they see used and valued by those closest to them and they make these practices part of their own identity and expertise" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 12). Providing opportunities for my students to consider

and critically reflect on their own practices explicitly and the impact these have on them now and in their future lives as teachers encourages critical reflection.

Enriching and extending university programmes and making links to existing programmes is a strong interest of mine and returning to Christchurch, New Zealand and to work I took up an offer to redevelop, write, and deliver a compulsory course for our pre-service teacher education graduate diploma students on interpersonal and intrapersonal skill development. I was excited to do this and as I created the course I kept finding ways to ensure the learning was experientially based and grounded back to classroom practice all the while encouraging the idea of supporting reflective practice and considering how one's attitudes, values, and beliefs affect what we do and the way we treat people including the responses evoked. To have heart in education and to follow a holistic, humanistic model developing relationships and ideas that support ontological development are paramount to me and remain so in my teaching. Developing self-awareness and self-knowledge is key to how we interact with our-self, with others, and with nature and with developing a co-existence with the world we live in. I agree with Dr. Young's comment where 'the magic of life and the interconnectedness of people and the deep impact our thoughts have on reality… better guide our actions to move society towards loving kindness. Being awake is being alive.'

My intention is to make a difference and I use my work as a platform. As a teacher educator, I believe it is important for my students to have an understanding of their values, attitudes, and beliefs and to consider how these affect who they are and what they do. This way of working aligns with New Zealand's first nation people's (Māori) values including *manaakitanga* (one word describing a large concept

including caring for each other, showing kindness and generosity, caring for the environment, treating people with respect, nurturing relationships, and more) and *mahi ngātahi* (similarly many words are used in trying to translate the concept of these two words and include the value that everyone has different knowledge and skill sets and working together creates synergy). My teaching is aimed to encourage and develop self-knowledge and self-awareness, to enable and empower my students to more successfully teach their own future students through increased perception and understanding of themselves and others. This way of teaching encourages heart-to-heart communications, building relationships, and often results in profound, spontaneous, long-lasting learning. It supports self-acknowledgement and taking responsibility for one's own belief system. A student recently wrote,

> If anybody had told me that this [visual arts] course would help me overcome fears and learn more about who I am, there is no way I would have believed them. But now I feel like a different person. I am more confident, happier, more relaxed, but I think most importantly, I believe in myself and my ability to create art… thank you so much for all your encouragement and support throughout this course, it means so much that you believed in me even when I couldn't believe in myself. You and this art course have really changed my life in such a positive way. I cannot thank you enough. I am now really looking forward to my future as a teacher… If I can change a student's life the way you have changed mine I will be absolutely overjoyed…

Challenges

During the ISfTE conference, many of the keynote speakers spoke of love and the self and the heart of education and acknowledged how learning where one fits in the world is an important element in education. I acknowledge there are many people who do wish to examine their beliefs, attitudes, and values and grow from the experience and create new understandings of themselves as a result of doing so, but I also acknowledge there are some people entering into and also already within the education profession who do not wish to consider their own attitudes, values, and beliefs nor how who they are affects what they do and perhaps they never will. It is not my intention to be dismissive of this; however, I do find it challenging.

Conclusions

Finding your place in the world, knowing who you are, and where you fit are conversations I have with my students as they reflect on their ontological development on their journeys to becoming teachers. Fostering mindfulness and encouraging critical reflection on the question '*how does who you are affects what you do*?' are relevant to many aspects of life and living. The starting point for my research is very often my own questioning – my 'me-search.' I began as I get my students to begin and had completed the VIA survey and found it illuminating. It resoundingly affirmed for me my own strengths and provided a language further illustrating my own understandings of my self-knowledge. Taking my VIA survey strengths and considering how I use them within my work was enlightening (Haines, 2011). My work as a teacher educator affords me opportunities to overtly share my ideas with students who are preparing for their work as future educators. I believe by inviting my students to consider examining their attitudes, values, and

beliefs through tasks and discussions within my courses, I facilitate opportunities for them to choose to grow, change, or accept who they are and stay the same. I aim to encourage and challenge my students to consider their own self-knowledge and to develop a reflective practice. Reaching a wider audience with my ideas of self-empowerment as a documentary film-maker affords me opportunities to encourage viewers to consider their self-knowledge, their strengths and the work they do, and, how who they are affects what they do regardless of their vocation. By watching others discuss these aspects about themselves, a vicarious interaction is initiated.

I believe if you live and work from a place of authenticity, know yourself and 'be' the best rendition of that self, living will be real and eudaimonic. Being authentic is my opportunity to make a difference in the world. My philosophy is to live creatively through my passions with integrity and authenticity and to enhance the quality of life and living through education. We are led by the deepest questions we ask of ourselves and ask of each other. So I ask you to reflect and consider… *how does who you are affect what you do*?

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SCHOOL COLLECTIVE EFFICACY BELIEFS FOR GNH EDUCATION: SCALES, CLUSTERS AND PATTERNS OF RELATIONSHIPS

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Abstract: *There is a widespread perception of recent deteriorating human values in Bhutan. Bhutan is promoting the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) in school education as one way to address this issue. Change agents' collective beliefs in their capacities to facilitate change can influence success at the institutional level. However, there is very little research on efficacy beliefs of change agents internationally and such research is non-existent in Bhutan. This paper explores the collective efficacy beliefs at the school level, where teachers and principals work as change agents for GNH Education. (This is a part of an on-going mixed method PhD study focusing on self- and collective efficacy beliefs of principals and teachers, their perceptions of importance, support systems, and actions and impacts.)*

Data were gathered from principals/vice principals (N = 244) and teachers (N = 1633) of 155 schools employing tailored self-administered questionnaires with substantial parallel content. Based on the standardised collective efficacy scores, the sample schools were clustered using hierarchical cluster analysis. There were some significant differences between clusters. The paper finishes with implications for stakeholders in GNH Education.

Key words: Bhutan education, Gross National Happiness, collective efficacy, change agents, values education

The Research Context

One of the foremost aspirations of human beings is to lead a happy life. However, experiences from developed countries show that too much emphasis on Gross Domestic Product has failed to bring universal happiness amongst their citizens (Dixon, 2004; Duncan, 2010; Fishman, 2010). This is evident from the apparent decline of moral values accompanied by various social aberrations such as drug abuse, violence, sexual aberrations, suicide, and mental disorders (Galloway, 2007; Noddings, 2010; Quisumbing, 1994). To counter these tendencies, more emphasis has been placed on values education in recent years in many countries such as England, USA, Australia, New Zealand, Bhutan, and the Philippines (Arthur, 2005; Curriculum Corporation Australia, 2006; Damon, 2002; Galloway, 2007; Quisumbing, 1994; Wangyel, 2001).

Values education was introduced in the Bhutanese schools in 1999 to be taught as a separate subject (Wangyel, 2001). In the Bhutanese approach, besides formal teaching of values, schools were asked to inculcate values through extracurricular activities as *choeshed* (Dharma talk), games and sports, scouting, and social services (Ngedup, 2006). The extent to which the innovation has taken hold and how effectively the allocated time is utilised are not known. However, Ura (2009) and Wangyel (2001) found that school textbooks in almost all the key learning areas do not adequately integrate necessary values to be taught to students. Only recently has the Bhutanese government further promoted values in schools through the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) Education in association with in-service programmes for principals and teachers. GNH is a philosophy intended to guide Bhutan's development plans and is designed to

contrast directly with the notion of a country's 'Gross Domestic Product' (GDP).

The introduction of teaching of GNH values in the Bhutanese education system is timely as is research into the nature of that intervention. The success of this educational reform effort largely depends on the effectiveness of the immediate educational change agents - principals and teachers. Understanding and supporting the efficacy beliefs of change agents plays a fundamental role in implementing educational innovations. This is important at the institutional level where change agents' collective beliefs in their capacities to facilitate change can influence the success of those changes. Several concerns emerge from this, for instance, what beliefs do Bhutanese principals and teachers have with respect to GNH Education? Are they prepared and confident to implement appropriate changes? Do they have the required capabilities to implement such values-based education?

Collective Efficacy of a School

The idea of collective efficacy is based upon Bandura's notion of personal efficacy (Bandura, 1997). A perceived sense of self-efficacy refers to future beliefs of one's capabilities to organise and execute a specific task in a specific situation (Bandura, 1977). Efficacy theory has been used in a wide variety of situations to predict effort exertion, persistence, actions, and coping from infancy to old age (Bandura, 2000). Bandura (1997) asserted that "perceived collective efficacy is concerned with the performance capability of a social system as a whole" (pp. 468-469). According to Goddard (2002), perceived collective efficacy of a school refers to the "perceptions of teachers in a school that the efforts of the faculty as a whole will have positive effects on students" (p. 100).

While there is literature to indicate that self-efficacy has been well researched in various educational contexts and domains, there is very limited research work on collective efficacy in general and in particular on educational reform and school efficacy.

Following Bandura's (1997) ideas about efficacy information, four principles in implementing GNH Education would be: (a) principals and teachers – the key change agents in schools - have some mastery experience of the concept of GNH values and past achievement experience (enactive mastery experiences); (b) there are some good role models in the schools from whom teachers could learn (vicarious experiences); (c) there are some mechanisms in place for advice and support to the principals and teachers (verbal persuasion); and (d) they experience positive emotions (physiological/emotional states) such as excitement during change efforts. If these are successfully applied, school collective efficacy for GNH Education should be higher.

Even though it was only the second year of implementation, values education consistent with GNH Education had been policy in Bhutanese schools for more than a decade. It would be anticipated that the ideas associated with GNH Education would be differentially promulgated in the schools because of collective efficacy differences between schools. In this paper we address this and related issues through the specific research question: "Is there a statistically significant difference in collective efficacy between different clusters of schools in terms of principal and teacher self-efficacy, their perceptions of the importance of GNH Education, support systems for GHN Education, and actions and impacts on GNH education?"

Methodology

The above research question was addressed using the following strategies.

Sample

The data were gathered from a stratified random sample of 155 schools (28% of schools in Bhutan) comprising 244 principals/vice principals (53% principals & 46% vice principals) and 1633 teachers (23% of teachers in Bhutan) representing all levels of schools, geographical locations (due to time and funding constraints, this study included rural schools, accessible by road, but not schools from remote and difficult-to-access areas, which in Bhutan were located anywhere between three to five days walking distance from a trafficable road), size, type, and system. The response rate was 80 percent for the principals and 76 percent for the teachers. Seventy nine percent of the principal/vice principal respondents were male while 21 percent were female. Forty three percent of the teacher respondents were male and fifty three percent were female. Analysis of the data at the educational system level indicated that the sample was representative (Sherab, 2012).

Instrument

The School Collective Efficacy Belief (SCEB) questionnaire was part of a battery of scales containing 15 principal and 17 teacher items, many of which were adapted from published sources on self-efficacy (Dykes, 2007; Milson, 2003; Milson & Mehlig, 2002). Respondents used a five-point, "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" Likert-type scale with a neutral point at the centre (neither disagree nor agree) to respond to each of the attitude items (see Table 1 & 2 for sample items). A "not applicable" category was also added to avoid confounding inability or unwillingness to give a response with a genuinely neutral "neither disagree nor agree" sentiment (Cooksey & McDonald, 2011). Each scale was followed by an open-ended item inviting the respondent to provide "any other comments." Both the principal and teacher questionnaires comprised five scales with items designed to measure self-efficacy, school collective efficacy and perceptions of importance, support systems, and actions and impacts for GNH Education. A range of demographic measures (such as age, gender, experience and educational qualifications) were also gathered in the instrument. The data gathering process had formal institutional ethics approval.

Analysis

All major statistical analyses were carried out using SPSS 19. Because a large number of tests were computed and in order to control Type 1 error, multivariate statistical tests were used wherever possible coupled with setting the decision criterion for significance at $p = 0.001$ (Cooksey, 2007).

Principal Component Analysis

Principal Component Analyses (PCA) were conducted to identify subsets of items measuring common sub-constructs for each of the five scales embedded in the principal and teacher questionnaires. For the analysis of each scale for each instrument, PCA was employed followed by promax rotation to allow for the possibility of correlated components. The 'eigenvalue greater than 1.0' rule was used to help decide on the number of components to interpret; small factor pattern values below .40 were suppressed prior to interpretation. Scree plots were also produced to help decide on the number of components to retain and interpret. Items that had roughly equal loadings on more than one component, or components that had only one item loading, were discarded and a refined analysis was rerun. A minimum of two

items were required to be highly correlated to form a component. Once the components were finalised for each scale, the contents of the items that defined each component were examined to identify the common theme or idea which had drawn the items together (Cooksey, 2007). Cronbach's alpha was used as the measure of internal consistency reliability. Altogether there were 17 principal and 15 teacher components out of which ten were common between the two samples. Two of the common components concerned self-efficacy, one concerned collective efficacy, four concerned importance, two concerned support systems, and one concerned actions and impacts. The focus of this paper is on a detailed discussion of the *common* collective efficacy component

and subsequent exploration of its patterns of relationship with the other nine common components (whose structures will not be detailed in this paper due to space restrictions).

PCA on Principal Perceptions of SCEB Measurement Scale

The final solution for principal perceptions of SCEB scale produced two distinct components (Table 1). Five items were discarded. Two SCEB components accounted for 51% of the variance in the items and these components were moderately strongly correlated (.56) with each component demonstrating good (.80) and acceptable (.70) reliability.

Table 1
SCEB scale (principal perceptions): Pattern matrix

	Component	
	1	2
(30) If students are kind, it is often because this school has sufficiently modelled this value	.80	
(29) If parents notice that their children are more responsible, it is likely that the school has promoted this value at school	.78	
(27) When a student shows greater respect for others, it is usually because this school has effectively modelled that value	.77	
(31) When a student becomes kind-hearted, it is usually because this school has created a caring school environment	.66	
(28) When students show carefulness it is often because this school has encouraged the students to do so regularly	.63	
(32) Schools who encourage responsibility can influence students' level of responsibility outside of school		.78
(33) When a problematic student is improving, it is usually due to extra attention provided by the school		.69
(39) Teaching students what it means to be honest is likely to result in students who are more honest		.66
(38) Students will become more respectful if our school promoted respectfulness more		.61
(37) Schools which spend time encouraging students to be respectful of others will see changes in students' social interaction		.60

The following labels were provided for principal perceptions of SCEB components:

Component 1: Modelling and promoting values. This component represented a principal's perceptions of collective school ability in promoting values such as kindness, respect, caring and carefulness in students through role modelling and

Component 2: Influencing values development in students. This component represented a principal's perceptions of collective school ability in influencing values such as responsibility, honesty and

respectfulness in their students with more emphasis on problematic students.

PCA on Teacher Perceptions of SCEB Measurement Scale

The final solution for teacher perceptions of SCEB scale produced two distinguishable components (Table 2). Component 1 had nine items and component 2 had three items. Five items were discarded. These two components accounted for 49.8% of the variance and were moderately strongly correlated (.55). The items within each of the two components demonstrated good (.85) and lower acceptable limit reliability (.62).

Table 2
SCEB scale (teacher perceptions): Pattern matrix

	Component	
	1	2
(32)If students are kind, it is often because teachers here have sufficiently modelled the value	.81	
(28)When students show carefulness it is often because teachers here have encouraged the students to do so	.71	
(27) When a student shows greater respect for others, it is usually because teachers here have effectively modelled that value	.69	
(38)When a student becomes kind hearted, it can be because teachers here have created caring classroom environments	.69	
(31)Some students will become more respectful if they have teachers who promote respect as they do at this school	.68	
(30)If parents notice that their children are more responsible, it is likely that teachers have promoted this value at this school	.66	
(34)At this school teaching students what it means to be honest is likely to result in students who are more honest	.65	
(29)In this school teachers who spend time encouraging students to be respectful of others will see changes in students' social interaction	.51	
(39)When a problematic student is improving, it is usually due to extra attention provided by the teachers in this school	.47	
(24)We have a clear vision for implementation GNH education programme in this school		.90
(25)Teachers in this school have the responsibility to model appropriate behaviour to students		.77
(37)Teachers here make the school a safe place for all the students		.52

The following labels were provided for teacher perceptions of SCEB components:

Component 1: Modelling and promoting values. This component represented a teacher's perceptions of collective school ability in terms of promoting values such as kindness, respectfulness, responsibility, caring, honesty and carefulness in students through role modelling; and

Component 2: Creating a dynamic vision for GNH Education. This component represented a teacher's perceptions of collective school ability in terms of creating a dynamic vision for GNH Education.

Modelling and promoting values was the component common to both samples.

Results

In this section a range of statistical analyses explore relationships between clusters identified on the basis of the common SCEB component and the other nine components common to both the principal and teacher samples.

Level of SCEB for GNH Education

An understanding of SCEB in relation to implementation of GNH Education can be developed using the SCEB common component. Hence, to determine the level of SCEB for GNH Education, the principal and teacher scores on the common component were aggregated and a mean score was computed for each school. The school-wise mean for all the sample schools (N = 155) showed that schools had a moderate (3.66) to a very high (4.80) mean for SCEB. More than 75 percent (N = 116) of the sample schools had a mean of 4.00 and above. This is an indication that three quarters of schools were perceived as having high collective efficacy for GNH Education. However, further insights into the SCEB can be achieved.

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis Based on SCEB Score

Cluster analysis was employed in order to identify subgroups of the 155 schools at natural breakpoints along the collective efficacy continuum. A hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) using Ward's Method with squared Euclidean distance, a dissimilarity measure (Cooksey, 2007), was conducted using the standardised average score for the SCEB component. A visual inspection of the dendrogram, an outcome of the HCA, identified four distinct clusters of schools based on their collective efficacy belief. Cluster one had 66 schools, cluster two had 21, cluster three had 40 and cluster four had 28.

Visual inspection of a line graph (Figure 1) comparing the four clusters in terms of their mean scores on SCEB showed that the four clusters clearly differed substantively in terms of collective efficacy beliefs for GNH Education. Clusters 2 and 3 reported relatively higher mean levels of SCEB than Clusters 1 and 4: Cluster 2 contained schools reporting very high SCEB (mean z-score = 1.74); Cluster 3 contained schools reporting relatively high SCEB (mean z-score = 0.55); Cluster 1 contained schools reporting relatively lower SCEB (mean z-score = -0.30) and Cluster 4 contained schools reporting, relatively speaking, the lowest level of SCEB (mean z-score = -1.39). Cluster 2 was tentatively named the Much Higher SCEB, Cluster 3 the Moderately (Mod) Higher SCEB, Cluster 1 the Moderately (Mod) Lower SCEB, and Cluster 4 the Much Lower SCEB.
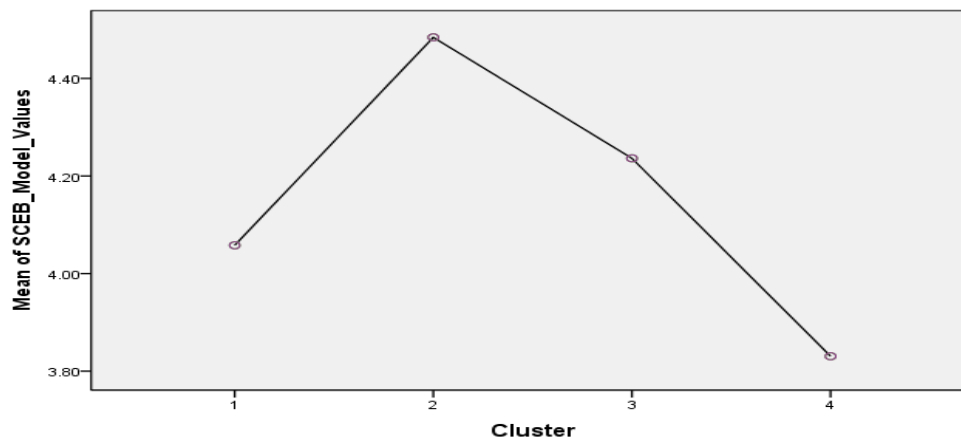
Figure 1. Mean SCEB by cluster

Results of ANOVA Comparison of Four Clusters

To confirm the mean difference observed visually in Figure 1, a one-way ANOVA was conducted with clusters as the independent variable and SCEB component as the dependent variable. Levene's test of homogeneity of variances was observed to be significant ($F(3,151) = 11.99$, $p < .001$). Inspection of the cluster standard deviations (Cluster one = .05, two = .13, three = .05 and four = .08) revealed that the non-homogeneity was not severe as all variances tended to be very small. An ANOVA comparison of the four clusters on their standardised SCEB scores revealed, not surprisingly, that the clusters were significantly different ($F(3,151) = 373.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .88$). In order to further identify where among the four clusters' group mean differences lay, a posthoc multiple comparison Tukey's HSD test was conducted. The results of the test, which evaluated all possible pairs of cluster means showed that all four clusters were significantly different ($p < .001$) from each other (Moderately Lower SCEB, M = 4.06, SD = .05; Much Higher SCEB, M = 4.48, SD = .13; Moderately Higher SCEB, M = 4.24, SD = .05; and Much Lower SCEB, M = 3.83, SD = .08). The cluster names could be retained. Examination of contingency table comparisons between clusters and school characteristics (level, location, system, type, and size) did not show any significant results. Inspection of Pearson's Chi-Square in each of the contingency table analyses for the six school characteristics showed no significant relationship ($p > .001$) with clusters defined by level of SCEB. So, collective efficacy of the schools in the four clusters did not vary by any of its characteristics.

MANOVA Comparisons of the Clusters on the Nine Common Components

A one-way, between subjects multivariate analysis of variance was conducted using clusters as the independent variable and the nine common components (Table 3) as dependent variables.

Levene's test for homogeneity of each of the dependent variables did not show any significant differences with $p > .001$ for all the components, suggesting that the assumption of homogeneity of variances was satisfied. The overall Wilks' Lambda showed that four clusters differed significantly when all the nine components were considered simultaneously (Wilks' lambda = .537, $F(27, 406) = 3.578$, $p = .001$, MV $\eta^2 = .187$). Given the significant multivariate test, univariate F-tests were then evaluated for significance. Table 3 showed that the clusters significantly differed on each of the nine common components.

Table 3
Tests of between-subjects effects for clusters with common components

Dependent Variable		df	Error	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Self-efficacy to *design and teach GNH lessons*		3	147	12.810	<.001	.207
Self-efficacy to *influence values in students*		3	147	14.833	<.001	.232
Perceptions of importance related to *student learning*		3	147	9.436	<.001	.161
Perceptions of importance related to *academic education*		3	147	7.066	<.001	.126
Perceptions of importance related to *support for 4 GNH pillars*		3	147	5.949	<.001	.108
Perceptions of *external support*		3	147	6.125	<.001	.111
Perceptions of *internal support and collaboration*		3	147	10.549	<.001	.177
Perceptions of *student impacts*		3	147	10.305	<.001	.174

(Left margin rotated label: Clusters)

Further investigation employing posthoc multiple comparisons tests identified several significant differences amongst different clusters for each of the nine dependent variables. The cluster-wise mean differences will be explored next for each of the dependent variables.

Cluster-wise Mean Differences for the Two Self-efficacy Components

For self-efficacy related to principal and teacher ability to *design and teach GNH values lessons*, the mean for Much Higher SCEB cluster (Table 4) was found to be significantly higher than the means for Moderately Lower SCEB and Much Lower SCEB clusters. The mean for Moderately Higher SCEB cluster was found to be significantly higher than Much Lower SCEB cluster.

Table 4
Cluster-wise mean and standard deviations for the 9 common components

Common Component		Clusters			
		Much Higher SCEB (2)	Mod Higher SCEB (3)	Mod Lower SCEB (1)	Much Lower SCEB (4)
Self-efficacy to *design and teach GNH values lessons*	M	4.01	3.82	3.75	3.59
	SD	.32	.24	.18	.26
Self-efficacy to *influence values in students*	M	4.30	4.21	4.12	3.98
	SD	.24	.14	.15	.24
Perceptions of importance related to *student learning*	M	4.19	4.08	3.99	3.87
	SD	.25	.20	.22	.26
Perceptions of importance related to *academic education*	M	4.17	4.13	4.02	3.90
	SD	.29	.19	.22	.30
Perceptions of importance related to *support for 4 GNH pillars*	M	4.31	4.34	4.18	4.07
	SD	.38	.23	.25	.32
Perceptions of importance related to *teachability of human values*	M	4.49	4.33	4.26	4.14
	SD	.23	.21	.23	.30
Perceptions of *external support*	M	3.51	3.17	3.09	3.05
	SD	.46	.47	.33	.46
Perceptions of *internal support and collaboration*	M	4.34	4.02	3.91	3.92
	SD	.28	.32	.29	.33
Perceptions of *student impacts*	M	3.80	3.70	3.64	3.51
	SD	.30	.23	.19	.28

For principal and teacher self-efficacy related to their perceptions of *ability in influencing values development in students*, the mean for Much Higher SCEB cluster (Table 4) was significantly higher than the means for Moderately Lower SCEB cluster and Much Lower SCEB cluster. The mean for Moderately Higher SCEB cluster was significantly higher than the mean for Much Lower SCEB cluster. However, the mean for Moderately Lower SCEB cluster was marginally higher (p = .004) than the mean for Much Lower SCEB cluster.

There is a possible pattern apparent amongst the clusters: higher to lower cluster scores signalled higher to lower ability to influence values development in students. This pattern in both the self-efficacy components showed that individual self-efficacy for GNH Education had a direct relationship with SCEB for GNH Education. This suggests that self-efficacy of individuals directly reflected the robustness of collective efficacy of a school.

Cluster-wise Mean Differences for the Four Perceptions of Importance of GNH Education Component

For perceptions of importance of GNH Education in terms of *student learning*, the mean for Much Higher SCEB cluster (Table 4) was significantly higher than the mean for Much Lower SCEB cluster. The means for Moderately Lower SCEB and Moderately Higher SCEB clusters were marginally lower (p = .003 and .002) than the means for Much Higher SCEB and Much Lower SCEB clusters respectively. The mean differences observed above indicated that the higher collective efficacy schools also tended to have stronger perceptions of the importance of GNH Education in terms of student learning. This implied that schools with higher collective efficacy belief also tended to perceive that the introduction of GNH Education in the Bhutanese schools had

the potential to benefit students in other key learning areas.

For perceptions of importance of GNH Education in terms of enhancing *academic education* of students, the means for Much Higher SCEB (Table 4) and Moderately Higher SCEB clusters were significantly higher than the mean for Much Lower SCEB cluster. Thus principal and teacher perceptions did not seem to differ much in terms of importance they accorded to the potential influence GNH Education could have on students' academic performance though there were clear differences in the two higher and the much lower SCEB clusters.

For perceptions of importance of GNH Education in terms of providing support for *four GNH pillars* (Table 4), the mean for Moderately Higher SCEB cluster was significantly higher than the mean for the Much Lower SCEB cluster. Interestingly the trend showed that Moderately Higher SCEB cluster (not the Much Higher cluster) had stronger perceptions of importance of GNH Education to support the government in promoting the four pillars of GNH than any other clusters although why this might be the case is not clear.

For perceptions of importance of *teachability of human values and happiness skills* (Table 4), the mean for Much Higher SCEB cluster was significantly higher than the mean for Much Lower SCEB cluster. The mean for Moderately Lower SCEB cluster was marginally lower (p = .003) than the mean for Much Higher SCEB cluster. Similar to the other common components, the relatively higher collective efficacy schools tended to show stronger perceptions of the teachability of human values and happiness skills to students than the lower clusters.

Cluster-wise Mean Differences for the Two Perceptions of Support System for GNH Education Component

In terms of principal and teacher perceptions of the support their schools received from *external agents* such as teacher training colleges, curriculum department, District Education Office, the School Monitoring and Support Services (Table 4), the mean for Much Higher SCEB cluster was significantly higher than the means for Moderately Lower SCEB and Much Lower SCEB clusters. The four cluster means for the principal and teacher perceptions of external support also indicated a similar pattern. However, the means for external support were comparatively lower than the other components indicating relatively lower overall perceptions of support provided.

For perceptions of the *internal school level support and collaboration* (Table 4), the mean for Much Higher SCEB cluster was significantly higher than the means for all the other three clusters. This would seem to indicate that internal support in the Much Higher SCEB cluster was really noticed.

Cluster-wise Mean Difference for the Perceptions of Actions and Impacts of GNH Education Component

Principal and teacher perceptions (Table 4) of actions and impacts of GNH Education related to *student impact* also showed that the mean for Much Higher SCEB cluster was significantly higher than the means of Moderately Lower SCEB and Much Lower SCEB clusters. The mean of Moderately Higher SCEB cluster was marginally higher (p = .005) than the mean of the Much Lower SCEB cluster.

While the mean difference for this component was not large between the schools in different clusters, the trend seemed to be maintained: more efficacious schools tended to possess stronger perceptions and inefficacious schools weaker perceptions of the impact that GNH Education can have on students.

Conclusions and Implications

In the consideration of the school collective efficacy cluster differences for all the common components between principals and teachers, it became obvious that there was some relationship between school collective efficacy and principal and teacher self-efficacy, their perceptions of importance, support systems, and actions and impacts with respect to GNH education. The higher the collective efficacy for GNH Education the higher principal and teacher self-efficacy beliefs tended to be. There was also a trend for higher collective efficacy schools to exhibit stronger perceptions of importance, support systems, and actions and impacts. Conversely, lower collective efficacy schools exhibited lower principal and teacher self-efficacy, weaker perceptions of importance, support systems, and actions and impacts. These findings corroborate the findings of Ghaith and Yaghi (1997) who concluded that teachers with a higher sense of teaching efficacy for implementation of cooperative learning methods also considered the method more important, more congruent and less difficult to implement. This suggests that efficacious schools are more likely to implement the GNH Education program successfully. However, it is worthwhile to note that schools in the Much Higher SCEB and Moderately Higher SCEB clusters represented only 39.3 percent of the sample schools whereas the majority (Moderately Lower SCEB and Much Lower SCEB) had relatively lower self-efficacy and weaker perceptions of importance of GNH Education, support systems and actions and impacts suggesting more work needs to be done in the latter schools.

The nature of these data, with only 13.5% of the schools in the Much Higher SCEB

cluster, shows that many schools have some element of self-doubts regarding their collective capabilities to successfully implement the GNH Education. Such self-doubt in the change agents can easily overrule their skills and can impact on their performance (Bandura, 1997). Bandura (1977) contends that perceived efficacy, "largely determine(s) how complex things look" (p. 518). He further asserted that "activities that exceed perceived capabilities appear complex, whereas those that fall within the bounds of perceived capabilities are viewed as doable" (p. 518). From this we can conclude that promotion of GNH values such as kindness, responsibility, respectfulness, honesty, caring, and carefulness through role modelling may well be perceived as complex to as many as three fifths of the sample schools' leaders and teachers but to what extent this is true is an empirical question. Existing literature in studies outside Bhutan has shown that inefficacious schools do not put in adequate effort, show less persistence, and are not resilient and motivated to effectively implement educational innovations (Hoy, Sweetland, & Smith, 2002), and this may be the case in Bhutan also. Under such circumstances, well-intended innovations are likely to be unsuccessful. Here the four sources of efficacy information- enactive mastery experiences, vicarious experiences, verbal persuasion and physiological/emotional states – may not have been adequately addressed in implementing GNH Education.

There are implications for the various stakeholders in GNH Education. First, it is crucial that schools concentrate on building effective role models in terms of promoting GNH values. According to Bandura (1997) effective role modelling plays a significant role in enhancing perceived collective efficacy of an organisation such as schools at two levels - individuals as well as whole schools. The

research of Hoy et al. (2002) has shown that as individuals experience success and observe the success stories of other schools, they develop beliefs in their own capacities to succeed. Second, schools need to provide adequate time to create conducive learning environments consistent with GNH values. Third, schools need to provide extra attention to problematic students, so that teachers learn to assist such students to cope with the regular demands of a student's life. Fourth, besides effective role models, schools also need to constantly encourage students to be respectful of others. The collective efficacy of a school will be enhanced if all these measures are nurtured in every school thereby fulfilling the GNH vision of Bhutan. There are staffs within schools (principals and teachers) who can model the knowledge, skills, and understandings at the group and institutional levels. These can be found among the schools that are in the Much Higher SCEB cluster an action which will be taken up in a further paper.

Overall the preliminary findings from this study based on the SCEB give an impression that principals and teachers who are the GNH Education change agents have not been adequately equipped to handle the task of imparting values to the students. The success of GNH Education cannot depend on only two fifth of the schools. To see that GNH Education will be successfully implemented it is crucial that stakeholders take initiatives to enhance the collective efficacy of all schools especially in those shown here to be in the lower two groups.

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LIMITS AND GROSS NATIONAL HAPPINESS:
THE TEACHER'S ROLE

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Abstract: *The concept of limits appears extraneous to education whose purpose is usually to remove or overcome limits in an effort to support students in reaching full potential. Yet the recognition of limits can lead to opportunities for uniqueness and innovation. This approach is congruent with Bhutan's philosophy of Gross National Happiness (GNH) in that it synthesizes individual and collective mental and spiritual growth with recognition of local, national, and global finiteness. This paper describes courses on small states and on pre-20th century African women leaders as subjects exemplifying limits as a valuable concept and identifies their relevance to GNH.*

Key words: education, Gross National Happiness, limits, potential, small states, African women leaders

Introduction

The concept of limits appears strange as a topic for education. After all, education is usually associated with overcoming or removing limits. When associated with Bhutan's philosophy of Gross National Happiness (GNH), the relevance of limits appears similarly problematic, but in fact has great value. GNH is associated with contentment; and that contentment on the one hand is associated with a recognition and acceptance of limits, whether external or internal, but on the other also with a refusal to resign to limits, instead electing to overcome or transform them into opportunities and assets.

When introduced into discussions on education, limits often have an ironic way of being self-effacing. That is, identifying limits is the first step to overcoming them, or to becoming *more limitless* through the very recognition of those limits. This essay presents two very distinct courses—a graduate political science seminar on small states in international politics and an undergraduate interdisciplinary honors course on pre-20th century African women leaders—as illustrative examples of this self-effacing phenomenon. The author

designed and taught each of these courses at Long Island University's Brooklyn campus in New York City in the Spring 2009 and Fall 2010 semesters, respectively.

The remainder of this essay proceeds as follows. First is a summary of each course's goals and subject material and the relevance of each course to the concept of limits. Next is an application of the ideas introduced in the first part to Gross National Happiness (GNH), especially the component of education. Following this is an explanation of the role a teacher can play in synthesizing limits and key elements of GNH, especially using these course subjects. The final part of the essay suggests a way to link the two course subjects through a creative exercise that can be used to generate further inquiry, and to incorporate the creative and interpretive imaginations without sacrificing analytic rigor.

Small States in International Politics

The graduate seminar and related speakers' series on small states in international politics centered on two key questions: (a) Does size matter and in what

way? and (b) What can small states teach us about international politics more generally? Objectives for the graduate seminar were as follows:

1. To introduce small states as a concept in the study of international relations.
2. To introduce states that, due to their small size, may be altogether unfamiliar to the students.
3. To examine the way in which small states contribute to competing realist, liberal, identity, and critical theories in the study of international relations (Hey, 2003; Ingebritsen, Beyer, Gstohl, & Neumann, 2006; Nau, 2013).
4. To understand the relativity involved in defining small states, namely, how small or large a state is depends on the size of its neighbors, its own level of economic prosperity, and its role in world politics.
5. To present issues in small states, especially micro-states—defined as sovereign states with a non-sea area of fewer than 1,000 square kilometers, and/or a population of fewer than 500,000—as microcosms of salient worldwide issues such as climate change and globalization.
6. To identify and understand ways in which small states convert their vulnerabilities into strengths, and the unique ways in which they exercise autonomy.

Throughout the seminar, it was evident that small states paradoxically reinforce several key tenets of competing theories of international relations. For example, they exemplify vulnerability in the anarchical system of self-help characterized by world politics according to realist theories; they rely on and place great faith in international institutions, a key component of liberal theories; they assert and sustain autonomy on the basis of culture in accordance with many identity theories; and the impact of global capitalism, especially on small low-income states, supports arguments made by critical theorists.

As in many aspects of life, relativity is a key aspect of any discourse on small states. For example, Paraguay is not tiny of its own accord, but politically, militarily, and economically shrinks in the context of bordering Argentina and Brazil. Conversely, Jamaica is not large, but is a giant of the English-speaking Caribbean, and the foreign policy of relatively small Israel is pivotal in Middle East politics. (Hey, 2003)

Among international relations scholars within the discipline of political science, small states have received relatively little attention. Rather, the focus tends to be on large, powerful states or on international institutions with the acknowledgment of the importance of those institutions to small states as a means of empowerment. Yet the sparse scholarship on small states recognizes not only their obvious limits of power, but also, and more significantly, the ways in which small states overcome or even use their limits to prosper and to exercise autonomy. In this way the study of small states provides students with ways of thinking about limits as points of departure for innovation and creativity.

As noted previously, small states both reinforce and refute mainstream theories of international relations that focus either on self-help according to degrees of power within a context of anarchy (realism) or on international institutions as manifestations and agents of international cooperation through law, commerce, and negotiation (liberalism). Small states are obviously lesser endowed militarily and often economically than their larger counterparts. As a result, they are prone either to adopt allies or to rely heavily on international institutions such as the

United Nations system and regional organizations to gain allies and otherwise protect their national interests, thereby reinforcing the central arguments of liberal thinkers who traditionally have stood in direct opposition to their realist counterparts who minimize the value and efficacy of international institutions. Small states are limited and thus vulnerable; yet that very vulnerability becomes the premise on which they successfully find allies and gain respect as reliable and effective members of international organizations that in turn need membership cooperation to achieve their collective goals.

Furthermore, small state populations tend to exhibit greater degrees of life satisfaction than do larger states. The London-based New Economics Foundation points to this tendency in island states and attributes it in large part to a clear recognition and acceptance of the need to function within clearly defined geographical and resource limits. (Abdallah, Michaelson, Shah, Stoll, & Marks, 2012; Abdallah, Thompson, Michaelson, Marks, & Steuer, 2009; Marks, Abdallah, Simms, & Thompson, 2006).

Were this to be the end of the story, however, one could question the appropriateness of this logic for education. After all, should education really be about *accepting* limits once recognized and being *content* with that recognition? Perhaps that is one element; struggling to the point of misery for the clearly unattainable generally does not improve one's own life or that of others. For example, a doubly landlocked country determined to launch its own navy or domestic shellfish industry can do so only by severely altering its natural environment and depleting the resources of others, and that against probably insurmountable odds. Nevertheless, recognition and acceptance of certain limits can enhance focus on other attributes perhaps unnoticed in the absence of those limits. Thus doubly landlocked Liechtenstein has neither a navy nor a shellfish industry but is the world's largest producer of dentures!

Liechtenstein is one of three West European microstates that rarely receives scholarly attention; the other two are Andorra and San Marino. Yet each has unique characteristics that provide valuable insights on the nature of sovereignty, democracy, and neutrality. (Duursma, 1996; Eccardt, 2005). Andorra is the world's only diarchy, with co-princely rule by the Prime Minister of France and the Bishop of Urgell, Spain, while at the same time maintaining vibrant cultural autonomy through active use and preservation of Catalan as its national language. Despite being doubly landlocked (and being the world's leading producer of false teeth), Liechtenstein has developed an advanced service economy, served as a pioneer in seeking small state membership in the Council of Europe and other international bodies and managed to avoid the Anschluss through diplomatic exchanges with Switzerland and directly with Hitler in Austria. San Marino boasts the oldest continuously functioning democratic republic in the world dating to the 11th century (Eccardt, 2005).

Turning to the global South, the tiny island nations of Sao Tome and Principe, the Comoros, and Cape Verde have long traditions of political transparency and stability relative to many other sub-Saharan African nations (Ibrahim Foundation, 2011). Ensconced between China and India, the tiny kingdom of Bhutan, whose king developed the concept of GNH, has a legacy of very deliberate alternation of sequestering itself from and opening itself to the effects of both globalism and globalization, thus demonstrating the great potential for small

state social autonomy even within a context of economic dependency.

Closer attention to small states and the accompanying concepts of limits can also inform us about negative conditions that tend to be overlooked. For example, Malta's recent rejection and ill treatment of Libyan asylum-seekers and the Gambia's persistent human rights violations and unfair elections may go unnoticed in the wake of human rights atrocities and other crises in larger nations (Amnesty International, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2012; Saine, 2010). For the scholar, comparisons and contrasts of human rights violations and political and economic instability in small and large countries are important for analytic insight. For the activist and scholar-activist, such inclusion is important to prevent the small from being forgotten in the absence of greater media or other attention.

Pre-20th Century African Women Leaders

The study of pre-20th century African women leaders offers a different perspective on limits, namely, limited accessible information. This limited accessibility differs from the limited attention devoted to small states precisely because while small states are present among us, thus making it possible to learn about them through observation and experience, pre-20th century African women leaders can be known to us only through historical documents, which in many cases are sparse or non-existent. The six women on whom the course focused have limited biographical information available at least in English and accessible in the United States and much of the global North.

The six leaders discussed were Hatchepsut of Egypt; The Kahina of the Mahgreb; Nzinga of Ndongo and Matamba; Doña Beatrice Kimpa Vita of Kongo; Ranavalona of Madagascar; and Yaa Asentewa of Asante (see Appendix for biographical sketches) (Edgarton, 1995; Hannoum, 2001; Laidler, 2005; Tyldesley, 1996). Another six for whom neither biographical nor contextual information was sufficient to enable a substantive dialogue were Candace of Meroe; Amina of Hausaland; Helena and Sabla Wangel of Ethiopia; Mmanthatisi of the Sotho; Muganzirwazza of Buganda; and Nehanda of Zimbabwe (Sweetman, 1984; Thornton & Heywood, 2007; Wrigley, 2002).

Primary objectives for the course were as follows:
1. To introduce students to the world of pre-20th century African women who ruled empires, resisted colonization, and provided spiritual and political leadership.
2. To have students recognize the interdisciplinary possibilities with respect to biography and to understand the significance to interpretation of these different approaches by exposing the students to biographies from different disciplinary perspectives, including archaeology, cultural anthropology, and history.
3. To expand the base of knowledge about pre-20th century African women leaders beyond the university classroom, by having the students develop collectively a presentation about these leaders that was suitable for a middle school or high school class. To this end, the students presented a mosaic of creative and expository material to students at Brooklyn Technical High School in Brooklyn, New York City.
4. To inspire further research on these and other African women leaders about whom little is known relative to their male counterparts or other world leaders.

The problem of limited information in turn poses limits on discovery; this is especially true in an age in which information is more accessible than ever. This accessibility ironically tends to lead us away from approaching subject matter for which information is not accessible. While this shows intellectual responsibility on the one hand, on the other, it imposes a multiplier effect of limitation on our scope of learning. In other words, if information is scarce, we may tend to exclude the subject from our curricula, thus further diminishing the possibility of generating information on it. Investigating ways to overcome this dilemma was a quest for instructor and students alike.

Small States and Pre-20th Century African Women Leaders: The Connection to Gross National Happiness

The domains of GNH are psychological well-being, physical health, work-time balance, community vitality and social connections, education and capacity-building, cultural vitality and access to arts and culture, environmental quality and access to nature, democratic governance, material well-being, and workplace experience (see http://www.grossnationalhappiness.com).

The relevance of teaching about small states and pre-20th century African women leaders varies among these domains from direct to more symbolic. As previously noted, inhabitants of small states, especially small island states, have shown a greater tendency toward high degrees of life satisfaction than their larger counterparts. The tangible reality of limited land area, combined with often favorable geographic conditions, such as coastal access, marine sustenance, and a temperate climate together suggest the opportunities and value of optimizing assets as a way to offset limits. One can apply this approach individually as well as

collectively, and to this end, small states can serve as metaphors for paths to psychological well-being.

Similarly, the examples set by pre-20th century African women leaders, especially those who overcame male dominance, marginalization, and confrontation by Europeans and other outsiders, point to strength of character and leadership qualities as key components of psychological well-being while at the same time pointing also to the occasional need to defy conformity and the importance of cultural salience as a statement of autonomy. With respect to the African women leaders, in almost all cases their leadership was centered on cultural preservation in the face of invasion.

Environmental well-being includes conservation of resources with a view to sustainability. Again, small states are particularly cognizant of both the importance of managing their own resources effectively and also their vulnerability in the absence of resource conservation at the global level.

The study of small states and pre-20th century African women leaders is at once an experience in discovery and a quest to include the marginalized. In these ways it is congruent with the concept of education ensconced in GNH. As previously noted, international relations scholars tend to focus on large, powerful states, turning their attention to their small, less powerful counterparts only when they are associated with crisis. The 1980s war in El Salvador, the 1990 Iraqi intervention in Kuwait, and the 1983 U.S. intervention in Grenada are all examples of this exception. While knowledge of powerful actors and of war and other crises is important, this approach obscures so many equally important activities in the world.

For example, the study of small state diplomacy can teach us how to empower

ourselves through interdependence and how to discover within ourselves our own unique attributes and potential contributions to humanity. It can also teach us much about relativity. When is a small state truly small? International relations scholar Hey and her colleagues (2003) noted in their volume on small states that recognition is easier than definition, namely "You know it when you see it" (p. 3). The examples of Paraguay, Jamaica, and Israel were noted earlier. From an alternative vantage point, one can consider—as did one student in the seminar—the example of Kazakhstan, a relatively large state but rendered smaller by the presence of its neighbors, Russia and China. Yet another perspective is that of large land area but small population, *e.g.,* Canada with the smallest population of continental North American states, and Mongolia, the world's least densely populated sovereign state. This exercise in relativity is important because it places apparent strengths in perspective. For example, having a large land area is a valuable resource, but low or uneven population density can cause logistical difficulty as well as problems of unequal resource access. Improving access through transportation is in turn more costly over large areas. Conversely, a more densely populated small land area may lend itself to easier access, but at the same time may lack the options that a greater land area affords.

In summary, the study of both small states and pre-20th century African women leaders has relevance to all domains of GNH through its presentation of limits as something to be recognized, identified, defined, respected, and either accepted or overcome depending on contextual and normative bases for action.

The Role of the Teacher

The role of the teacher with respect to discovery and to limits is complex. In order to be authentic, the process of discovery must belong to each student. In other words, if a teacher dictates to a student what she or he is likely to or should discover, the discovery itself is diminished. Even if the teacher guides a student toward discovery without revealing what the discovery is, that guidance could preclude the student's discovery of other things not anticipated by the teacher. Yet guidance in teaching is essential.

Similarly, identifying limits can help to give a student direction, or it can tragically close a student's mind to opportunities or recognition of his/her own attributes. Recognizing the way small states deal with their vulnerabilities can help students think of creative ways to deal with their own vulnerabilities. Examining the lives of pre-20th century African women leaders can spark creative imagination.

The teacher can help students in this process in several ways. A teacher can ask students to explain why small states are more vulnerable, and then explore together interpretations of vulnerability. To what extent is interpretation of vulnerability influenced by culture and context, *e.g.* the presence of large as seemingly stronger only when juxtaposed with smaller? For example, someone who feels vulnerable because she or he is small in stature may find strength in more facile movement than his/her larger, taller counterparts. Alternatively, someone who may feel vulnerability in the form of discomfort in working with others may also find strength in the ability to work independently. That strength, when discovered and nurtured, can in turn lead the individual to a newfound comfort level and desire to work with others. Just as small state leaders and citizens take inventory of all their strengths and weaknesses, so can students, with guidance from the teacher. Using small states as a metaphor for this removes the focus on the student so that

vulnerability and limits can be discussed more objectively, leaving students to apply the metaphor, privately revealing their findings at their own discretion.

With respect to pre-20th century African women leaders, or any similarly obscure subject, the teacher can guide students in confronting limits in a different way. The dearth of written material—at least in the global North—about many of these women signifies the cultural vacuum experienced when a part of history is neglected. Without knowing about these leaders, who were as significant to the histories of their countries as prominent leaders who are more widely known were to theirs, people have an incomplete understanding of Africa's history in some cases, to the point that they may disregard it altogether. Teachers can stress the importance of inclusion in scholarship, encouraging students to probe presently neglected subjects.

Of course, lack of reliable data can turn any inquiry into a vicious cycle. Failure to address the unknown results in absence of information, which in turn does not lend itself to pragmatic choices about subjects for research. One way to overcome this problem is by applying creativity in the absence of data, as a means of learning. The students in the course on pre-20th century African women leaders wrote short stories, poetry, dramatic monologues, and skits about leaders for whom information was scarce.

This application of creativity does carry risks, but these in turn also provide an opportunity for the teacher's guidance. The teacher can be instrumental in helping students understand the role of data-gathering and the risks and benefits of doing research in the presence of data gaps. Data are essential and should be sought and gathered systematically. While sporadic anecdotal evidence can illustrate a point of view, it is too random to be the basis for definitive conclusions. Still at some level all data-gathering, and thus all data, are random. We gather data as part of seeking an answer to a question or argument that we have raised; in that process, we risk overlooking a more relevant or significant question as well as data that may disprove the very argument that launches our research. Guiding students in synthesizing creative and empirical approaches can help them both confront the problem of data gaps and reflect on their own data-gathering choices and observations.

Small States and Pre-20th Century African Women Leaders: Finding a Connection

The preceding paragraphs have presented subject matter from two courses, both having the theme of limits but in very different ways. Small states are limited by size and resources; these limitations in turn often lead to innovation and manifestations of uniqueness. The study of pre-20th century African women leaders is limited by information scarcity, and the related reluctance to teach something about which so little information is readily accessible. While each of these subjects alone embodies abundant potential for discussion in its own right, the conclusion of this essay presents an approach to combining them as well.

Lesotho is a small, landlocked mountainous country surrounded entirely by South Africa. It boasts an 85% literacy rate of persons 15 years and older, which is one of the highest literacy rates in Africa. Moreover, female literacy stands at 94.5%, which is higher than the male literacy rate of about 83%, an unusual phenomenon in the global South. On the negative side, Lesotho's citizens have very limited access to health and educational facilities, and the country has one of the highest incidents of HIV/AIDS in the world. As of 2012, life expectancy for

both men and women was just over 48 years (United Nations Development Programme, 2012).

Mmanthatisi of the Sotho was a powerful leader of the Tlokwa who settled in what is today Lesotho. The poem is from the imaginary vantage point of Mmanthatisi's spirit addressing the people of Lesotho today. The poem is written in the form known as "Joseph's Star" created by poet Christina R. Jussaume, which also has a diamond shape with corresponding references in the text to Lesotho's diamond resources. The poem contains multiple references to various aspects of Lesotho's culture, history, current issues and problems, in the hope that the reader can use it as a point of departure for further discovery about both this small state and its powerful queen and military leader of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Mmanthatisi's Diamonds
by Nancy E. Wright

Rise,
You Mountain!
Kilimanjaro
Smiles southward at your rising
Thabana Ntlenyana
Stretching rocky hands
To the stars,
Rise.

I
Was so strong,
Crossing the frontier
With an army of thousands,
That the people took my name,
The Mmanthatisi,
The Tlokwa
Tribe.

Now
You are free.
You are literate.
But I see your joy is scarce,
Despite water and diamonds
Flowing from snow peaks,
You are poor
Now.

Boers
Are no more,
The *Difiqane*,
If it ever existed,
Is no more the displacer.
Yet displaced your gifts,
Diamonds and
Snow.

Rich
To the eye,
"Lesotho Promise."
Diamond so giant, so rare,
Flashing green and white crystal
Unbreakable gem,
Poor, broken
Land.

You,
Sesotho's
Speakers, will find joy.
"Khotso, *Pula* and *Nala"*
"Peace, Rain, and Prosperity"
In uniqueness like
Snow crystals,
Yours.

Hope
You will find
In farmers and poets
With diamond-like resilience.
Those whose names are yet unknown
Will lead Lesotho,
The Tlokwa
Home.

Summary and Conclusions

Small states and pre-20th century African women leaders share the characteristic of limits. Both subjects have relevance to Bhutan's philosophy of GNH, which presents a balance between mental and spiritual growth and recognition of limits at individual, societal, and global levels. By introducing students to these subjects and the limits they embody, a teacher can guide students through the process of identifying what they may see as limits within themselves, and in recognizing their value and discovering ways to use those limits as points of departure for further opportunities and growth.

Appendix

Core Leaders for Class Discussion

Hatshepsut. Hatshepsut was the daughter of Pharaoh Thutmose I. Her reign began in Egypt's New Kingdom, a time when Egypt was at its zenith of power, and her expertise in planning and building helped to stabilize and consolidate the empire. When Hatshepsut succeeded Thutmose, Egypt was in its New Kingdom. Hatshepsut is particularly noted for her trading expedition to Punt, the coastal area of modern Somalia, and mining expeditions to Sinai and Aswan. She also carried out an extensive rebuilding program to repair damage during the struggle against the Hyksos.

The Kahina of the Maghreb. The Kahina legend is arguably the most enduring and powerful among the Berbers, as well as throughout North Africa, and continues to provide a rallying symbol for nationalism and feminism among North African peoples. Kahina led the group of Berbers known as the Jerawa from the Aures Mountains. She is thought perhaps to be of mixed Berber and Byzantine descent, and/or to have borne two sons, one Byzantine and one Berber; if true, this could explain her ability to unite the two groups against Arab intervention. After repelling the Arab invasion under Hassan ibn al-Numan al-Ghassani, Kahina ruled the new Berber kingdom until its demise.

Nzinga of Ndongo and Matamba (circa 1581 – 1663). Queen Nzinga's legacy has become extremely powerful and salient both within Angola and throughout the African continent. She fought the Portuguese domination of what is today Angola, forming a guerrilla army, and created a new multiethnic homeland following the displacement of her people by the Portuguese.

Doña Beatriz Kimpa Vita of Kongo. Originally named Kimpa Vita, Doña Beatriz was of noble birth. Her vision of St. Anthony, a Portuguese saint revered by missionaries and settlers in the Kongo and Ndongo Kingdoms, led her to work for the restoration of the kingdom as it was believed to have flourished under Alfonso I, establishing the Kongo as the Holy Land, São Salvador as the birthplace of Christ, and Africans as the founders of Christianity. She was ultimately burned at the stake for her beliefs.

Ranavalona of Madagascar. Reigning from 1828 to 1861, Ranavalona is known for curtailing European encroachment. She is also regarded by some with a certain degree of infamy, due to her ruthless practices, such as restoring traditional methods of summary execution, toward those among her own people who converted to Christianity in the wake of her determination to return Madagascar to the ways of her ancestors.

Yaa Asantewa of Asante. Yaa Asantewa led the Asante people of what is today Ghana during the last half of the 19th century and into the first quarter of the 20th century, at a time when British traders had all but decimated the Asante. She is celebrated as one of Africa's greatest women rulers, and is associated with the religious tradition of the Golden Stool, the Asante royal throne believed to have descended from the heavens and symbolizing the spirit of the Asante nation.

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HAPPINESS: AT WHAT COST?

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Abstract: *In this paper, we examine how Western liberal constructions of happiness are embedded in the goals and everyday work of teachers striving to create positive learning environments in their classrooms. We ask: at what cost is such happiness achieved? Drawing on empirical data collected from interviews with practicing teachers in a graduate course, and building on our classroom experiences in graduate and teacher education, we trouble liberal notions of happiness in order to understand the inequities perpetuated in schooling institutions. As educators committed to social justice education and critical pedagogy, we challenge pedagogical approaches in classrooms that: support treating all students the same, advocate 'equality over equity', ignore differences, avoid conflict and inevitably resist difficult knowledge. Such perspectives on teaching, we argue, can prevent teachers from naming difference and engaging with the discomfort and tensions that are important in productive and transformative education.*

Key words: Whiteness theory, social justice, critical pedagogy, happiness, racialism

Introduction

The Canadian context, in which we live and work, is often touted as a model of 'happy multiculturalism.' In 1971, Canada adopted an official policy. Currently, multiculturalism is commonly framed as a "national asset," upheld in laws, policy and the constitution. Multiculturalism, as policy and vernacular practice, characterizes Canadians as encouraging "racial and ethnic harmony and cross cultural understanding" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, n.d., para 2) - a view bolstered by international recognition of Canada as one of the world's best places to live (The "Better Life Initiative" survey, an initiative of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), rated Canada #2 behind Australia in 2011 as having the best quality of life among industrialized countries.) and as one of the highest ranked countries in terms of life satisfaction (OECD Better Life Index, n.d.). Canada has also scored high on global happiness surveys (Scholz, 2011) reflecting a general belief that Canadians are a happy, tolerant, and equitable people. However, the reality of current classrooms of diverse student populations often contradicts Canada's public image. Despite dominant public discourses of a 'happy multiculturalism' we know that the well-being and happiness of many students, particularly those not representative of the dominant group, are affected by persistent marginalization, social inequality, stereotyping, and prejudice, which schools, policies, and teaching practices often reinforce. Many children face challenges outside the classroom, related to racism, poverty, and personal circumstances that have an effect on their self-esteem, school performance, aspirations, and ultimately their well-being, happiness and life opportunities (James et al., 2010; James & Taylor, 2008). As Levine-Rasky (2006) and others (Bannerji, 2000) suggest, there are tensions between multiculturalism as an official Act enshrined in the constitution, and the persistence of discrimination, intolerance and racism in schools and classrooms.

Although teachers may be exposed to critical, anti-oppressive, and anti-racist pedagogies in their teacher training, such principles often do not translate into practice (Tilley, 2006). Liberal minded

teachers, most of whom in Canada are White (We understand the category 'White' [like all racial categories] as a socially constructed and heterogeneous designation that includes various religious, cultural, ethnic, socioeconomic, and linguistic groups. Our use of the term is meant to underscore the dominant group in Canada, which routinely constructs/ positions itself as 'normal,' non-racialized, and thus non-racist.), middle-class, and female, continue to hold on to the discourse of 'happy multiculturalism' in their views of education and in their approaches to teaching. They tend to celebrate cultural differences through the 3 F's (Fun, Food, and Festivals), an approach that ultimately serves to dismiss the differences that do matter in terms of students' experiences, perceptions, and successes in school. Building on the belief that 'happy students are productive students' (and that happy teachers are the most effective educators), teachers attempt to ensure their classrooms are harmonious, comfortable, and safe. Uncritical approaches to multicultural education reflect the broader national sentiment of tolerance, care, and equality for all, and textbooks and classroom materials often feature happy and smiling multicultural faces seemingly representing the spectrum of cultural diversity.

But what exactly do teachers and schools consider to be 'happiness' – happiness for whom? Can we expect that all students are equally happy? We are not suggesting that teachers should abandon their efforts to cultivate happy and engaged pupils. Rather, we argue that happiness must be seen as a contested concept – one that shifts across national and cultural borders and often differs in the East and the West. Although happiness across all contexts is generally considered desirable, there are distinct differences in how happiness is defined. For example, the search for happiness in Western liberal contexts, including Canada, has been defined by a

rise of middle class values including beliefs in an individual's 'right' and entitlement to happiness. Dominant Christian values in the West, which uphold ideas of personal rights and individual equality, often associate happiness with better health, wealth, and life satisfaction (Lu and Gilmour, 2004). In the American context, like in Canada, the pursuit of happiness is understood as an inalienable right and happiness a reward for one's hard work. These values are also upheld in the U.S. Declaration of Independence. In the Eastern context, however, happiness has generally been understood as having less to do with income and individual success but rather with reducing suffering and valuing community (Nitnitiphrut, 2007). Eastern studies of happiness tend to draw on Buddhist and Confucian ideals such as wisdom, good moral conduct, self-control, and group harmony as key variables that help people calm their minds, understand their nature, and foster happy living (Lu and Gilmour, 2004; Nitnitiphrut, 2007). Further, Eastern emphases on hope and faith, as well as a focus on coming to terms with one's current conditions and consequences, tend to hold more importance than individual accomplishment. In contrast to Western individualism, many Eastern perspectives on happiness tend to emphasize interdependency, collective engagement, and relational being highlighting a "connected, fluid, flexible, committed being who is bound to others" (Lu and Gilmour, 2004, p. 274).

Lu and Gilmour (2004) explored different conceptions of happiness in their study of 202 undergraduate White Americans and 142 undergraduate Chinese students between the ages of 17 and 25. Their research found that among Chinese students, understandings of happiness tended to be more "solemn and introspective," emphasized spirituality and "psychological transcendence" (p. 270), integrated social expectations, and

included a sense of life-balance and expressions of "gratitude and heart-felt thankfulness" for their fate (p. 281). In comparison, White American accounts tended to "uphold personal happiness as the supreme value of life," were more "uplifting, elated, [and] exciting," asserted individual agency, and placed emphasis on physical pleasures, comfort, and the enjoyment of life in the present moment. Figuring within the White American accounts of happiness was also the idea of contentment, which included a sense of achievement in life and "striving for material gratification and personal achievement" (Lu & Gilmour, p. 288). Such Western (notably US and Canadian) perspectives of happiness as individual economic achievement are, as McDonald (2003) suggests, informed by ideologies of globalization and a free-market society. Such ideologies see happiness as "equivalent to economic expansion" (p. 5) and hold competition as essential if we are to limit market-exploitation and selfishness and move toward the greatest happiness for all.

The contrasting Bhutanese application of happiness to economic development further illustrates how conceptions of happiness are culturally defined. The Kingdom of Bhutan's focus on Gross National Happiness (GNH) was pronounced in 1972 by Bhutan's 4th king, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck. GNH holds that happiness is the central purpose of development and human progress, rather than simply economic growth. The Bhutanese concept of happiness, which has increasingly become the subject of international conferences and discussions of happiness worldwide, holds that consumption and wealth are not the only variables that need to be considered in development. Rather development "should seek to maximize happiness by attending to the shared needs of humanity" (Zurick, 2006, p. 662). Happiness from this perspective is

understood as including economic, spiritual, and emotional well-being. The strategies for achieving Bhutan's vision of GNH are based on what is known as the "four pillars": Sustainable and equitable socio-economic development; conservation of the environment; preservation and promotion of cultural identity; and promotion of good governance (McDonald, 2003; Youth and Happiness Rapid Assessment, 2008). Bhutan's approach seeks to place its people at the center of its development efforts by "expanding their freedoms of choice, aspiration, and creativity" (Zurick, 2006, p. 662).

Different views of happiness and how individuals seek to achieve it inform approaches to work including, as we discuss in our paper, perspectives on teaching. For example, among the areas considered essential for achieving GNH and well-being in Bhutan is education (Youth and Happiness Rapid Assessment, 2008). The Bhutanese Ministry of Education has made considerable effort to integrate GNH principles into the educational system by creating a "GNH-infused learning environment" for all Bhutanese children and youth (Youth and Happiness Rapid Assessment, 2008). These efforts include training teachers and administrators to cultivate in students principles of critical and creative thinking, knowledge of how to live in the modern world, a holistic world-view, and skills for civic engagement (Hayward & Colman, 2010). However, Bhutan's approach, while admirable is, as Zurick (2006) explains, still "fraught with contradiction, in part because Bhutan is not a homogeneous society" (p. 662). Policies and practices directed toward achieving happiness tend not to account for ethnic, racial, religious, linguistic, class, gender, and geographical differences, which may help explain why some individuals may experience happiness more than others. Although Bhutan's example of happiness has

received international attention and offers an important global example, its model is not easily applicable in other countries or societies (Zurick, 2006). Even though Western notions of happiness may claim to challenge such homogenized views by focusing on individual needs and interests, stressing the importance of living in racial and ethnic harmony, and seeking to bridge differences between groups (as is claimed in Canada's Multiculturalism policy), they ultimately overlook many key differences that shape our experiences.

In our discussion, we focus on the Canadian context in order to understand how individuals and communities who are not within the dominant group can be happy. Western ideas of happiness cannot necessarily be applied to all cultural contexts and thus particular conceptions of happiness will differently inform teachers' practices in schools. We consider that in Western contexts, a key assumption is that happiness is found in certain hegemonic spaces (such as workplaces and classrooms espousing equality and tolerance). What follows is that particular practices and engagements with certain institutions are expected to produce happiness. As Ahmed (2008) puts it,

> The demand for happiness is increasingly articulated as a demand to return to social ideals, as if what explains the crisis of happiness is not the failure of these ideals but our failure to follow them. What organizes the 'crisis of happiness' is the belief that happiness should be an effect of following social ideals, almost as if happiness is the reward for a certain loyalty. (p. 122)

How might the teachers' desire for happiness and comfort in the classroom and school environment inform their pedagogical approaches? Within a Western liberal paradigm, a teacher's attention to issues related to race, inequity,

Whiteness, and privilege is often not forth coming and when given, frequently leads to the dismissal of the issues as irrelevant, as someone else's problem to resolve, or are resisted as too challenging (emotionally and pedagogically) to address. In the Canadian context, democratic discourses frequently can be seen to support racist institutional strategies and practices. Citizens in a democratic society often see themselves as bounded by principles of goodness, fairness, and equality, a discourse that, as Dei (2007) explains, "permits people to maintain racist beliefs and behaviours while appearing to hold a positive notion of democratic values" (p. 110). Those who hold privilege are able to continue being 'happy' and comfortable in classrooms by not critically addressing structural racism and other inequities nor their complicity in reproducing them. As a result, little attention is given to the fact that schooling in Canada is influenced by past and continuing colonizing processes and has been built on many 'unhappy' experiences of teachers and children over time.

The responsibility for addressing issues of race and racism is too often placed on racialized minorities who are seen as the 'most affected' by and most 'invested' in addressing difficult issues in classroom contexts. However, when racialized teachers do address these issues in schools, they are often perceived as overly sensitive, radical, or too interested in pushing their own agenda and this leaves them feeling unsupported and exposed (Dlamini, 2002; Tilley & Taylor, 2012). Because broader societal structures and liberal White discourses influence the culture of educational institutions, schools continue to operate in ways that inevitably reproduce White, liberal middle class ideals.

In what follows, we draw on a qualitative study that involved practicing teachers who returned to university to pursue

graduate studies while also continuing to teach in school contexts. The study focused on one specific graduate course that explored issues of diversity and difference, with particular emphasis on racial identity. The central goal of the course was to encourage the graduate students, who were also practicing teachers, to challenge and think deeply about oppression, marginality and privilege, and to consider the ways in which their identities and those of their pupils influenced their curricular and pedagogical decisions and the learning opportunities available in their classrooms. (For clarity, we use the term 'student' to refer to those [mainly teachers] attending our graduate course. We use the term 'pupil' to refer to children in elementary and/or high school.) The study included two data collection phases, the first phase involved a content analysis of student assignments, course evaluations, and instructor's notes (For more detail see Tilley, 2006); the second, which occurred one year after the completion of the course, consisted of in-depth, open-ended interviews with graduate students who had completed the course (see Tilley & Powick, 2007). (Twelve in total participated in the first phase. In the second phase, three racial minorities and two white students participated in interviews.) Since the time of the study, we have both taught the course on several occasions and our experiences also inform the discussion that follows.

Who Gets to Be Happy: The Privilege of Whiteness

As Frankenberg (1993) has argued, "Whiteness is a location of structural advantage, of race privilege. Second, it is a 'standpoint,' a place from which white people look at ourselves, at others, and at society. Third, 'whiteness' refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed" (p. 1). For those who have not experienced racism, the concept of Whiteness is often a difficult concept to grasp. The privilege that comes from being a member of the dominant group brings with it the choice of whether or not to engage with challenging issues seemingly not directly related to one's experiences. Teachers often disengage from difficult discussions of racism and other inequities. This is evident in the colourblind stance teachers take when claiming that they do not 'see' colour and treat all pupils the same (Desai, 2001; Frankenberg, 1993). For example, a White student responding to one of the course readings in which the author explained how she understood the statement 'I don't see colour' as inherently racist suggested that the author was being overly sensitive and gave the following advice:

> on the other hand it could just be stemming from the fact the [a person] doesn't make colour an issue … In the acceptance of diversity, we need to include acceptance and patience and an open attitude towards change. The central issue in the improvement of communication is how willing both parts are to enhance and improve relationships, and not who is in the weaker or stronger position. (Written response to reading)

The student's focus on improving communication as the way to address structural racism emphasizes individual acts and reflects liberal support of individualism – it does not address power relations and privilege and how they operate in contexts of difference.

The effect of a colourblind stance on racialized teachers and students was reflected in the experiences racialized minority participants described in interviews.

> On one occasion I felt forced to address this issue [treatment of racial minority students] in a staff meeting where it was mentioned that the only teacher the Black

students were responding to was me. Since I felt 'put on the spot' I took the opportunity to relay the message that the Black students were feeling mistreated and that they were always assumed to be in the wrong. While other students were assumed to be in the right and asked questions. Unfortunately this discussion did not go well. I was told that the teachers did not see colour when they interact with students and that they treat all students equally. (Written response to reading)

The silence around race privilege and Whiteness helps keep critical issues below the surface, allowing White teachers to remain unmindful of their racial location and, thus, disconnected from (and not responsible for engaging/initiating) uncomfortable race talk. In many ways, the personal, professional and emotional costs of addressing issues of racism were less for those who were not 'living their race' every day. For example, two racial minority participants spoke emotionally of how personally challenging it was during the course to 'sit back and listen' as their White classmates attempted (or not) to work through the theoretical concepts of racial identity and racial privilege.

> I can remember one day when I was totally frustrated, like dear God what are you thinking, right? But I remember walking away from that class despite the fact [I was] angry, just walking away thinking there's got to be a reason. There's got to be a reason why she thinks the way she thinks … I think the frustration for me was the fact that we were all doing the same reading. Why is there no enlightenment [participant laughs]? Or maybe there was but why is it not bluntly obvious yet? (Interview transcript)

White students described the course content as challenging because it forced them to recognize how they have been able to take for granted their predominantly White surrounding, their position as the majority, and the significance of Whiteness in their teaching and everyday lives. They struggled with the idea that they may have unearned privileges based on their racial group membership that others may not have. Racial minority students expressed how the course resonated on a more personal level. They spoke of personal experiences with racism and shared how the course content was useful in both their professional and personal lives; the content was something with which they could identify. As one racial minority student explained, the idea of White privilege for her was "not really new because [she had] been confronted with it throughout [her] whole life that they [White people] are the dominant race" (Interview transcript).

Although this work is difficult for both White and racialized students, they cannot equally escape it. White students can turn away from these critical issues, possibly even deny their significance and not take responsibility. Racialized students often cannot so easily render invisible the marginalization they witness in school and experience in their own lives. The personal costs for addressing or ignoring these issues (including the ability to maintain a high position on the happiness chart) were much greater for the racialized students than their White counter parts.

Choosing Comfort over Conflict

As McIntyre (1997) suggests, "… talking about Whiteness with White students is not easy. It generates uncomfortable silences, forms of resistance, degrees of hostility, and a host of other responses that many of us (instructors) would prefer to avoid" (p. 73). Graduate students in the course often drew attention to comfort as a

central factor in whether or not the pupils' in their classrooms would be successful. They resisted introducing certain kinds of knowledge and questions for fear of disrupting the maintenance of their comfortable classrooms.

> I now feel comfortable admitting that in my own classroom I would not use only an anti-racism pedagogy. I feel this approach would foster hatred toward Whites, and self-hatred in Whites. As a White person, and adult I feel guilt and embarrassment in our classroom discussions about White privilege – which is acceptable [in a university course]. However, this is not an environment I wish to see in my own classroom. I hope to reach a middle ground between multi-culturalism and the acceptance and celebration of all cultures, and antiracism where it is acceptable to question privilege and racism. (Written response to reading)

Even when they saw the inequities that existed, many White students chose the path of least resistance and ultimately comfort. This student recognized that she had resisted addressing Whiteness and privilege but was aware of the importance of owning her privilege and associated guilt and embarrassment. However, when it came to her teaching, she was still unwilling to apply pedagogies that might create discomfort in her classroom. She wanted/needed to approach her teaching in a way that still allowed her to be comfortable and celebrate 'all' of her pupils. For this teacher, an anti-racist pedagogy was too closely associated with her feelings of White guilt.

The theme of guilt is significant and informs many teachers' approaches to addressing social justice and equity issues (see Picower 2009). Another White student spoke of how she felt that talking about race and racism in this particular North American context might send the 'wrong message' and make others feel uncomfortable or lead 'to blame.'

> Whenever I read anything multicultural I tend to get this chip on my shoulder, you know somebody is just trying to blame me for something. So that's the one thing that I don't like when you examine race in this North American context. I think it's the wrong context and it's the wrong message and I think that's maybe what turns [White] people off about wanting to study it. (Interview transcript)

Instead she suggested it would be better to look at more global contexts rather than in her own backyard.

> When we look globally, racism isn't something that's a White problem … So I think if you have that more global context, I think the North American White people are going to get turned off less because that's what tends to happen is, you know: 'You're a bad person. You oppress me.' Well, wait a minute; I've never even met you. Or these are events that happened hundreds of years before I was born. How am I responsible for that? These articles all tend to point out that you are a bad person. I don't know if that's all that productive. (Interview transcript)

The student's deflections signal a refusal to claim any responsibility for the perpetuation of racism. She distances herself from the issue by suggesting that in the global context, racism is not a 'White problem' and denies the significance of Whiteness in historical and persisting colonization. Leonardo (2004) suggests that "[Whites] set up a system that benefits the group, mystify the system, remove the agents of actions from discourse, and when

interrogated about it, stifle the discussion with inane comments about the 'reality' of the charges being made" (p. 148). Of concern here is how feelings of guilt, embarrassment and discomfort may limit White students' engagement in important conversations about race and racism. However, framing discussions of racism as not being a 'White problem' and associating discussions of racism with personal attacks that make you feel like "you're a bad person" contribute to a rationale for teachers not to proceed and take these issues seriously.

Perhaps related to degree of comfort, students did not address racial identity and racism in their final course papers, even though this was a theme in the course content and they had made critical contributions to related class discussions and reflections. Instead, they focused on the 'safe' topics (gender, math, ability, bullying) refusing to make connections even if they were there to be made. Ultimately for many of these graduate students, reflecting on their teaching practice, the main concern was covering the curriculum, which left little time for what they saw as peripheral issues of equity, oppression or race. For many, as one White student put it, "Teaching on a daily basis gets too busy to be thinking about profound and bigger issues." (Written response to reading)

We question what is at stake when teachers focus on creating a safe and comfortable environment – what is gained and what is lost? Although the goal in teaching should not be to create painful classrooms, we need to ask *who* we are aiming to make comfortable, safe, and happy. A context that may be safe for some may be unsafe and even dangerous for others. In our graduate students' classrooms as well as in our own, comfort plays out as a privilege and expectation of White teachers and White students, while those who are racialized are often anything

but comfortable in mainstream classroom environments. Why is this important to consider? Creating contexts that engage critical issues related to race, racism and inequities can be a productive way to challenge the status quo and promote learning that contributes to making change. Short-lived discomfort may actually contribute to greater access to happiness for us all.

Going Against the Grain: The Risks of 'Killing-Joy'

When teachers work for social justice and equity goals and practice a critical pedagogy, they go against the grain. They name power, challenge dominance, and make visible the inequities lived out in schools and classrooms. Ahmed (2008) suggests that oftentimes when individuals challenge our hegemonic notions of happiness or challenge dominant norms, they can be seen as "killing-joy" because they may "expose the bad feelings that get hidden, displaced or negated under public signs of joy" (p. 127). As Ahmed asks, "Does bad feeling enter the room when somebody expresses anger about things, or could anger be the moment when the bad feelings that saturate objects get brought to the surface in a certain way?" Educators may be seen as 'killing-joy' simply because they are exposing how certain actions that "promise happiness" may not "be quite so promising" (p. 127).

Data collected through the in-depth interviews after the students had taken the course, highlighted how they were able to address or ignore critical issues in their own classrooms a year later. White students described continuing to avoid difficult issues in classroom discussion rationalizing again that such discussion did not easily fit into the curriculum. However, racialized participants described addressing issues of race, even if this meant doing so "under the table" in their classrooms. Racial minority students still

found this daunting and difficult work, sometimes needing to bite their tongues in their own classroom discussions in order not to go "too far." As one racialized participant explained in an interview, "This [discussion] will get into this huge big issue and then I'll say what I have to say and I'll get fired."

Another participant described her hesitation in this way:

> You know to talk about it [privilege and Whiteness] with the staff [would be difficult] because they would be, well, mortified. They wouldn't want to talk about it at all. They'd feel *so* upset, and you know, kooky about it. They would just shy away from it. (Interview transcript)

Racialized students still felt the need to "step lightly," unsure whether engaging in race issues would be well received. One racialized student teaching in a private school explained that even in the case where her pupils might be willing to address critical issues in her class there was a line she could not cross.

> The particular class that I've had this year is really, really mature. They can articulate well. They're very good at thinking aloud and no one shoots down another's opinion. So we always discuss things like this [poverty, homelessness] … But I am aware that I have to walk very, very carefully. I know a lot of their parents would be [participant pauses] upset even with us talking about that. (Interview transcript)

The fact that racialized participants worried that they might get fired or have to face angry parents for talking about these issues in their classrooms demonstrates the challenges and contradictions of operating in a state of colourblindness or racial ignorant bliss. These racialized teachers were constantly reminded that not addressing such issues would be the simpler path as would helping their pupils fit into the dominant White norms with the hopes these students would more easily succeed. However, it was difficult for the participants to turn back and ignore the implications of their pedagogical actions as they may have in the past.

As one racial minority student explained, after taking the course she began to engage more with her teaching better able to address complicated issues in a more knowledgeable way. However the downside to this change as she explained, "It is harder for me now to justify where I work [at a private White school] …. I read much more into things. I'm hyper-sensitive about things." During the interview she spoke about the internal conflict she experienced often needing to remain silent in moments when she wanted to say something challenging or race-related. Racialized teachers often experience the personal cost of dealing with race issues in schools including the risk of being fired, reprimanded, alienated, or subjected to over-surveillance.

The White participants told a different story, describing how they continued to exercise their privilege, not utilizing the course experience in theorizing their everyday practice back in the schools and often choosing not to confront difficult issues in their classrooms. The few who did address racial difference and equity made, at most, surface level changes. As one White participant explained, "I may be more aware of people's difference and make them [my own students] more accepting that people are different." Although this student claimed to address diversity issues with her pupils she, like many others, played it safe in her approach to diversity and in so doing normalized Whiteness by positioning the racial minority (them) as different from the White norm (us).

White students continued to keep the

peace and resist tension through their silence similar to their stance at times in the course.

> There is a lot of political correctness. We're [White students] not going to want to say something confrontational, you know we've got to be in class together. It's awkward. You sit right beside them [racial minority students]. Who wants to be in an argument? … I think a lot of things people let sit below the surface. It's a hard area to get people to be honest. (Interview transcript)

Some students, both White and racial minority, noted the difficulties presented by the challenging course content, which they believed led people to self-censor in the class. This desire to uphold comfort, not feel like a 'bad person,' and above all, not to be a 'kill-joy' in the classroom is reflected in students' self-censorship and struggle to say 'the right thing.' As one racial minority student put it, "[The articles] would make anybody kind of think twice before voicing an opinion." However, as a White student noted: "I think people do feel uncomfortable when you bring it [race] up but I think it's only because being racist is so negative and no one wants to assume that they are racist." Sharing this view, another student explained the self-censorship in class.

> I don't think a lot of people even said what they believed a lot of times. I think people thought, 'okay, what I'm supposed to say so I'll say it' …. I think that [the course content] did influence people and they may harbour other opinions but they are not going to say them. (Interview transcript)

Overall, racial minority students differed from White students in how they described being held accountable and monitored around issues of racism in both the course and in their teaching. Some discussed how

they were being more heavily scrutinized, which influenced how they felt they were able to address course material in their teaching. The difference can in part be explained by the fact that White students would not "rock any boats" in their schooling contexts, thus they would be less likely to experience surveillance. While their experiences would differ because of their racial locations, if White students had just 'tested the waters,' they may have started to feel the effects and challenges of speaking about privilege with those who did not want to engage in that conversation.

Conclusion

While teachers often strive and struggle to maintain balance in their lives and have achievement of some level of happiness as a common goal, we point to how an uncritical focus on achieving happiness and comfort in our classrooms has its costs – distracting us from the important work of disrupting our classrooms as we try to move students to new understandings about sensitive issues and "difficult knowledge" (Tilley & Taylor, 2012). As teachers, we need to question the cost of continuing to support liberal White notions of happiness to students of all kinds.

We work towards social justice and equity goals by challenging pedagogical approaches in classrooms that: support treating all students the same, advocate 'equality over equity,' ignore differences, avoid conflict, and inevitably resist exploring knowledge assumed useful to only a few. Liberal perspectives on teaching, we argue, can prevent teachers from naming difference and engaging with the discomfort and tensions that are important in productive and transformative education. Liberal notions of happiness we observe, have taken hold in discourses of schooling in ways that ultimately uphold inequities and injustice. As Verkuyten (2003) argues, uncritical notions of

happiness can function as an argument for the exclusion of minority groups. He suggests that "There is a tendency to treat existing power relations and domination as a priori, as a backdrop for analysis, and thereby as unproblematic and given, whereas the phenomenon selected for analysis, such as race talk, is made problematic" (p. 139).

Although we engage in critical perspectives and practice a critical pedagogy, we recognize that we, like our graduate students, have also been shaped by particular Western individualist ideas of happiness and inevitably struggle against the assumptions that influence the ways we live in the world and our teaching and research practice. We are left wondering many things reflected in the following questions:

- How can teachers and pupils in K-12 schools, as well as in universities, learn to work with tensions and feel safe and comfortable?
- How can teachers develop our ability to understand the complications of 'happy' classrooms in the everyday hustle of the classroom – how can we sit back and understand what is happening when we're so busy?
- How do teachers build our knowledge so we can see the contradictions between a safe and happy classroom and an equitable environment?
- What will it take for teachers working for change to achieve happiness in our institutional contexts and our everyday lives.

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EDUCATING FACULTY FOR GROSS PERSONAL HAPPINESS AS WRITERS: AN ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES FROM A FACULTY WRITING INITIATIVE

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Abstract: *Many academics are required to publish in order to climb the academic ladder of tenure and promotion. Yet, "few professors see themselves as writers" (Elbow & Sorinellie, 2006, p. 19). If we, as academics, do not see ourselves as writers, publishing becomes difficult. This study examines an institutionally based Writing Initiative for Academics (WIA) based on the philosophical assumptions espoused by the National Writing Project, suggesting that academics are more effective teachers and scholars when they see themselves as writers. Survey data from WIA participants suggests that academics are likely to see themselves as confident, competent writers as a result of participating in this faculty development effort. Qualitative findings also suggest that in order for academic writing initiatives to be effective, discussion and feedback mechanisms must be valued by the participants and an integral component of the faculty development process.*

Key words: writing process, faculty as writers, National Writing Project, Writing Initiative for Academics

Introduction

I never saw myself as a writer. Sure, I wrote assignments and exams for classes, but I have always struggled with preparing manuscripts for publication. The writing process was overwhelming and sometimes intimidating for me. My thoughts were similar to what Elbow and Sorinellie (2006) explain, "When an academic writes, she knows that every sentence she writes–every word–can be attacked and found wanting by others in her field" (p. 19). Quite honestly, I was reluctant to be found wanting. Yet, if I wanted to have any promotion opportunities within academia, I had to write and publish. When I learned that some of my English colleagues were organizing a Writing Initiative for Academics (WIA), I was eager to participate. My decision to do so became one of the best academic decisions I have ever made. I was on my way to finding gross personal happiness as a writer.

Most academics at four-year institutions are required to publish in order to climb the ladder of tenure and promotion. Yet, "few professors see themselves as writers" (Elbow & Sorinellie, 2006, p. 19). If we, as academics, do not see ourselves as writers, publishing becomes difficult. The difficulty of getting published is compounded with higher expectations for tenure and promotion and fewer opportunities to publish in traditional journals due to space limitations and low acceptance rates. Additionally, professional development of teachers as authors is woefully inadequate and "shamefully neglected" (Wood & Lieberman, 2000, p. 256) in many places. The National Writing Project addresses this neglect through faculty development efforts focused on teaching and writing.

This study examined an institutionally based Writing Initiative for Academics based on the philosophical assumptions espoused by the National Writing Project at a state teaching institution and its impact on academics' views of themselves as writers (see Appendix A). Numerous institutions throughout the country have

integrated various iterations of writing programs for academics with varying goals and missions. Thus, it seemed appropriate to examine the foci of some of these programs, and then move to a description of the Writing Initiative for Academics utilized for this study.

Literature Review

Faculty development is an important part of any college or university's commitment to the betterment/improvement of its teachers. Offices of teaching and learning are integral parts of this faculty development effort, providing training sessions on basic classroom management activities (such as syllabi construction, instructional strategies, cooperative learning, rubric development, assignment evaluation, grading, and so forth), networking for new faculty, tenure and promotion processes, integration of technology into the classroom, teaching online courses, showcasing faculty research and so forth. Writing workshops are among the most common programs included in faculty development efforts (Caldwell & Sorcielli, 1997; Eble & McKeachie, 1986).

Writing and learning is integral to faculty development (Caldwell & Sorcielli, 1997). Programs focus on student writing, faculty writing, or both. Emphasizing student writing often comes in one or both of two forms: (a) writing in the disciplines, and (b) writing to learn. Students learn "content, perspectives, attitudes, modes of thought and inquiry and ethos of their field" (p. 142) in the process of becoming more active and self-reflective learners. Writing in the disciplines provides an opportunity for students to engage in writing activities indicative of/pursuant to their chosen major field/discipline. For example, communication faculty identify the types of writing their students will encounter upon entering their chosen professions. Assignments are then created

to provide experiences with writing genres that the students would use in entry level positions such as press releases, news stories, public service announcements, and so forth. In short, writing is discipline specific. In contrast, writing-to-learn refers to instructional strategies that utilize writing as a pathway to student learning. Thus, the focus of writing is on student learning and not the written artifacts themselves. There are numerous strategies, a few of which are one minute papers, free writes, and journal writing (for more writing-to-learn instructional strategies see Angelo & Cross, 1993; Bean, 2011).

This study, however, focuses on academics as writers or authors. Publishing is a vital part of the academic culture. At four year teaching and/or research universities, academics must either "publish or perish." During the last decade, publishing expectations have increased at numerous universities. Coupled with journals' declining acceptance rates, more authors are vying for fewer publication slots as journal editors seek manuscripts that may be applicable to broader audiences (Benson-Brown, 2006). In short, if an academic wants to attain gross personal happiness and success in climbing the ladder of tenure and promotion, writing is a vital part of the process, yet publishing is often difficult in today's academic/ higher education milieu.

In addition to difficulties stemming from institutional and disciplinary barriers, academics identify other factors that contribute to their reluctance to write such as lack of time, difficulty in writing, selecting appropriate topics that would warrant wide appeal, lack of self-confidence, and lack of competency (Benson-Brown, 2006; Boice & Jones, 1984; Gillespie et al., 2005; Huston, 1998). Of interest in this study is the notion that academics identify a lack of self-confidence and a perceived lack of competency in their own writing. These

two factors, specifically, may be due to a couple of reasons. First, the review process can be intimidating as many authors receive critique and feedback that suggest incompetence in some aspect of their writing. Rejection of manuscripts can also negatively influence concepts of self and competency. Upon publication of a manuscript, other scholars may have contradicting beliefs and find fault with the research. Writing is a necessary, yet sometimes unpleasant, risk required for pursuing tenure and promotion.

Many scholars (Bryan, 1996; Fassinger, Gilliland & Johnson, 1992) have touted the value of writing groups in response to the previously addressed concerns. Although most writing groups focus on student writing and learning, there are many that are designed to enhance writing and scholarship, increase writing productivity, and move the scholarly writing of academics toward publication. New teachers have developed writing groups to support each other on the journey to tenure and promotion (Gillespie et al., 2005). Other programs have focused specifically on manuscript development (Benson-Brown, 2006) and presentations of scholarly work at disciplinary conferences (Steinert, McLeod, Liben, & Snell, 2012). With the exception of Steinert's et al. study, few studies address the impact of faculty development initiatives that focus on academics as writers.

This study focuses on a Writing Initiative for Academics and its impact on faculty views of themselves as writers. Specifically, this study explores the impact of faculty development efforts patterned pursuant to the philosophical view of the National Writing Project (NWP, 2011) using the NWP *Teachers Teaching Teachers* model. The Writing Initiative for Academics (WIA), designed to assist instructors in their efforts as writers, is a faculty development program at a four-year teaching institution. At this juncture,

it is appropriate to address the mission and goals of the aforementioned initiatives before describing the institutional WIA.

National Writing Project (NWP)

Writing is a primary means of communication that contributes to our ability to function in society. As a result, students take numerous writing courses throughout their educational experience. Yet, few of those courses address writing in the content areas, likely because many content teachers have no instruction on how to teach writing. Secondary teachers may have taken one course in teaching writing in the content areas. University professors seldom have any formalized teacher education training, let alone training for teaching writing in the disciplines. As a result, students suffer from a lack of knowledge about content/disciplinary writing because teachers are often ill-equipped to teach writing in the content areas. The National Writing Project (NWP) was developed to address these needs. The NWP provides "professional development, develops resources, and generates research as it leads the way to improving the teaching of writing … in schools and communities" (NWP, home page). One of its major contributions to writing instruction is the *Teachers Teaching Teachers* model of faculty development. Rather than a renowned writer leading the workshop, the NWP relies on teachers teaching teachers. Research indicates that this model leads to positive effects on the writing achievement of students taking courses from writing project teachers (http://www.nwp.org/cs/public/print/events/416).

Another focus of the NWP is encouraging academics to think of themselves as writers. Academics may see themselves as teachers in a content area, but seldom view themselves as authors. The NWP attempts to change that perception by focusing on

authors, authority, and authorization. Briefly, authorship views writing as a means of self-expression, allowing authors to make deeper connections and construct new meanings based on the personal experiences of the author. The program also holds that everyone is an authority on his or her own experiences. Finally, authorization suggests that everyone has something to say and the right for his/her voice to be heard (Wood & Lieberman, 2000, p. 261). These concepts are brought to the fore through teachers meeting together to discuss writing, read each other's work, and provide feedback.

A plethora of pedagogical strategies are commonly found in NWP circles. First and foremost, the NWP prefers strategies that encourage academics to think of themselves as authors, risk making their voices public, and serve as critical and supportive audiences. These strategies often include social practices providing opportunities for teachers to meet together to discuss writing, read each other's work, provide feedback, and so forth (Wood & Lieberman, 2000, p. 260). When teachers share their concerns and curiosities with each other, they develop voice, ownership, and agency in their professional lives and are able to envision themselves as authors.

Writing Initiative for Academics (WIA)

The Writing Initiative for Academics (WIA), patterned after the *teachers teaching teachers* model from the NWP, was created to provide professional development experiences in writing for interested academics. One of the rationales for the training was the notion that teachers are more likely to learn when they are involved in contexts that relate to their own classroom experiences (Darling-Hammond & Sykes, 1999; Lieberman & Miller, 1999; Wood & Lieberman, 2000). Two goals guided the WIA: (a) to help academics learn how to use writing more effectively in their courses; and (b) to

enable academics to be more productive in their own scholarly writing. This study focuses on the latter.

Two English faculty members coordinated the project that included 10 academics, representing the disciplines of chemistry, communication, construction management, education, foreign language, and technology & business education. Those involved in the WIA met every other week for approximately 2 hours throughout three semesters. Meetings included discussions about teaching writing based on reading a common text with participants sharing responsibility for leading discussions about some aspect of the reading. In addition to the bi-weekly meetings, WIA participants also provided faculty development training sessions about teaching writing to adjunct instructors. Most salient for this study, the meetings also provided opportunities to respond to the writing of faculty in the group. Participants would send drafts of their writing to other group members, who in turn, would read the draft, provide feedback, and then participate in discussion about the writing at the bi-weekly meeting.

In sum, the NWP philosophy, which was mirrored through the institutional WIA, holds that faculty development in writing will increase confidence and competence in writing. Is that, indeed the case? Will participation in this writing initiative provide the means whereby academics can become more confident and competent in their writing abilities? Herein lies the purpose of this study, which leads to the following hypotheses and research questions:
H1: Faculty development in writing increases confidence in writing.
H2: Faculty development in writing increases competence in writing.

RQ1: How does faculty development in writing increase confidence in writing?

RQ2: How does faculty development in writing increase competence in writing?

Method

Participants

Participants in this study included three communication professors, three foreign language professors, and one professor each from chemistry, education, technology & business education, and construction management for a total of 10 participants under the tutelage of two English professors who oversaw the program. Of the 10 participants, three were male and seven were female. The facilitators were male and female. Participants included four full professors, four associate professors, and two assistant professors.

Instrument

A 12-item instrument was designed to measure faculty confidence and competence toward their own writing using a six-point Likert scale. The constructs of confidence and competence were measured by responses to six questions each. The instrument was adapted from the *Writing Apprehension*

Test (Daly & Miller, 1975) designed to measure tendencies of writers to "approach or avoid situations perceived to potentially require writing accompanied by some amount of perceived evaluation" (Daly & Wilson, 1983, p. 327).

Three open-ended response questions concluded the survey. Responses were reviewed to get a general sense of content, pattern, and emergent themes, and then analyzed utilizing Glaser and Strauss' (1967) constant comparative method. The constant comparative method provided the means by which to analyze data within emergent categories.

Results

Confidence as a Writer

The confidence construct focused on certainty about writing, the likelihood of academics to trust their own writing, being self-assured about writing and perceiving themselves as writers. Responses to the 6 constructs measuring confidence showed 90% of the responses indicating some level of agreement. Findings show that academics agree at some level that participation in the writing group enhanced their confidence as a writer.

Table 1
Summary Response Distribution for Confidence Constructs (based on frequency, n=60)

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	14	.233
Agree	14	.233
Somewhat Agree	26	.434
Somewhat Disagree	0	0
Disagree	0	0
Strongly Disagree	6	.100

Competence as a Writer

The competence construct focused on academics perceiving their writing as

proficient, efficient, effective, and perceiving themselves as competent and skilled writers. Responses to the 6 constructs measuring competency showed

81.7% of the responses indicating some level of agreement. Findings suggest that academics agree at some level that participation in the writing group enhanced their competency as a writer.

Table 2
Summary Response Distribution for Competency Constructs (based on frequency, n=60)

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	12	.20
Agree	27	.45
Somewhat Agree	10	.167
Somewhat Disagree	0	0
Disagree	0	0
Strongly Disagree	11	.183

Thematic data analysis from open-ended questions revealed two major components of the Writing Initiative for Academics that contributed to faculty development of confidence and competence in their own writing: discussion and feedback. Discussions and feedback were normative events in all of the meetings over the two years that the group met.

Discussions focused on how to teach writing, how to teach with writing, and how to improve individual professional writing. Discussions were enhanced through the use of a common resource, *Engaging Ideas,* (Bean, 2011). Open-ended questions responses indicated that "lots of new ideas were shared" in the meetings that "spurred" the professor to do more writing. Jamee (All names are pseudonyms to protect participants' confidentiality.) indicated that she incorporated concepts from the discussions into her own teaching: "I used a lot of the things we discussed in my own classes. The things we talked about changed the way I looked at my own abilities to grade writing and how to use it as a learning strategy in my class. I became much more efficient and effective in how I graded writing assignments in class." Discussions also enhanced overall understandings of writing. Participants recognized writing as a mechanism for learning. Coree noted, "The WIA expanded my view of writing and the many ways it can be used to help my students to become better writers. I gained insights on ways to strategize and different ways to view writing." Brandon explained, "I heard a quote once that said something like, 'how can I know what I think until I see what I write?' I believed that quote before starting the WIA, but after our discussions, I recognize just how true that is. I can see what I am thinking when I put my thoughts on paper. Then, if I need to articulate my views differently, I can do so in a way that makes sense." As I was writing, "the ideas that were shared improved my thought process," wrote Gavin. These comments indicate that discussion allowed participants to recognize writing as a cognitive process and a mechanism for learning. Participants felt more confident when using writing in the classroom and more competent because of their broadened understandings about writing. Thus, discussion opportunities led to confidence and competence in writing through helping participants expand their overall perceptions of writing.

Feedback was another emergent component from open-response survey questions. Providing effective and efficient feedback to students was a prominent discussion topic, but faculty also responded to each other's writing at various points throughout the two years. A

recurrent theme regarding feedback was that participants learned how to provide *descriptive* feedback rather than evaluative feedback. Dave commented, "I learned to give better descriptive feedback that was more helpful to others rather than doing the editing for them." Additionally, through the opportunities to get and receive feedback, participants recognized their own writing talents and abilities. Tanya wrote, "The more you write and get feedback, the more competent one becomes." Lindsea agreed, "It always helps to give and get feedback from others." Jace's comment captured the essence of the value of feedback, when he wrote, "The feedback that I got from this group helped me recognize the talent I already had." Jamee shared similar thoughts when she wrote, "I realized what I could do and created my own research project. I was able to do a presentation and a publication from this study." In contrast, CJ had a negative experience when he provided written work and failed to receive feedback from the rest of the group. He commented, "My writing did not improve at all. When my writing was sent up to others for comments, they did not read any of it." Thus, CJ's negative experience was largely due to receiving no feedback on his writing. Based on the comments of other participants, it stands to reason that getting and receiving feedback was an important component of the overall experience if writing groups claim to have positive impacts on faculty confidence and competence in writing.

Discussion

These findings suggest that *teachers teaching teachers* is an effective professional development model from which professors on all levels can benefit. Writing groups for academics have a plethora of benefits for participants. Participation in the WIA described in this study, for the most part, was beneficial to everyone involved. Participation led to professional presentations, publications, new strategies for teaching writing, and new strategies for teaching with writing. These tangible outcomes enhanced faculty confidence and competence in writing.

There are various facets of writing groups for academics that will enhance their effectiveness. First, there needs to be a level of safety within the group. Jamee commented that another writing group in which she was involved was intimidating because one member of the group would criticize everyone's writing. "I felt like I was her student and that I couldn't do anything right. I dreaded meetings where I had to bring my own writing knowing that she would be prepared to rip it apart." CJ had a negative experience with the writing group because he never received feedback on his own writing. As such, a significant level of commitment from participants seems necessary in order to facilitate professional benefits through being involved in writing initiatives for academics. Additionally, academics need to recognize and experience personal benefits if a writing group is going to be effective and make a difference in confidence and competence regarding writing.

This study had various limitations. First, the sample size was very small. Future research should include larger samples if data collection relies on survey research. Although the survey instrument itself was an adaptation of an existing instrument, additional tests could have been employed to make certain that the adaptation did not sacrifice the validity and reliability of the original survey. Additionally, exit interviews with each participant or focus groups could provide richer data sources from which to draw conclusions. The open-ended responses to the survey were a step in that direction, but interviews and focus groups could provide more depth and explanations about personal perceptions.

In sum, this study examined the extent to which participation in a writing initiative for academics positively contributed to confidence and competence in their own writing. Findings suggest that in order to enhance confidence and competence in their personal writing, academics must have sufficient opportunity to receive and commitment to provide feedback and participate in discussion. When feedback and discussion occurs, faculty development efforts are more likely to contribute to the gross personal happiness of academics as they view themselves as confident, competent writers within the academy.

Appendix A

The National Writing Project was developed in 1974 in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Berkley. James Gray and his colleagues established a teacher development project for k-16 teachers. It was described as a "different form of professional development for teachers, one that made central the knowledge, leadership, and best practices of effective teachers, and that promoted the sharing of that knowledge with other teachers" (http://www.nwp.org/cs/public/print/doc/about/history.csp). Thus, the teachers teaching teachers model was born. Today, there are over 200 sites across the United States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The goal of the program is to have a writing program site available to every teacher in the United States.

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LEARNING ABOUT GNH IN HAWAI'I: PRESERVICE TEACHERS EXPLORE EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES TO "CORPORATOCRACY"

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Abstract: *The growing emphasis on testing and educating for participation in the workforce leaves little room for the development of human values and holistic and reflective approaches to education. In hopes of challenging students to reflect on the current educational system, and explore alternatives, I introduced Gross National Happiness (GNH) and education in Bhutan to undergraduate preservice teachers in Hawai'i. After hearing a presentation about the goals of the educational system in Bhutan and viewing two video files that introduced them to education in Bhutan, the class of 26 students responded to a set of five open-ended questions that prompted them to reflect on what they learned and on their own educational experiences. This paper discusses their responses and explains how GNH served as both a critical lens and an alternative ethical lens to help students in Hawai'i reflect on their own values and on the ethical principles that undergird the current educational system in the U.S.*

Key words: corporatocracy, Gross National Happiness, reflection, values, ethical principles

Introduction

Causes for Concern

In the 21st century, education in the US and in many other highly industrialized countries is focused on preparing students for global competition. The current curriculum emphasizes academic subjects and the goal is to prepare students for tertiary education and the workforce. Some scholars of education have suggested that the global culture is moving toward a model that fuses governments and corporations into a powerful ideological force that drives the educational agenda. They call it "corporatocracy" (Sleeter, 2008). The term was first introduced by economist John Perkins who explained that, "corporatocracy involves linking three powerful institutions that are run by a small elite whose members move 'easily and often' across institutions: major corporations, government, and major banks" (as cited by Sleeter, p. 144). This focus at higher levels affects the educational system in a variety of ways. As the educational system made a shift toward corporatocracy, the moral underpinnings of the system were given less prominence. Indeed, as Sleeter (2008) has pointed out, corporatocracy is quite incompatible with the democratic principles that were a familiar part of the civic education of previous generations. The shift also affects notions of teacher professionalism, placing increased emphasis on what Fullan and Hargreaves describe as teacher's "professional capital" (2012). This language reflects the corporate world and indeed Fullan and Hargreaves talk about the three components of professional capital as human capital, social capital, and decisional capital and argue that "capital in any form is an asset that has to be invested, accumulated, and circulated to yield continuous growth and strong returns" (p. 1). This view of teacher professionalism tends to characterize students as products of the system and emphasizes effectiveness, efficiency, and focuses on measurable outcomes. Another aspect of corporatocracy in education is homogenization of the curriculum. In order to increase their profit, textbook publishers and testing agencies, at least in

the US, have favored more generic curriculum and standardized tests. Since the goal of corporations is ultimately to increase the bottom line, human factors like well-being of individuals and nurturing of a sense of community are not valued intrinsically but simply as they are useful in bolstering profit.

As a result of the educational shift driven by corporatocracy, activities in schools that used to be associated with democratic community building and citizenship tend to be motivated by workforce needs and values. For example, in the past a term like *social responsibility*, signaled a concern for ethics, equity, and social justice at the local level. In recent times this term is more associated with the community work that corporations do to build their corporate image (Reed, 2012). Doing good work in the community is a way of building product recognition and trust and ultimately contributes to the bottom line. It could be argued that when students engage in activities like service learning that promote social responsibility they are ultimately preparing to become members of a workforce that values this practice for what it can contribute to the bottom line.

These trends are deeply troubling. I worry that the emphasis on corporate profit is chipping away at the remains of the democratic and humanistic roots of the educational system and that the picture is becoming bleak for idealistic young people preparing to become teachers. Humanistic democratic philosophies like those informed by the work John Dewey have been sidelined, replaced by curricula that are produced and sold for profit by education companies that purport to help failing schools but more often demoralize teachers. For example, consultants who know very little about the social and cultural context of Hawai'i or the special characteristics of our students, fly in for a week at great expense, to instruct veteran teachers how to teach their students the

new expensive curriculum that is often culturally mismatched for our students. Nevertheless, due to federal mandates, our failing schools are compelled to spend monies that are often redirected from other important educational initiatives like support for English language learners.

Preparing teachers for this future can be disheartening and yet a look at educational history suggests that educational practices move in cycles and dominating trends are sometimes counteracted by pushback from the grassroots level. Even though education in the US is becoming increasingly centralized and corporatized, there are counter forces of indigenization, localization, and *greening* at work that draw on more holistic and humane visions of the educational process. Part of my goal as a faculty member engaged in teacher preparation is to help my students to explore the ethical dimensions of the current system to help them take a critical stance toward current educational practices and policies and to provide them with counter examples of education that is more holistic and focuses on well-being. In working toward this end, one of the examples that we looked at is educating for Gross National Happiness in Bhutan.

GNH as a Critical Lens and an Alternative Ethical Lens

Philosophies or theories provide a lens through which to consider our current practice. Critical theory and feminist theory, for example, have been useful in illuminating issues of relationship, justice, and power and help us to rethink the social processes that we rarely question because they are "normal"—the way things are. Critical lenses offer us a way to stand outside our taken-for-granted space and see things with different eyes. The same process is at work when students are introduced to an ethical system that reflects values that are different from the values that they encounter on a daily basis.

While they may initially reject these values, the exposure offers an alternative perspective that provides a deeper understanding of diversity and a greater appreciation of its value.

Given my concerns about the trajectory of our education system in Hawai'i, I felt a need to offer alternative models to our prospective teachers as a way of helping them to critically reflect on their own education and to be more intentional about the values they are conveying in their own teaching. I also wanted them to consider whether there were aspects of education in Bhutan that they might consider incorporating into their own practice, and at the same time, to reflect on the challenges of borrowing educational practices across cultures.

Background and Context

All preservice teachers in the College of Education at the University of Hawai'i are required to take a foundational course called *Education in American Society* that helps them understand the interrelated historical, philosophical, and sociocultural influences on educational policy and schooling. This is a fairly standard course in colleges of education throughout the country. Every year that I have taught this course over the last 20 years, I bring in new material and new lenses to highlight educational issues and help the students to develop a deeper and more critical approach to understanding how education has developed in the U.S. and how values are transmitted through the educational system. This version of the course was also designed to meet the university requirement that undergraduates take at least one course with an ethics focus. For the last two years I applied and received permission to teach *Education in American Society* as a course that would meet this focus designation.

Introducing GNH, which is based in a non-Western ethical system and grounded in Buddhist thought and practices, helped the students consider a different approach to ethical sense-making. There were some elements of GNH that I thought might resonate with students from Hawai'i. In general this is a population that values cultural traditions from the indigenous Native Hawaiian to the cultural practices of generations of immigrants to Hawai'i. The state has also seen a growing emphasis on sustainable practices. Since cultural preservation and environmental sustainability are two of the pillars of GNH, Bhutan's philosophy seemed generally compatible with local values. In addition, many people in the state trace their heritage to China, Korea, and Japan and other parts of Asia, so people in Hawai'i are more familiar with Buddhism than people in other parts of the country. Although GNH's grounding in Buddhist thought might be familiar, at the same time I wondered if the students would see the Dharma curriculum of Mind and Mindfulness as too religious from the perspective of a system that makes a strict separation between church and state. Nevertheless, it seemed useful to introduce them to a model that was not European, did not have Christian roots, and was not from a highly industrialized country. Bhutan's educational system met these criteria and offered a good entry point to a discussion of ethics and values in education.

This class of 26 students met over the spring 2012 semester. On our first class meeting in January, the students responded to a very simple survey that gave me a better sense of who they were and helped me gauge their familiarity with and knowledge of themes that we would cover throughout the semester. Among this group of students who mostly grew up in Hawai'i, four indicated that they were familiar with the concept of GNH but only two indicated familiarity with Bhutan.

On our second meeting, a week later, we discussed how school and society reflect each other. We noted that the social and cultural contexts of an educational system have a powerful influence on the values that are transmitted consciously or unconsciously through schooling. To illustrate, I did a power point lecture that described the concept of GNH as the ethical philosophy that underpins education in Bhutan and showed two short videos. The presentation was based on my own research of education in Bhutan and included a discussion of the four pillars and nine domains of GNH (see Appendix A). These were echoed in the two videos that followed the presentation. I also discussed mindfulness education in Bhutan and included a quote from Education secretary Sangay Zam in which she stated that the Mind and Mindfulness program "is secular education that is in line with the philosophy of Gross National Happiness that strikes a balance between western culture and Bhutanese beliefs" (Lamsang, 2009). The first video was a brief overview of education in Bhutan produced by Voice of America (Herman, 2010). It included commentary about public schools based on GNH and the traditional religious education of monks. The footage of primary school classrooms taught in English showed students meditating before class and the teacher presenting a lesson on friendship. The commentator explained that along with academics, students in Bhutan learn about conservation and recycling.

The second was a video of Prime Minister Jigme Thinley (2010) discussing the goals of education in Bhutan and his hopes for the future. In this video he expressed his desire that students who graduate from schools in Bhutan should be people who care about relationships and "human beings with human values…graduates who are ecoliterate, contemplative, analytical, and clear that success in life does not mean acquisition of wealth."

Immediately after viewing the presentation and two short video clips, I asked the students to do a short reflection by answering five open-ended questions.
1. Based on this brief introduction, what is the most interesting aspect of education in Bhutan?
2. When you think about your own education, what seems to be most different from what you saw in the videos?
3. Are there any aspects of education in Bhutan that you might consider integrating into your own classroom or that you wish had been part of your own education?
4. What would be the challenges of adopting practices from Bhutan's educational system?
5. How do you feel about the concept of GNH?

The students were given about 15 minutes to write responses to the questions after which we did a large group discussion. Although the open ended questions made the analysis of the responses a bit difficult, the questions also offered a possibility for a greater variety of answers and reflections.

Without exception, the students were enthusiastic about the concept of GNH. Their responses to Question 5 (How do you feel about GNH?) were uniformly positive. They responded with comments like: "I love it!"; "I think GNH is a wonderful concept."; "I really like the concept."; "I totally wish we had this! It seems way less stressful and intense (than our system).": "I love the concept and think that it should be used in all schools."; "I really like that the value is not about money."; "Everyone should follow these ideas." And finally, "I believe the focus on happiness and spiritual well-being would be a great counter-balance to our capitalistic society."

Their answers to Questions 2 and 3 (When you think about your own education, what

seems to be most different from what you saw in the videos? and Are there any aspects of education in Bhutan that you might consider integrating into your own classroom or that you wish had been part of your own education?) shared many similarities. The five themes that were most often mentioned were meditation, focus on happiness, emphasis on community, attention to the environment, and cultural knowledge and preservation.

The students noted the heavy academic focus of their own education and mentioned that practicing meditation, focusing on the environment, and respecting and preserving culture were things that were absent from their own education. In Question 3 they noted that these are concepts that they would like to borrow from Bhutan when they become teachers along with promoting a helpful, considerate lifestyle and the goal of creating better people, not just a work force.

Despite their enthusiasm about the GNH concept, they identified many reasons why it would be a difficult to integrate Bhutanese educational practices into the American educational system. Their responses to question 4 (What would be the challenges of adopting practices from Bhutan's educational system?) were the most varied. The challenges that they identified said a great deal about their perceptions of the state of American culture and in some cases, revealed their concerns about the values that drive their own educational system. Although I had intentionally stressed that GNH concepts and mindfulness education, as taught in public schools in Bhutan, were secular in nature and the video on the Bhutan schools made the same point, several people mentioned that the "separation of church and state" mandate in the US would be an obstacle to including GNH in our curriculum. I had anticipated this because there is a tendency to equate meditation

with prayer, even though they are very different spiritual practices. In addition, I have found that religious values can be more easily discerned when looking from the outside and often go unrecognized when they are part of one's taken-for-granted experience. This turned out to be the case.

Several noted that we are a multicultural society so promoting these values might raise concerns in the community. American individuality was mentioned, although the cause for concern was not elaborated. Several expressed concerns about how parents would respond to the curriculum. They noted issues that are always true of educational borrowing: a different values system, different ideas about the nature of success, different educational goals. More specifically, a number of people mentioned that, parents, teachers, and other educational authorities "would be worried about the use of classroom time for things other than math, science and history" and "some people might not agree that these teachings/practices should be taught at school." One student pointed to the "difficulty of evaluating spiritual growth" and added, "it's easier to grade a math exam."

A number of their answers expressed critiques of the U.S. system. One noted the challenge of "getting our kids to think unselfishly when society is pushing material possessions and ideas on them." Another noted "the difficulty of changing from a materialistic point of view to a view that supports spiritual well-being." One wryly commented that, "America is more concerned with high test scores than with high GNH levels." Although not a single student mentioned democracy in any of their responses, several mentioned that our value system is based on materialism and this would be a challenge to implementing GNH.

Reflecting on the Process

The rise of corporatocracy did not happen all at once. It gained momentum largely beyond our awareness. New teachers enter the system at a point in time when years of accumulated practice have led the system in a direction that many people inside the system, especially at the lower levels, accept as the norm. There is a tendency to see the status quo as "the way things are," immutable and outside of our control. Without a sense of the big picture and an awareness of educational alternatives in other settings, new teachers tend to see the status quo not only as the way things are, but also as the way they will always be. As a teacher educator, part of my goal is to disrupt this assumption and offer a variety of educational alternatives and approaches that help students to see that education looks very different in different settings and was not always the way it is now at the beginning of the 21st century.

When we began the class discussion of education in Bhutan and GNH, I did not indicate my concerns about the current trajectory of the educational system in Hawai'i and the US. We did not use the word corporatocracy but, as the semester progressed, we raised questions about standardization of the curriculum, accountability measures for students and teachers that focus narrowly on specific outcomes, the privatization in education, and measures of success. We talked about the importance of education's role in making a life as well as making a living, and we looked at a variety of educational practices and philosophies.

The opportunity for preservice teachers in Hawai'i to learn about the educational system in Bhutan, even briefly and superficially, was beneficial for several reasons. First, this brief exposure helped them to see how education is a powerful tool for transmitting social and cultural values. Second, it reminded them that

there are alternatives to our current system. It need not be this way. As one student put it, "I was very surprised that this system actually exists somewhere in the world." Third, it challenged the students to think about alternative measures of success. Several students pointed out that happiness is as worthy a measure as a high paying job. As one concluded, "GNH is a great concept. For kids to become well-rounded adults and positive members of society, they must be taught more than just math, reading and science. They need to build character and respect for the world." Finally, it was a useful starting point for them to explore the historical, philosophical, and sociocultural foundations of education in America. This comparative lens was helpful when we studied the development of education in the US because the students saw that our public education system, though currently secular, also has strong religious roots, and that the humanistic philosophies that underpinned education in the progressive era share some commonalities with GNH.

Every educational system is grounded in a particular set of ethical principles, but these are not always clear to the people who live them. Looking outside their own system helps students to reflect deeply on their own values and to explore the roots of educational policies and practices. It is a reflexive process that I value as an essential part of the teacher education process. If this process enables students in Hawai'i to take a thoughtful and analytical approach to understanding their own system, then I feel that it has been successful. If, at the same time, it opens their world to a different set of educational practices that they can consider when they become classroom teachers, then it is truly educative. Clearly, GNH offers an alternative holistic development paradigm (Thinley, 2010) that does not see development as synonymous with economic growth and raises many important questions for students who are

preparing for a career in teaching. For these 26 students an opportunity to glimpse a different educational system and engage with a set of ethical principles that are different from the ones that they are experiencing in their schools, offered them a critical lens to reflect on their own education and the values that form the foundation for the system that they are most familiar with. It highlighted for them the unconscious values that have become part of the way we measure success and define what is important. If this opportunity helped them to be more conscious and reflective about the values that they will transmit in their own classrooms, then this is an additional benefit. Finally, if this opportunity helped them to feel more hopeful about teaching and to see themselves as potential transformative change agents, then it has accomplished the ultimate purpose of this exercise.

Appendix A

First articulated by His Majesty King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, soon after his enthronement in 1972, Gross National Happiness (GNH) has four pillars: 1. sustainable and equitable socio-economic development; 2. preservation and promotion of culture; 3. conservation of the environment; and 4. good governance.

The nine domains include ecology, well-being, time use, community vitality, education, health, cultural diversity, good governance, and standard of living.

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ROOM FOR A DEDICATED TEACHER? ON TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM IN A CHANGED EDUCATION POLICY SETTING – PRESSURE OR POSSIBILITIES?

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ABSTRACT: *In international educational neo-liberal/neo-conservative policy contexts, efficiency, standards, tests, and accountability are general mainstream concepts of education, and as such, part of many teachers' daily lives. Educational researchers have investigated implications and consequences for learning and teaching rising in the wake of neo-conservative conceptions of education focusing on how teaching and teachers' roles are changing and how to cope with this change. Especially in the Scandinavian countries, the neo-conservative concepts of accountability are new compared to former welfare state conceptions of education. Based on discourse studies, international investigations of implications of a neo-conservative education policy and findings from surveys and qualitative interviews with teachers from adult DSOL immigrant teaching in Denmark, the article addresses contradictions and possibilities for teacher professionalism. The paper sets out to discuss how the room for a dedicated teacher can be developed in the framework of an existing discourse in international and Scandinavian education policy.*

Keywords: teacher professionalism, neo-conservative education policy, testing and accountability, uniqueness,

Introduction

In Denmark the change of government from a former social-democrat-led to a conservative-led government during the 2000s has led to intensive education reforms throughout the Danish educational system including primary and secondary schooling, adult teaching, and university reforms. The result of these politically initiated educational reforms in almost all education-related areas in the 2000s indicate, as outlined by several Danish researchers, a discursive shift in the understanding of the purpose of education (Nordenbo, 2008; Pedersen, 2011; Rahbek Schou, 2010). Previously, due to Danish welfare state conceptions of education, those involved in education (e.g. teachers, researchers, school headmasters, and others) traditionally had a major influence on defining development of education, curriculum, teaching, learning plans etc. In the welfare state-based understanding of the purpose of education—aiming at protecting the citizen (Pedersen 2011, p. 206)—not only the European concept of

Bildung but also the Dewey tradition of education as democracy are cornerstones. Welfare state conceptions of education perceive of education as a "non-positional good" (Nordenbo, 2008, p. 103), primarily focusing on learners'/students'/adult participants' personal and individual development. Purpose of education is above all to develop independent, critical, democratic, and self-reliant citizens occupied with life-long learning processes and being able to develop modern democratic societies. Participatory and awareness-raising approaches (for example as problem-based, project-based, or participatory based learning approaches) are seen as important means to develop democratic citizens (Korsgaard, 1999; Nordenbo, 2008; Pedersen, 2011).

Compared to this, the changes in the understanding of the purpose of education in the *neo-conservative*, commonly in European contexts described as *neo-liberal,* (Ball, 2006) education policy discourse have been significant. Former concepts have been replaced by

understandings of nation states as competition states in which education plays a crucial role to raise the country's gross domestic product (GDP) (Ball, 2006, 2012; Cerny, 2007; Pedersen 2011). The Danish researcher Pedersen (2011) stated that education and political culture in neo-liberal/neo-conservative understandings are part of an economic reality in which education is perceived of as *a* 'market' to be used and controlled by the modern competition state (p. 186ff). As a result accountability and education as business has replaced former approaches and understandings. Standardisation, measurement, and increased testing, including high stakes testing, is used as important means to increase the accountability of education (Amrein & Berliner, 2002; Ball, 2006, 2009, 2012; Biesta, 2010).

Whereas neo-liberal/neo-conservative changes in education policy have been witnessed among others in the UK and the USA since the 1980s and 1990s, similar changes on a large scale have not been observed in Danish and Scandinavian contexts before the 2000s (see e.g. Amrein & Berliner, 2002; Ball, 2006, 2009, 2012; Berliner & Nichols, 2005). As evidenced by several educational researchers in the Scandinavian countries, not only due to new influential actors in educational contexts, namely politicians and economists, but also due to a new education policy based on competition-state conceptions introducing an understanding of education as a market, a lot of changes have been carried out so to speak "right in front of the noses" of involved teachers, researchers, teacher educators, school headmasters, and others (Beach, 2009; Kaarhus, 2009; Nordenbo, 2008; Rahbek Schou, 2010). Apart from having caused considerable changes, researchers, teacher educators, and teachers, accustomed to Danish welfare state conceptions of education, have been rather unprepared and taken by surprise by

the implications of neo-liberal/neo-conservative education policy (Nordenbo, 2008; Pedersen, 2011; Rahbek Schou, 2010). As evidenced by Ball (2006, 2012), the changes in education policy in the British context have already been transferred to teacher education. In Denmark changes in teacher education are to be carried out in the coming years. The impact of the neo-liberal/neo-conservative changes in education policy may be seen as current trends in education.

The question to be addressed in this paper is how the newly introduced neo-liberal/neo-conservative education policy in Denmark has influenced teacher professionalism and the role of the teacher in the classroom on a daily basis. The aim of the article is to develop a platform for reconsidering the role of teacher professionalism by outlining and discussing the transformations and implications of changes introduced in one specific area, namely DSOL (Danish for speakers of other languages) education of adult immigrants in Denmark throughout the 2000s.

The argument of the article was developed using a research framework based on discourse studies, investigations of implications of neo-conservative education policy in European and American contexts, and reviews of Danish Ministry reports about the development in DSOL education in Denmark since 2003 (Ball, 2006, 2010; Foucault, 1991; Husted, 2008; Rambøll, 2007). Based on this, electronic surveys with school headmasters, ministry consultancies, and 32 DSOL teachers, and qualitative interviews with five DSOL teachers, were carried out (Petersen, 2011, 2012). The aim of the electronic surveys and qualitative interviews was to trace DSOL teachers' understanding of their professional role as teachers in the changed policy setting and to discuss if and how a neo-conservative education

policy can leave room for the dedicated teacher.

Main Elements in a Neo-Conservative Education Policy

Similar to Pedersen's (2011) addressing recent changes from the Danish welfare state models to concepts of the Danish competition state, Ball (2006, 2010, 2012), outlined the shift in many post-industrialised nations' relationships between politics, governments, and education that has taken place since the 1990s. According to Ball, national economic issues are tied to consumer choice in education. He emphasized five main elements in the transformation of education policy in terms of neo-liberal/neo-conservative thought patterns:

- improving national economics by tightening a connection between schooling, employment, productivity and trade
- enhancing student outcomes in employment related skills and competencies
- attaining more direct control over curriculum content and assessment
- reducing the costs of government to education
- increasing (…) pressure of market choice. (Ball, 2006, p. 70)

Studies of curriculum reforms in DSOL education in Denmark in 2003 evidence similar trends (Petersen, 2010).

Apart from the above mentioned elements in neo-liberal/neo-conservative education reforms the introduction of business concepts in education, i.e. benchmarking and accountability, the introduction of private education enterprises, demands of efficiency, introduction of high-stakes-testing and other phenomena have been seen as results in both the UK and the US. In addition, researchers have studied how teachers and schools have reacted to and coped with the discursive transformations of education (see e.g. Archer, 2008;

Amrein and Berliner, 2002; Ball, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2012; Berliner and Nichols, 2005; Nichols and Berliner, 2007; Nordenbo, 2008; Rahbek Schou, 2010, 2008; Wiley and Wright, 2004).

An implication of neo-conservative education policy, especially documented by American education researchers, has provided evidence of how the introduction of high-stakes testing in combination with accountability has influenced education, teacher approaches, and school politics significantly. They have had the opportunity to study implications of high-stakes testing for several years. The majority show that high-stakes testing have had many negative consequences, one of which is an extended tendency to change all teaching into 'teaching to the test'-activities Furthermore, a range of other negative consequences – even cases of teachers' and schools' cheating – have been listed and documented (see e.g. Amrein & Berliner, 2002; Berliner & Nichols, 2005; Nichols & Berliner, 2007; Nordenbo, 2008; Rahbek Schou, 2010; Wiley & Wright, 2004).

According to Ball (2006), the understanding of teachers and their role in neo-liberal/neo-conservative education policy is retold in new narratives in which the reflective and independent thinking teacher is replaced by 'the technically competent' teacher. In this way the neo-liberal/neo-conservative discourse penetrating the field of education combined with demands of efficiency and introduction of control over curriculum and assessment, contribute to classify teachers in the discourse of the market economy. One of the worrying consequences of the demand of efficiency and effective education is a changed understanding of teaching from a cognitive, intellectual process towards a purely technical process (Ball).

Biesta (2007, 2010, 2011) agreed that the increased focus on measurement and accountability in neo-liberal/neo-conservative education policy has affected teachers and educational systems. He is critical towards the idea of evidence-based education. The assumption in the concept of evidence-based education is "that education can be understood as a causal process—a process of production—and that the knowledge" needed is "about the causal connections between inputs and outcomes" (Biesta, 2011, p. 541). Education should neither be understood as a process of production nor "even worse, should [it] be *modelled* as such a process" (Biesta, p. 541). If education is understood as that process, then the "the complexity of the educational process" is radically reduced because it "requires that we control *all* the factors that potentially influence the connection between educational inputs and educational outcomes" (Biesta, p. 541). According to Biesta, evidence based education and accountability "limits the opportunities for educational professionals to exert their judgment about what is educationally desirable in particular situations. This is one instance in which the democratic deficit in evidence-based education becomes visible" (Biesta, 2007, p 22).

Historical Development of Education of Adult Immigrants in Denmark

The historical development of the education of adult immigrants in Denmark – Danish for speakers of other languages (DSOL) – is closely connected with the migration to Denmark during the last decades. Since the late 1970s, an increasing number of adult residents from both developed and especially from developing countries have come to Denmark either to work or as political and/or humanitarian refugees. While about 0.7% of the total population in the late 1970s were immigrants, this number increased to about 10.1% in 2010

(Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration, 2011).

Unlike other countries in Europe, the government in Denmark has been aware of the importance of adult education, and the majority of the adult immigrants coming to the Denmark since the 1970s have participated in this education (Andersen, 1990). In a ministerial initiated report from 1971, it was already suggested that adult immigrants in Denmark should be offered free language and culture education and that they could freely choose and organize language schools. The language education was seen as an important precondition for adult immigrants 'to cope with the Danish society' (Betænkning, 1971). From the 1970s onwards education of adult immigrants was set up within the framework of the Danish welfare state conceptions of education. The set-up of adult immigrant education, including DSOL education, was based on an education policy framework introduced for the entire Danish public education project and implemented according to the "Civic" and "Leisure Law" (Korsgaard, 1999; Lov nr. 233 af 6. juni 1968; Pedersen, 2011).

Since the 1970s the understanding in laws and curriculum documents, not only with respect to the education of adult immigrants but also in regard to teacher education, has been based on conceptions of education as democracy building. The aim of adult DSOL education historically has been to develop adult immigrants' language competences as well as their personal, cultural, and individual educational competences, and democratic involvement in society. Promoting participatory and awareness raising activities have been core approaches in adult immigrant education supported in teacher education (Andersen, 1990; Korsgaard, 1999; Nordenbo, 2008; Pedersen, 2011; Petersen, 2010).

In 2001 one of the first actions of the conservative-led government was the announcement of profound changes and reforms with respect to adult DSOL education and integration policy (Regeringen, 2002). The changed intentions with respect to the education of adult immigrants in Denmark were first outlined in government programs in March 2002. Curriculum reforms aimed at achieving an "efficient Danish education more focused on employment and for the benefits of both the individual and businesses" were announced (Regeringen, 2002, p. 10). In October 2002 a think tank stated that there would be "huge economic potentials" in reforms of the education and integration of adult immigrants focusing on the development and adjustment of their competences in accordance with the Danish labour market (Tænketanken, 2002).

In addition, in a Parliament debate in October 2002 the Minister of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration announced that the education reforms would include totally new economic reimbursement models for allocating financial resources. According to the minister this would guarantee increased efficiency and an employment related focus in DSOL education. It was announced that private enterprises in the future would get opportunities to provide education and that this might tighten the DSOL education of adult immigrants in Denmark more to employment and businesses (Folketinget, 2002). In 2003 the new act on adult immigrant education was passed (Lov 375 af 28. Maj 2003).

The curriculum reforms in adult immigrant education in Denmark from 2003 not only has an increased focus on competition and accountability but also on increasing adult immigrants' employment related skills (Petersen, 2010). After 2003 investigations of implications of a neo-conservative education policy, DSOL education of adult immigrants in Denmark has been subject to market mechanisms. Apart from private educational enterprises being encouraged to provide education for adult immigrants, all providers of adult immigrant education after 2003 must compete in order to get the right to provide education. In contrast to former understandings in which quality of teaching, use of highly professional teachers, quality of pedagogical approaches and learning were promoted with the focus of reduced prices being the most important element in the competition among providers. As a result, by the end of the 2000s, the amount of language lessons offered to adult immigrants on a weekly basis have been remarkably reduced while the quantity of persons attending the lessons has increased (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration, 2010, 2011; Rambøll, 2007; Regeringen 2002). The pressure of market choice in education, as outlined by Ball (2006), has increased in adult DSOL immigrant education in Denmark in the past decade.

As another consequence of the reforms from 2003, a considerable number of language tests in adult DSOL immigrant education have been introduced. These tests are high-stakes tests for both the schools and teachers because the new reimbursement models were introduced. In contrast to previous financial allocation based on number of students attending classes, the language schools are having their financial resource allocation linked to the number of language tests being passed by adult immigrants. In practice this means that the new economic situation of language schools and teachers is founded on economically-based incentive management (Husted, 2008; Rambøll, 2007). Additionally, the results of the best performing ten language schools have been published on websites of the ministry (Husted, 2008). Thus, compared to former welfare state conceptions of education focusing on the development of democratic values, learner-centred

instruction, and awareness rising approaches, the changes introduced in adult DSOL education in Denmark in 2003 were significant.

Connecting the Rambøll Management Report to Previous Research by Petersen

In an evaluation report of the DSOL education of adult immigrants in Denmark, it has been found that the intended efficiency in language teaching through the introduction of high-stakes testing has been achieved only to the extent that the *quantity* of passed language tests has increased since 2003 (Rambøll, 2007). It is outlined in the report that this is caused by the new reimbursement models introduced in 2003. The report emphasizes some apparent disadvantages of the curriculum reforms. In the report it is outlined that school headmasters are "very much concerned about the school economy" (p. 8). The report stresses that the financial allocation system "encourages the providers" to focus on "the passing of tests as this releases economic resources" (p. 10). The report evidences that headmasters of the Danish language schools apparently transfer the pressure and demands to the teachers in order to have them meet the requirement of adult immigrants passing the tests as this releases economic resources to the schools. As a result of the curriculum reforms in the education of adult immigrants, the focus of language schools in Denmark has been "primarily on test and assessment, which means deselection of tasks are not required to pass the next test" (Rambøll, 2007, p. 10).

The report stresses the inappropriate consequences of the deselection and minor priority to tasks related to specific "on hands" employment-related skills in favour of tasks aimed at preparing the adult immigrants to the tests. This priority of test focusing tasks results in the fact that providers "ignore employment related

tasks" such as "company visits, work-place introductions and other employment related activities" (Rambøll, 2007, p. 8). The report highlights another inappropriate consequence of the focus on testing, namely that the adult migrants "do not achieve the depth of linguistic capacity as required in the education system" (Rambøll). Interviews with teachers, learners and headmasters indicate that many of the interviewed persons express great concern about language and culture "teaching being reduced to test-training without in-depth knowledge" (Rambøll, p.10).

Findings from the studies of Petersen (2011, 2012) confirm the findings in the report from Rambøll (2007). The 32 surveyed and five interviewed teachers agreed upon the fact that the market pressure, due to which DSOL language schools are competing among each other, has had significant implications for the teaching profession. The teachers find that the pressure on the teachers on a daily basis has significantly increased with respect to various parameters including teaching more students in fewer hours per week (Petersen 2011, 2012).

The teachers outlined that apparently different discourses are at stake in the language schools. On one hand the teaching is regularly evaluated by the students based on the particular school's headmaster's outline of specific pedagogic goals for the teachers, e.g. authenticity, special focus on pronunciations etc. On the other hand the apparent primary discourse, underlying everything is that most important to headmasters, to the school, and to the students, is the passing of high-stakes language tests. The teachers thus, feel themselves "caught in a trap" about wanting to meet pedagogical demands on one side yet knowing on the other side that passing the tests is nevertheless the most important discourse. The teachers indicated that the introduction of the high

stakes tests has had significant influence on their profession and teaching (Petersen, 2011, 2012).

Teachers' Reflections on the Influence of High-Stakes Testing

The teachers expressed that language assessment, on its own, is a reasonable way of measuring language acquisition and that assessment is applicable for both teachers and students in DSOL language and culture education. The teachers mentioned that the diagnostic function of assessment can be useful for both the students and teachers, and they described assessment as an appropriate pedagogical tool and outlined that many students like to know the expectations in a given language course (Petersen, 2011).

However, the teachers agreed upon and emphasised the extremely problematic correlation between the implementation of language tests and the school economics. Thus, the fact of the tests being high-stakes tests for school performance was what triggered the dissatisfaction of the teachers. The teachers emphasised that the opportunities to work with awareness-rising and intellectual-developing teaching methods, such as project work was either reduced or completely replaced by test training. While one teacher outlined that "tests create problems in relation to long-term educational approaches and tasks such as project work," another teacher expressed that the adult immigrants' vocabulary and general linguistic capacity has "deteriorated due to the test-training focus" (Petersen, 2011, p. 22). The teachers emphasized that the possibility of in-depth language immersion and awareness-rising activities has been lost (Petersen, 2011). The teachers found that the interests in adult students' language and culture acquisition and language development has been overruled in favour of a focus on merely test training and presumably efficient implementation of

the testing itself. The teachers emphasised the fact that teaching to the test and occupation with test training take up far too much of the language classroom time in favour of other necessary language developing methods. The general attitude among the teachers toward the introduction and implication of high-stakes testing in adult DSOL education was described by one of the interviewed teachers, "The students must rush through the tests as fast as possible in order for us to get money in the cash box" (Petersen, 2011, p. 23).

The teachers found high-stakes testing "destructive to the educational practice" and they emphasized that it has "caused a stressful every-day-life for everybody involved" (Petersen, 2011, p. 23). Despite their professional wishes to use various pedagogical approaches, the teachers indicated that they primarily teach to the test because this is the most important discourse even if they admit that they find their own teaching "dull" and "uninteresting" (Petersen, p. 23).

Similar to international findings, the review of Rambøll (2007) and my own investigations of the attitudes of 32 teachers within DSOL adult education in Denmark highlighted that the high-stakes language testing system, introduced in 2003 in Denmark, has played a crucial role not only in the transformation of the organisation and economics of language schools, but also in the transformation of adult education and teacher professionalism on a daily basis (Petersen, 2011, 2012).

Pressure on Teacher Professionalism: Contradictory Discourses

The introduction of high-stakes testing in DSOL adult education in Denmark seemed counterproductive and has even an opposite effect than intended. As evidenced in British and American studies,

the power of economics has led schools, school leaders, and especially teachers in adult DSOL education in Denmark to focus on merely test training activities (see e.g. Amrein & Berliner, 2002; Berliner & Nichols, 2005; Nichols & Berliner, 2007; Wiley & Wright, 2004). A paradox evidenced in the findings was that the providers tended to "ignore employment related task" in favour of test training (Rambøll, 2007, p. 8). The announced employment relation of DSOL education in both the Parliament debate from 2002 and the curriculum reforms has apparently not been met. Another paradox, revealed in the findings, was that adult immigrants despite the increased focus on language testing activities, "do not achieve the depth of linguistic capacity as required in the education system" (Rambøll, 2007, p. 8). The results of the implementation of high-stakes testing in the DSOL language education of adult immigrants in Denmark has apparently narrowed the teaching content to either test-related or test teaching activities which has led to the deselection of in-depth teaching activities.

The understanding of Danish teachers and their role has changed in the wake of the neo-liberal/neo-conservative education policy. Although the teachers reflect upon their teaching, they admit to have changed their teaching approaches in favour of test training, even if they find this kind of teaching more uninteresting. In this way the neo-liberal/neo-conservative discourse penetrating the field of education combined with demands of efficiency and introduction of control over curriculum and assessment, contributed to classify the teacher in a discourse of market economy in which not only the teacher, but also teaching, has been retold in the understanding of "governance as a means of disciplining" (Ball, 2006). The Danish teachers have perceived themselves as more "technical," and in their own understanding, more "dull" teachers forced to meet the economic pressure and

language testing standards instead of seeing themselves being involved in planning, discussing, and developing instruction and teaching materials. The teachers admitted to have changed their teaching under pressure of both competition among language schools, high-stakes testing, and school headmasters' expressed demands (Petersen, 2011, 2012; Rambøll, 2007). The invention of a neo-liberal/neo-conservative/neo-conservative education policy, as outlined by Ball (2006), has apparently also forced Danish DSOL teachers into the "diagrams of power" in which "each actor is alone, perfectly individualized" and nevertheless "constantly visible" (p. 59). The Danish teachers can neither escape the diagram of power nor the fact that they themselves and their results in forms of quantity of completed tests are constantly visible. The overall impression from the findings indicates that the pressure on the individual teacher has increased significantly and, that the role of the teacher in the classroom on a daily basis has changed.

Possibilities for Teacher Professionalism: 'Coming into Presence' in Uniqueness

In his critique of the neo-liberal/neo-conservative discourse of accountability, Biesta promoted his ideas about possibilities for future education and teachers in concepts of "coming into presence," "uniqueness," and "pluralism" (Biesta 2010, 2011). The idea of coming into presence according to Biesta is what is going on in the relational dimensions of a teaching process on a daily basis. When teachers and students come into the presence of each other, it leads to "an exploration of what one might call the relational dimensions of the event of subjectivity" (Biesta, 2011, p. 538).

Biesta emphasized that the idea of coming into presence is complemented by a notion of uniqueness. Biesta described uniqueness as the special way in which teacher and student exist together: the uniqueness of a person is important in the situations in which this specific person cannot be substituted by any other person, e.g. in the situation in which it is important that this specific person is present (Biesta 2010, p. 101). Several ways in which uniqueness can be articulated as:

> one which brings us back to identity and questions about knowledge of the subject, and one which leads us to an existential argument. In my work I have articulated this as the distinction between 'uniqueness-as-difference' and 'uniqueness-as-irreplaceability' (Biesta, 2011, p. 539).

The possibility for teacher professionalism and for the dedicated teacher is to be aware of the moments in which persons are coming into presence in their uniqueness based on a plurality. Biesta promotes concepts and an idea of a pedagogy that 'disturbs' the control and 'presumably normal order' in evidence based education as the only existing way to understand the purpose of education. A pedagogy that disturbs the normal order may be able to revitalize teaching and the professionalism of the dedicated teacher as it makes it possible to consider the uniqueness rather than standards and tests.

Conclusion

In this paper I have outlined and discussed how neo-liberal/neo-conservative education policy concepts and understandings of the purpose of education within one specific area of education in Denmark in the 2000s has replaced former understandings of education as learner-centred approaches aimed at awareness rising and democratic development of the learners. Similar to trends in other countries, it has been found that particularly high-stakes testing played a crucial role and has an apparently opposite effect on teaching than intended. Instead of introducing tasks developing the in depth language knowledge of the DSOL speakers the implications of high-stakes testing has a narrowing effect of curriculum content and primarily teaching to the test activities. A worrying paradox in the wake of neo-liberal/neo-conservative education policy – even to politicians and economists inventing education reforms – is that the results of the invented education policy may turn out to be either counterproductive or indeed opposite of the intentions. What was intended to be a motor for education, the introduction of high-stakes testing, may thus be transformed into a brake in the democratic development of the DSOL education of adult immigrants in Denmark. Based on these worrying findings especially concepts of education as helping the individuals' uniqueness to "come into presence" under the conditions of plurality may be promoted as a possibility to escape the negative effects of neo-liberal/neo-conservative education policy. Further research however needs to be carried out to define the future possibilities and room for a dedicated teacher.

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EQUITY AND ETHNICITY IN HONG KONG:
IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

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Abstract: *Ethnic minorities (EM) comprise 5% of Hong Kong's population of 7 million. In schools 3% (14,000) are ethnic/linguistic minority students whose poor achievement in senior secondary years is evidence of disproportionate educational outcomes compared with those of Chinese speaking students. The government has rolled out support measures to meet the learning needs of EM students. Research reported here gathered perceptions of the impact of these support measures in achieving the stated objectives - minimising language and cultural barriers to school achievement, and facilitating smooth integration of EM students into Hong Kong society. Findings reveal that the singularly focused pedagogical provision for Chinese language acquisition is too narrow and exposes the role language policy plays in the construction of social inequality in Hong Kong. There are absences; unacknowledged culture diversity; unaddressed discrimination, and unrecognised pedagogical challenges emanating from teachers' calls for more support.*

Keywords: equity, ethnicity, Hong Kong, discrimination, pedagogical challenges

Introduction

The authors discuss issues of social justice in Hong Kong through the evaluation of policy decisions having a bearing on educational support measure for Ethnic Minority (EM) students from South Asia, who represent the largest group of immigrant students and also other immigrant students whose heritage backgrounds are varied and mixed. These immigrants, either permanent or temporary residents in Hong Kong, are non-Chinese speaking and are labeled as foreigners. The term Ethnic Minority/Non-Chinese Speaking (EM/NCS) will be used throughout this paper to include the full spectrum of the linguistic and cultural diversity of students in Hong Kong government schools.

The conceptual framework of the inquiry rests on the belief that differences in educational achievements should stem from individuals' inherent abilities and not from the outcomes of government policy or structural arrangements in education. The position taken by the authors is that the Hong Kong government should monitor educational outcomes and enact equity policies to redress educational inequality.

Population Statistics

Of Hong Kong's 7 million people, 93.6% are Chinese, 3.3% are South Asian peoples, 0.8% are Whites/Caucasians - 'White' being the term used to refer to Caucasians in Hong Kong's Population Census (Census and Statistics Department, 2012); other nationalities make up the remaining 2% of the population. The largest ethnic groups within the South Asian community are Indonesian (133,377) and Filipino (133,018) (the majority of these last two immigrant groups are domestic helpers – predominantly females). The ethnic minority and immigrant students highly represented in schools include Indian, Pakistani, Nepalese, and Filipinos; a large

proportion of these groups are second and third generation Hong Kong residents.

There is no census data that systematically reports on EM/NCS students in Hong Kong schools, although there are records of the number of Mainland Chinese new immigrants. Without these data it is difficult to formulate education policies and provide focused support (Kapai, 2011). From anecdotal evidence it is long-term residents' children from Pakistan, India, and Nepal who constitute the majority of the EM/NCS students attending government schools.

Discourses Surrounding Ethnic Minorities Students in Hong Kong

Recently introduced broad ranging 334 Curriculum Reforms (3 years of junior secondary, 3 years senior secondary and 4 year degree courses at university) aim to nurture newly educated persons for the technology-driven knowledge-based economy. It has been suggested that a more durable and broad ranging solution lies "… in the participation of all Hong Kong's citizenry in the rapid evolving information society requiring innovation and creativity in its production, accumulation, renewal and management of knowledge" (Lo, 1998, p. 1). Reflecting a functionalist discourse Lo claimed Hong Kong had not "dug deep into its pool of potential talents comprised of all children and youths who are studying in Hong Kong's schools" signaling the idea that increasing investment in educational support measures enhances EM/NCS students' achievement which in turn leverages an increase in the competency and depth of the future workforce.

Another discourse of social reconstruction has increasingly been heard in Hong Kong. It reflects an ideology of social justice and equity and calls for more government support policies to achieve equitable access to educational opportunities and resources (with particular attention to transparency in higher education admission policies) for EM/NCS students are reported in the media with increasing frequency (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2011; Hong Kong Unison, 2012; Kapai, 2011).

Social Justice Advocacy in Hong Kong
Prior to 2008 a small number of groups advocated for over a decade for social justice for Hong Kong's ethnic minorities; the response from government was slow. It was argued from the government's perspective that given Hong Kong's multicultural mix, it was understandable that there might be circumstances where "unfamiliarity with other people's customs, culture and language may give rise to prejudices and stereotypes against people of other racial groups. Such prejudices have at times led to discrimination, harassment and vilification" (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2011). Loh and Loper (2011) claim that racist attitudes have existed for a long time. Although "there are few reported cases of racially inspired violence, racial discrimination is, in fact, widespread in Hong Kong, a supposed internationally minded city" (Loh & Loper, p. 18)

In 2009 the government finally acknowledged its obligation under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and enacted the Racial Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) to protect people against discrimination, harassment and vilification on grounds of race. The RDO was a positive step, but "attitudes are difficult to change and legislation is not a panacea" (Loh & Loper, 2011), and there is still much ground to cover towards equity, especially in education where discriminative attitudes and practices are manifest across the educational arena, as recent reports reveal (Hue & Kennedy, 2012; Kapai, 2011).

Social Justice in Education

The experiences of immigrants in Hong Kong's education system have been reported during the last decade by a group of education commentators and researchers (Carmichael, 2009; Hue & Kennedy, 2012; Kennedy 2008; Ku, Chan, & Sandhu, 2005; Lisenby, 2011;). Kennedy (2008) claims that even given the persistent calls for greater attention to educational inequalities, the issue of access and equity has not been an enduring concern of Hong Kong's government.

Ten years ago EM/NCS students and their families experienced all kinds of educational barriers (Loh & Loper, 2011). There were only seven schools that accepted enrollments of EM/NCS students (if parents could afford it, they had to resort to expensive private schools where the medium of instruction was English). Enrollment in local schools was frequently refused on the grounds that the students did not speak Cantonese (one of the two official spoken forms of Chinese, and the medium of instruction in schools), or Mandarin (the other official spoken form of Chinese, and the official language of mainland China). Today there are 30 designated schools and a number of non-designated Schools who enroll EM/NCS students.

The long-term oversight in the provision of schools and appropriate language support for EM/NCS students has resulted in few post-school employment options and premature entry into the unskilled workforce. The Government appears to ignore the fact that institutional and structural discrimination impacts negatively on EM/NCS students' educational opportunities.

Provisions for Ethnic Minorities/ Immigrants Students in Hong Kong

By 2011 the government was "…stepping up the support services for ethnic minorities…to facilitate their integration into the community, and to foster mutual understanding and respect…" (Tsang, 2011). This stepping up materialized into educational support measures, but in the absence of any form of systematic monitoring of their effectiveness, it is impossible to determine if they have translated into any tangible difference for immigrant students. Anecdotal evidence suggests there is little improvement; the battle continues between advocacy groups who call for more and more support and the Government and its Education Bureau, which displays a marked reluctance to accede to the advocacy groups' requests (Kennedy, 2008). Kennedy believes the government struggles in its attempts to find the right policies and practices at the same time it faces an onslaught from the Hong Kong Chinese community whose long term cultural belief about equity is that providing more for one group is not fair for others.

Designated Schools and Support Measure Funding for EM/NCS Students

Inside a framework of Designated Schools (covering 30 schools from a total of 1092 government and aided schools) and EM/NCS support measures, the policy for Ethnic Minority/Immigrant students – officially the Non-Chinese Speaking Policy – has been implemented. Funds have been predominantly directed towards improved outcomes related to the acquisition of Chinese. The policy, however, faces major criticism. Firstly, the provisions for learning to teach Chinese-as-a-second-language (CSL) are considered to be insufficient. One of the major implications for teacher education is that many teachers lack skills to teach CSL, particularly to older learners. Resources have been developed and disseminated through the University of Hong Kong's Centre for Advancement of Chinese Language Education and Research (CACLER) (a government funded centre), but only 11 Secondary

Designated Schools have the opportunity to access this professional support. A small government consultancy team provides teacher support for the remaining 19 Primary Designated Schools. There are however, many other schools with small numbers of EM/NCS students who receive no professional development and no consultancy support. Secondly, local Chinese teachers do not have an understanding of EM/NCS students' cultural backgrounds, nor do they receive any professional development to raise their awareness of the social and cultural identity struggles that students encounter in the interface between their home culture and that of their school.

Into this milieu is added the finding that school representatives shared with the researchers: that one reason for a schools' designated status was as a means to 'save' the school from the threat of closure; originally facing declining local student enrollments in Primary 1 for primary schools or in Form 1 in secondary schools they were advised by the government to enroll EM/NCS students. A disturbing pattern emerges from the designated schools policy: within a few years of a local school commencing the enrollment of NCS/EM students, the school will become an entirely ethnic minorities' school, after "the flight" of local Chinese parents and students. The reason for this is as the principal of Kowloon Secondary explains:

> …the negative impact [of becoming designated] is labelling. The label…you can say [is] substandard. Because designated schools have a certain number of EM/NCS students and many of them have the label of being not popular for the majority [local Chinese students].

In defence of the designated school support measure an EDB spokesperson claims that the designated policy has achieved some progress. … we provide focused support to the [designated school] teachers. Our support teams are professionals in teaching and learning. They go to the schools regularly and collaborate in the preparation of [Chinese language] lessons … they observe how teachers conduct the lessons [and give] feedback to the teachers. And they continuously support the school; sometimes schools have been receiving [this support] for 5 to 6 years.

When the EDB spokesperson was asked about quality assurance, the answer was

"We do ongoing evaluation; … look at whether the students are participating enthusiastically and what support we need to provide for them."

When asked if there is any evaluation to determine the impact of the support measures the question was averted and centred instead on the administration of the measures, not on their outcomes:

"We don't have that [evidence of any outcomes] but we … sit together to exchange [information]."

Ironically, some commentators have argued that instead of the government achieving its aim of 'smooth integration,' it has actually created separatist education through the establishment of the Designated Schools Policy (Hong Kong Unison, 2011). Whilst support can be more concentrated for NCS/EM students in a designated school, such a policy needs to be considered against the negatives of societal segregation. Despite the policy of support measures being in place for nearly seven years, the acceptance of continued inequities is evident as the measures are seen to be delivering uneven and sometimes-contradictory outcomes with little evidence that they leverage increased participation and enhanced educational opportunities for NCS/EM students.

The Research

Concerns were raised in a Hong Kong Legislative Council (LegCo, 2009) discussion paper about the academic performance of NCS students in local public examinations. It was shown that less than 50% met the minimum requirements to be admitted into Secondary 6 in 2008/2009 with only 24 NCS students sitting examinations in the final year (Secondary 7) of senior secondary. It was argued that the government should consider conducting research on NCS students' academic performance. The research study reported here is the first to be carried out that has investigated EM/NCS support policies and their implications.

Research Questions and Research Methodology

The evaluation project under discussion here aimed to better understand what impact the initiatives were having and thus determine whether there has been any leap forward in respect to the educational experiences of EM/NCS students. Using responsive evaluation the support measures were tracked to determine to what degree they were fulfilling the government objectives of: (a) alleviating the obstacles of language and cultural barriers; (b) facilitating smoother integration of NCS/EM students into Hong Kong society; and most importantly (c) positively impacting the educational opportunities of NCS/EM students.

A total of 4 government officers; 6 school representatives (principals/coordinators), 31 teachers from 6 schools accepting EM/NCS students, and 370 EM/NCS students, participated in the inquiry. All data were obtained through semi-structured individual (school representatives) and focus group interviews (government officers and teachers) and through online teacher and student questionnaires. Interviews were conducted primarily in English except for participants who preferred to converse in Cantonese. Interviews were transcribed and translated into English. Debriefing was offered to ensure accurate interpretation of participants' views. The findings are the result of the analytical processes applied to data that sought the perceptions of stakeholders from 3 of the 6 schools (Table 1). All participants were involved in NCS/EM support measure implementation, administration, and teaching.

Table 1
Participating Schools

Designated School	Peninsula Primary	Bayside Primary	Kowloon Secondary
Total student population	396 students/**95%** EM/NCS students	218 students/**31%** EM/NCS students	836 students/**95%** EM/NCS students
Description of student body	NCS student body: all students are South Asian English not first language	NCS student body: majority are mixed heritage students UK/Chinese, US/Filipino, Chinese/Swiss, Canadian/Chinese, Thai/Chinese. English is the students' language of communication at school	large proportion of South Asian students; English not students' first language, although it is the language of communication at school
Language of instruction	English medium of instruction; Chinese/Mandarin used in the teaching of Chinese/Mandarin for all students	English medium of instruction for strand Class B in each year level except in the teaching of Chinese/Mandarin. Most Chinese speaking students streamed into Class A- have Chinese/Cantonese medium of instruction	English medium of instruction in all subjects even in the teaching of Chinese/Mandarin
Description of staff/teachers	Staff all Chinese with 1 native English teacher & 4 ethnic minority teaching assistants – Indian, Pakistani, Filipino, & Nepalese.	Staff all Chinese with 1 native English teacher and 2 additional Chinese teaching assistants & 1 European (English speaking) teaching assistant.	Staff Chinese with 1 native English teacher with additional staff (6) from Canada, Philippines, Europe, and the UK.

Table 1 reveals the ethnic diversity of the 3 schools' EM/NCS students; the differentiated use of support measure funding and the introduced school-based curriculum and organisation structures that each school implemented.

Analysis of Data

Data were analysed on two-levels. Level 1 involved an analysis that aligned the findings with research questions. A level 2 analyses was carried out on data that fell outside the scope of the inquiry's questions, i.e. unexpected and uncalled for perceptions and interpretations that emerged. The two-pronged analysis provided the following answers to the inquiry questions: (a) Do the support measures alleviate the obstacles of language and cultural barriers? (b) Are the support measures facilitating smooth integration? and (c) Are support measures impacting immigrant students' educational opportunities?

Do the Support Measures Alleviate the Obstacles of Language and Cultural Barriers?

Across the three designated schools, the principals' and teachers' perceptions of the purpose of the funding support measures were in line with the government's intention to alleviate the obstacles of language barriers through the enhancement of EM/NCS students' acquisition of the Chinese language; the obstacles of cultural barriers were, however, rarely articulated. It was found that school representatives (principals and NCS coordinators) welcomed the Chinese language initiatives and responded with strategic applications of the funding.

Divergent approaches show that schools have autonomy to use the funds for self-determined needs with little intervention on the part of the EDB. Bayside Primary employed additional Chinese teaching assistants and purchased school materials for the production of Chinese language teaching materials. Peninsula Primary's principal believed her school may have gone against the government's intended use of the funds, but she nevertheless defended her decision to employ ethnic minority teaching assistants:

> Our school has been admitting South Asian students … some of the parents cannot communicate in English. The issue is worse especially if they have just emigrated from their home country. … we employ teacher assistants from India, the Philippines, Pakistan and Nepal. … [over] several years we have seen the great benefit they bring in terms of communication between the school and families; … it has prevented misunderstandings.

However, not all schools appreciate this autonomy; a Bayside Primary representative felt that the financial support, without explicit policy mandating its use, could result in outcomes being inconsistent across different schools. This is not a surprising response for the notion of school-based curriculum and assessment and diversity of pedagogy practices to meet learners' needs is a new phenomenon for many teachers.

Teacher Professional Training Provisions

In the list of EDB's education objectives there is no mention of non-Chinese speaking students (although the needs of Mainland Chinese immigrant students are recognised). Acknowledgement comes in a section entitled *Support for NCS Students* (Education Bureau, 2010) where it states: "it is important that all teachers and students in the school are willing to accept non-Chinese speaking students and assist them in integrating into school life." Hong Kong Unison's (2011) submission to the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) called on the Hong Kong government to

provide "adequate and professional training for teachers including: raising their sensitivity towards racial and cultural backgrounds of Ethnic Minority students and their awareness of the challenges facing Ethnic Minority students" (p. 4).

International educational jurisdictions would claim they have not yet got it right in respect to equity provisions for linguistic minority students, e.g. Australia, New Zealand, Finland, and Canada. Nevertheless these countries operate in the above average quadrant of equity as ranked by the Organisation for Economic Co-operative Development (2012). They recognize the multifaceted needs of their linguistic minority students and mandate that teachers have pre-service and in-service training to teach their immigrant students.

The Hong Kong Education Bureau (EDB, 2010) does not mandate that teachers should have professional training for the linguistic and culturally diverse teaching contexts they encounter. Although the support measure policy has been in place for nearly seven years, continued inequities are evident. The support measures are seen to be producing uneven and sometimes contradictory outcomes with little evidence that they leverage increased participation and enhanced educational opportunities for EM/NCS students.

Alleviating Students' Language Barriers
The findings concur with the results of several other Hong Kong studies (Carmichael, 2009; Loper, 2004) where it is claimed that students' lack of success in acquiring the Chinese language results in a significant educational barrier. Language is a core component of ethnic minority/immigrant students' educational disadvantage. The language context of Hong Kong is tri-lingual and bi-literate. EM/NCS students need to acquire three spoken languages (in addition to their native language) and become literate in English and Chinese.

It was found that all principals and teachers from the designated school welcomed the Chinese language initiatives and responded with strategic applications of the support funds. However, 92% of teachers claimed the support measures were inadequate to meet their immigrant students' language learning needs.

Are the Support Measures Facilitating Smooth Integration?
It was a repeated concern across the research sites that teachers working in a EM/NCS setting felt they did not know how best to teach the students – not only in Chinese but also in other subjects. The response to this pedagogical challenge differed from school to school.

Bayside Primary teachers felt they often had to find their own way to meet students' language learning needs and confessed that a lot of extra time was spend tailoring the Chinese curriculum particularly beyond Primary 3. Although a supplementary guide to the Chinese Language Curriculum had been provided to teachers, the issue remained that the Chinese Language Curriculum was originally developed for native Chinese students and was too advanced for Chinese second language learners. At Bayside Primary, a teacher reasoned that as the majority of the non-Chinese speaking students were immigrant students with mixed heritage, they had different learning needs from other designated schools which had ethnic minority students (a statement that reveals a form of stratification even exists inside the ranks of designated school).

At Bayside Primary in an effort to 'manage' the teaching of EM/NCS students (a term repeated throughout the interviews), the school separated their EM/NCS students in each grade level into

one class – they called these the B Class. Teachers claimed that putting EM/NCS students together with Chinese students in the same class hindered the progress of Chinese students' learning of Chinese and hindered the NCS students' progress in English language learning (as the NCS students in this school were more proficient in English than their Chinese speaking peers).

At a number of schools the strict use of only Chinese or English was enforced. At Peninsula Primary, discipline sheets completed by student monitors at the conclusion of each lesson, noted particular student misbehaviours. Along with more common misbehaviours, the speaking of a language other than Chinese or English was recorded as inappropriate.

Language was not the only barrier. Cross-cultural issues were also evident. Teachers at Peninsula Primary held the view that ethnic minority immigrant parents placed more emphasis on their children's participation in religious activities than in educational activities.

Another issue emerged from data drawn from Bayside Primary. A teacher reported being confronted with conflicting parental expectations and recounted his difficulty in balancing demands of EM/NCS and Chinese parents. The teacher observed that Chinese parents consider the teachers too lenient with ethnic minority immigrant students; whereas, immigrant parents felt that teachers were too strict on their children. Drawing a comparison between Chinese and immigrant students, a Bayside Primary teacher expressed the view that education is very much valued in the Chinese culture and gave the example of Chinese students being more diligent with their homework; whereas from her observations, EM/NCS parents did not value education because their attitude to homework was 'less strict'.

At Peninsula Primary teachers were in consensus that EM/NCS parents' did not engage in their children's education as much as local Chinese parents. Their view was that EM/NCS parents were reluctant to come to school because interacting with teachers and school administration presented them with difficulties.

Language as a Barrier for Teachers
Interactions with parents can present the teacher will a language challenge. At Bayside Primary (where segregated B Classes were established across all grades) EM/NCS parents predominantly spoke English. It was apparent from teacher interviews that there was apprehension on the part of some teachers because they lacked confidence in using English. One teacher commented that: "In the B Class, teachers need to contact parents who don't speak Cantonese. The teacher would need to have studied or majored in English if she/he needs to contact parents to handle any problems."

These examples represent some of the language related issues recognised in the schools participating in this inquiry. It is not only the language challenges of Chinese teachers but also their lack of cultural and linguistic knowledge about the EM/NCS communities that contributes to poor integration within the linguistically diverse school contexts.

Are Support Measures Impacting Immigrant Students' Educational Opportunities?
Concerns were raised in the LegCo (2009) about the academic performance of EM/NCS students in local public examination. Less than 50% had met the minimum requirements to be admitted into Senior Secondary in 2008/2009 with only 24 EM/NCS students taking Senior Secondary final-year examinations. LegCo members suggested the government consider conducting research on immigrant students' academic

performance; to date no survey or research has been carried out to determine the circumstances related to EM/NCS students' lack of retention in senior years.

Although the government expressed the view that many variables affect student performance (Hong Kong Legislative Council, 2009), as mentioned previously, the single focus of the support measures has been towards those initiatives that increase ethnic minority students' proficiency in Chinese. Incorporated into these support measures is the use of a Supplementary Guide to the Chinese Language Curriculum (The Curriculum Development Council, 2008) but this is not a separate Chinese as a Second Language (CSL) curriculum guide.

Determining the educational outcome of the support measures for ethnic minority students is complex. Although teachers claim they benefit from the Chinese Curriculum Supplementary guide and onsite pedagogical workshops organised by the EDB, the pathway towards better Chinese language acquisition for EM/NCS students is fraught with difficulties. From a survey administered to students in the Year levels beyond Primary 3, the spoken and written language they found the most challenging was Chinese. The few students, who did not find it a challenge, were those who had spent some of their school life in non-designated schools.

In designated schools Chinese language teachers maintain that they need to devote a great deal of time and effort to modify the curriculum to suit their NCS students' needs. Some teachers found that preparing a glossary in advance was helpful. Some confessed to their limited proficiency in English, which occasionally caused frustrations when students, who used English as the medium of instruction in school, needed immediate explanation of Chinese vocabulary. These teachers also faced similar frustrations when EM/NCS students asked for explanations in English of Chinese idioms and cultural nuances.

Teachers at Kowloon Secondary explained that even when EM/NCSs students were doing well in their Chinese language learning they still faced a major hurdle in Chinese public examinations. A Chinese language teacher witnessed an ethnic minority student who had previously been progressing well in their Chinese language learning, suddenly experience a sense of failure after performing poorly in the Chinese public examinations (benchmarks are set for specific grade levels based on the expected achievement levels of native Chinese speaking students; no separate examination syllabus was developed for Chinese as a Second Language learners). Despite the careful sequencing of teaching and the incremental learning inside daily Chinese lessons, EM/NCS students sitting public examinations and year-end exams still found themselves ill-prepared for the examinations; subsequently they achieved poor outcomes.

A Kowloon Secondary teacher stressed that "we shouldn't be using the standards of local students to measure the progress of second language Chinese students." Another teacher explained that students who moved to Hong Kong in senior primary years were bound to fail in the Chinese Territory-wide System Assessment (public testing conducted at Primary 3, Primary 6 & Secondary 9 levels, across the subjects of Chinese, English, and math).

There are significant numbers of ethnic minority students who join the school in their late primary and secondary school years. These new arrival students possess limited ability in the English language and little to no Chinese language background. Immediately upon their admission into Hong Kong schools, they are put into Chinese language classrooms using a

curriculum that caters for students who are native Chinese speakers.

Secondary teachers in these situations expressed helplessness; they have had no training in how to teach older students who are beginning Chinese learners. Kowloon Secondary and Northern Secondary teachers lamented that there was an absence of a consistent language policy for second language Chinese as opposed to Chinese for native speakers. It was also expressed that there was a lack of direction in designing appropriate curriculum and support that addressed issues of EM/NCS students who potentially have special learning needs, i.e. special educational needs students (SEN).

In this inquiry all teachers from designated schools welcomed the support measures and the various pedagogical practices launched with the additional funds. Overwhelmingly all schools claimed more was needed: more support for Chinese language curriculum adaptations, more Chinese language teaching resources, and more Chinese language professional development. Whilst the government claims the support measures will alleviate cultural barriers and facilitate smooth integration of EM/NCS students, the inquiry's findings reveal little evidence of this.

A stark finding (and one that was contrary to the government's original intention) was that the Designated School Policy was creating further divisions both between and inside schools. The practice of EM/NCS students being separated as a consequence of structural arrangement within the schools, limits opportunities for mutual respect and multicultural awareness. Separate schools and school-based segregation as evidenced in this inquiry were seen to contribute to cultural diversity being invisible.

Conclusion

To address barriers beyond language issues requires an ideological shift in thinking on the part of Hong Kong society. Even though Hong Kong is readily identified as an international city, this extends only to economic trade and international tourism. In schools such diversity is ignored. Essentially government schools operate within a monoculture mindset. The government needs to acknowledge that the world is increasingly a global one, and that the diversity of its schools' and society's workforce will continue. Embracing diversity and ensuring equitable outcomes needs to be considered the new norm for Hong Kong as it 'launches its boat' on a pathway to achieving sustainable social, cultural and economic development in Hong Kong.

The issues surrounding EM/NCS students' efforts to achieve success in educational endeavours are complex and do not rest entirely on successful acquisition of Chinese. A two-pronged process is necessary involving local teachers engaging in professional development related to perspectives on multiculturalism and cultural sustainability that would be applicable to the Hong Kong context and not imported models from Anglophone jurisdictions; another involves the employment of more ethnic minority teaching assistants and teachers in schools where ethnic minority immigrant students are enrolled.

The inquiry's findings point towards employing pedagogy that builds on what students bring to their learning contexts – their funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) – are unspoken in Hong Kong schools, but its approach is crucial for EM/NCS students' effective engagement in learning, as are policies that increase equity of educational

opportunities, inclusive of access to higher education institutions.

Recommendations from this inquiry are that a comprehensive database be established to track the academic and social development of EM/NCS students. There is an urgent need to establish the mechanisms for (a) transparent publically accessible evaluation of the support measures; (b) qualitative inquiry into pedagogy - what works (and why) and what does not work (and why not), and (c) comparable data to be drawn from EM/NCS students' performance in public examinations.

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WORKING WITH CHILDREN'S EMOTIONS THROUGH ROUTINES, PLAY AND GAMES: PROMOTING EMOTIONAL AND SOCIAL GROWTH AND SHAPING INCLUSIVE PRACTICES

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Abstract: *Routine activities, symbolic play, and games set the path for children's cognitive, social, emotional, and moral growth. As such, continuity can be established between both types of actions, that is, first learning who we are and how to behave, and next socializing and interacting with others, while simultaneously developing emotionally. Routine activities contribute to the development of valid references while children are acquiring habits, attitudes, norms, and new skills. If approached in an organized manner, routine activities help to promote children's well-being and security while gaining autonomy. Games contribute to social and emotional development whilst simultaneously encouraging children's active participation, integration, communication and cooperation. This paper explores how often taken-for-granted educational practices such as routine activities, play and games can be utilised by teachers in ethnically and socially diverse classrooms to foster children's emotional and social development and enhance integration. It reflects on examples of daily classroom practices developed in four varied schools with children of diverse ages (ranging from 3-12 years), different group characteristics and from a variety of social and ethnic backgrounds.*

Keywords: children, routines, play, games, emotional and social growth, inclusive practices

Introduction

Emotions: A Framework for Our Research

There is little doubt as to the powerful impact of emotional experiences on personal development and interpersonal relationships. To educate the emotions is to promote personal growth and assist children in their overall development. This should be reflected in educational practices, because it is in the process of socialisation, in the web of relationships and interaction, where emotional and life experiences play their role in cognitive, social, emotional, and moral development.

By identifying and understanding our feelings and emotional expressions in different activities conducted in schools, we are able to explore an emotional world full of experiences. It is education that makes us what/who we are. Experience, be it individual or collective, is always shared and cannot be understood in isolation from its social setting. Our environment is the place where we belong. It is the place that enables us to feel loved, appreciated, understood, and accepted and that provides us with the references we need to interpret our own emotions (Albertin & Zufiaurre, 2009). We make our affective ties and find our emotional buffers in shared spaces.

It is through the first socio-emotional networks of the family that children build their cognitive structure from which they will eventually have to detach themselves to develop their individual mental awareness. The process of detachment and individualisation will enable children to create a space in which to learn to seek and develop as increasingly independent individuals. This is followed by a second stage of emotional development in which a new space develops to be occupied by friends and social institutions, mainly schools. Here the development of feelings and emotions depends on various factors such as (a) the children's environment, their roles within the groups, and the image they receive or perceive; (b) the cultural setting with its particular models of affectivity, beliefs, or prejudices; (c) aesthetic models, models of sensitivity drawn from our environment; and (d) The perception or tools of communication utilised when expressing emotional experiences.

To conduct our research about how to promote emotional and social growth, set behavioural standards, and shape inclusive practices using this dynamic framework, we have worked with a selection of teachers and students, the latter of which are of different ages, varied group characteristics and diverse ethnic and social backgrounds. They are located in four different public or state maintained schools from a variety of immigrant backgrounds in the city of Pamplona, Spain (Albertin & Zufiaurre, 2007, 2009; Zufiaurre, 2006). The diverse backgrounds of the students, both ethnically and socio-economically, highlight the second and related aspect of our research, namely, how teachers can work with emotions through play and games and instilling behavioural standards in daily routines in ways which shape and enhance integration. In other words, we are examining how more inclusive practices

can be utilised by teachers in these everyday routines and games.

Practice Architectures as a Frame for Our Analysis

Organizations, institutions, and settings, and the people in them, create practices which have content and a meaning at each stage of developing organisationally, while at the moment of planning, acting, and validating. On the other side, people within a school, teachers and students but also families and principals, construct the practices of particular units of work; and people outside the school, curriculum developers, policy makers, text book writers, play their roles in shaping the units of work, the pedagogy, and the kinds of relationships.

From another point of view, educational design is a task which requires knowledge, skills, wisdom, and a capacity for analysis and critical reflection. It is a task of constructing learning architectures and practice architectures that enable and constrain the work and the lives of students and teachers inside and outside schools. This represents that the people responsible for the design of education, have their shares in the responsibilities of making futures through education, and improving practices, like the practices of education, demands improving the practices of individual practitioners and creating the institutional and social conditions that will support progressive changes.

By practice architectures then, we are referring to the "social, material and discursive structures that enable and constrain educational practices" (Edwards-Groves, Kemmis, Hardy, & Ponte, 2010, p. 45). Practice architectures as such, draw attention to the reality that teaching practices such as instilling standards of behaviour or facilitating children's games are not ahistorical and do not occur in a

vacuum. Rather, they are prefigured in ways which "enable … and constrain …particular kinds of sayings, doings and relatings among people … and in relation to others outside them" (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008, p. 57).

Better educational practices requires better educators, better schools, better resources, better funding, support and others, and practice architectures as an strategy, and a technique, to elicit at all organisational levels how messages and norms, practices and actions, evaluation and supervision, … move up and down from students to heads, families and social institutions, allows us to clarify all interrelated perspectives of educational analysis for better consciousness, to improve the quality of the relationships, and to develop participation and mutual understanding.

Shaping Inclusive Practices

The socio-economic and ethnic diversity amongst the students in the four schools highlights the reality that promoting emotional and social growth and establishing behavioural standards occurs in enormously varied classroom and school contexts. There is no one size fits all formula in which such practices take place. Hence, in order to foster appropriate behavioural standards and growth, teachers' practices need to be flexible, responsive, and reflective, particularly in relation to the social justice implications of their work. This is no easy task. In this study, the researchers are exploring the concept of practice architectures (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008) as a means by which to render visible the often taken-for-granted routines, spatial arrangements, discourses, and relationships, which underlie educators' practices, and which shape and pre-form the conditions for social inclusion/exclusion within the classroom.

The concept of practice architectures captures three interrelated dimensions in our understanding of teaching practices such as establishing behavioural standards or promoting emotional and social growth through children's games. These include the knowledge or understanding that is distributed amongst participants, in specific discourses or sayings about a particular classroom practice (for example, children require clearly-established behavioural routines). They include the particular kinds of activities or doings that are distributed among participants and in activity systems or networks and which flow from the sayings (for example, teachers may physically arrange classrooms in specific ways or inculcate certain routines in order to foster clearly-established behavioural standards). Finally, they include the relatings, that is, how participants and participation in a practice are distributed in particular kinds of relationships to one another and other objects as a result of specific sayings and doings (for example, the physical set up of a classroom or a particular kind of routine such as whether children must line up before entering a classroom, contributes to shaping how students and teachers relate to one another, in sets of hierarchical relations). The relatings which flow from these practices are in turn produced by teachers' understandings or know-how about specific types of practices such as classroom entrance or departure. Hence, the concept of practice architectures allows us to explore how classroom routines become fixed and norms established. They assist us in examining what is 'sayable' and 'doable' about these routines, and what is 'unsayable' and 'undoable.' Thus, they open up these practices for scrutiny and reflection and raise the possibility for engendering socially and emotionally inclusive practices.

In the first section of this paper, we outline why and how games and routines are critically important for children's social

and emotional growth and the role of the classroom teacher in nurturing and engendering this process. In the second section of the paper, we provide specific examples of classroom practice which demonstrate how teachers can apply these understandings in the classroom. We also highlight how teachers (and researchers) can use these particular approaches to scrutinise the practices which underpin daily routines, play and games in ways that can shape and enhance integration amongst children. We conclude with a distillation of the key findings gleaned from our research program.

Socio-emotional Growth through School Activities

Our research on socio-emotional development and inclusive practices in the infant and primary levels (3-12 years of age) of elementary and basic education has been ongoing for the last six years in the aforementioned four schools. The various experiments, which have been planned and put into practice by classroom teachers, special support teachers, the school supervisor and staff from the Public University of Navarra, revolve around the following issues.

Aspects of Daily Life and School Routine
When properly organised, routine activities provide the opportunity to optimise those situations in which children require the help of adults to satisfy their diversity of basic needs. These activities, therefore, must be shaped to fit certain norms and time sequences in order to serve as a reference for other types of activities and actions that determine instructional and educational pathways. Daily routines help us to understand, analyse, and organise educational contents and overall aims in proper school contexts. At the same time, routines give a temporal and spatial reference to the demands of child development and therefore need to be carefully sequenced and paced to help

children understand and distinguish the different moments and circumstances of school and life situations.

The different spaces in schools (classrooms, stairways, yards, playgrounds, gymnasium, corridors, flower-beds, sand pits, and multipurpose areas) readily lend themselves to the purposes of social, emotional, civic, and health education. The way these spaces are organised has an impact not only on children's movements but also on their social, moral, cognitive, and physical behaviour. The spatial and temporal organisation of the different activities runs parallel. From the adult perspective, these experiences clearly reveal that adults need to be able to interpret the emotional element in children's demands, which means (a) believing in children's abilities and initiatives; (b) empathising and setting up a dialogue of mutual respect and affection; (c) setting up a warm physical dialogue; and (d) allowing children freedom and autonomy of movement.

Symbolic Play and Games
These can be used to encourage group cohesion and socio-emotional development because playing games helps children to relate with others in a socially acceptable manner. Symbolic play, for example, aims to provide a context for complex emotional processes eventually leading to the interpretation of emotional meanings, while recreating emotional relationships in make-believe situations. Thus, symbolic play provides an ideal framework for 'rehearsing' mistakes, enacting dreams or hopes, acting out rage and frustration, laughing at one's own fears, establishing effective communication skills, and healthy interaction, etc. It is an ideal way to transform teacher-student and student-student 'sayings,' 'doings,' and 'relatings' through the reinforcement of healthy interaction and enhancement of socialization.

Playing games, meanwhile, has much to do with our desire to learn more about the interpersonal relationships that arise in different groups, schools, and classes. Frequently, a variety of factors, such as the pupil's background and/or family and social circumstances give rise to problems and setbacks in children's personal development, impacts on their subsequent integration within the group, and on their effective acquisition of various types of learning (Albertin & Zufiaurre, 2009). Our experience clearly suggests that teachers can overcome the contextual difficulties that different students may, for one reason or another, face at school. It also shows that games provide an enlightening and valid context for educational intervention in children's socio-emotional growth.

At the same time, the overall strategy to promote children's socio-emotional development through games can be combined with music and movement games. It becomes clear that these kinds of games are a way to channel uncontrolled energy into socially acceptable forms, while relieving tension and providing an outlet for emotions, helping children to learn self-organisation and self-control through rhythm. They are a means of encouraging interaction with others, facilitating connections with children's inner selves as well as others and promoting inner harmony. The socially beneficial effect of music and movement stimulates group cohesion by channeling both aggression and inhibition, reducing anxiety, and facilitating constructive relationships.

Collaborative Games

Utilising these games encourages communication, group cohesion, and confidence between groups and individuals, while teaching children to cooperate and share. Collaborative games help to promote pro-social behaviour,

reduce passive and aggressive behaviour and facilitate racial and gender integration.

What has become increasingly clear over time is that by reviewing and explaining the various interpretations of the different games, ludic processes, and organisation of daily routines in our educational practices, both teachers and students were able to discuss and analyse the sense and meaning of games, play, and routines. They were able to do so from different research perspectives while also deciding about the appropriate educational focus of the different strategies we outline here ii.

Daily Routines and Organisation of Different Aspects of Daily Life

Daily school life is sequenced throughout the day according to children's needs. It is related to their lives and always has meaning and purpose. Development of perceptive, motor, cognitive, emotional, and social aspects connected to daily life problem solving, allows children to gain autonomy, to elaborate notions related to movement and physical growth, to refer to others, to socialize, to establish attitudes of endeavour, and develop attitudes with which to confront life.

Learning strategies associated with daily life routines promote children's interest in the proper completion of a job, task, or duty and can lead children to acquire new skills. In this sense, daily routines can be interrelated becoming a goal in themselves and contribute to the development of valid references. In the development of daily school life, boys and girls will acquire habits and attitudes that will not only promote their well-being, but also give them a sense of security, hygiene, healthy growth, proper nutrition, relaxation, etc. With the help of their teachers, boys and girls will learn to make proper use of the different spaces, objects, and resources and learn to value appropriate behaviour.

Furthermore, the learning strategies associated with daily routines can provide invaluable opportunities for sensitising teachers to the 'constructedness' of such routines (for example, the routine of entering and leaving the classroom) and thereby open up possibilities to facilitate greater integration between students.

Symbolic Play and Organised Games: Contributions to Children's Development

From different psychological perspectives, we might describe play as a childhood activity that is a purpose in itself. Wallon (1980) considers ludic activities with intrinsic motivations involving action and active participation. Play is a basic instinct, like speaking, listening, thinking, cooperating, etc. and, with common sense, can be turned into an efficient tool of communication and education. From this point of view, the characteristics of children's play include a fun activity that provides enjoyment, excitement, and gratification; an experience that involves freedom, choice, pressure-free autonomous decision-making; a process, which is an end in itself and arises out of intrinsic motivation; and an activity that encourages action and active participation. It has a purpose, because playing allows children to fix their own rules, which involves an opposition to the function of the real. It is spontaneous, for it is an activity that arises to spontaneously satisfy a need, but it is also a serious activity that mobilises the entire range of personal skills and resources, an effort, since playing sometimes uses up a great amount of energy, a task involving challenges and difficulties that must be overcome, yet at the same time it is an energy restorer.

That is why, any educational proposal for infant and primary education, in general or specific terms, must promote and enable the appropriate organisation and utilisation of play-facilitating materials and resources. It is not a question of trying to justify children playing in the classroom by saying that they are actually working. There is a need to raise the awareness of the entire educational community about the importance of play in child development. Teachers should, however, first stimulate children's play, and then make their observations and perform a follow-up. The role of play in social and emotional development, as well as in diagnosis and therapy, has been strongly emphasised by the psychoanalytical perspective, and dynamic psychological research has made a significant contribution to increasing the understanding of children's overall development through play (Freud, 1980; Palou, 2005; Winnicott, 2000). Therefore, playing games (a) is a source of pleasure leading to children's psychological well-being and, as such, promotes their emotional and psychological stability; (b) helps children to work out their anxieties and solve the emotional conflicts that occur in their daily lives, as well as helping them to overcome the anxiety arising from their sexual and aggressive impulses; (c) can be used to help them act out unacceptable impulses in a symbolic manner; (d) represents a language of symbols in which children express feelings, fantasies, hopes, worries, fears, concerns, etc.; and (e) can be understood as an intermediate space of personal experience between the inside and outside world. It occurs within the context of the symbolic and is at the basis of cultural experience.

Flowing from these premises, our experience has taught us the following principles:
- The characteristic features of children's playing games should be present in our educational intervention.
- Teachers should recognise the important role of games in children's intellectual, emotional, social and psychomotor development.

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- The organisation and utilisation of space and materials in the classroom ensures success when playing games.
- The observation of games is an important assessment and improvement tool.
- The teacher's role as an observer when playing games is an important part of education intervention.
- The paradox of playing games shows that children love to play and challenge themselves in this respect.
- The active participation of children when playing, allows educators to observe and report the characteristics of children's interpersonal and social interaction, and at the same time, their emotional conflicts.

Activity Design and Assessment Guidelines: Applying Our Understandings to the Classroom

Our aim with this research is to identify the circumstances and relationships that can help us to understand the situations that arise in schools and classrooms, when boys and girls with different backgrounds and values have to confront life and get along with each other, while identifying with whom they can best interact, communicate, and grow individually and socially. With this as the overall aim, our experience working on children's socio-emotional growth and inclusive practices demonstrates that the proposals we present here, when properly planned and tested, can provide a detailed assessment of children's interpersonal communication skills and abilities, while delivering a tailored response to individual and group needs. The different objectives underlying this overall socio-emotional framework: (a) to explore interpersonal relationships

within the class group; (b) to promote co-existence and integration while improving social relationships within the groups; and (c) to socialize, grow, and communicate, while learning to live together.

Routines
In relation to school and the routines of daily living, our selection includes practices such as in-school and out of school activities. The in-school include entering and leaving the school building; entering and leaving the classroom; going to the toilet; going out to the playground; the dining room; the gymnasium (the space for psychomotor development); the multipurpose room; and activity corners, workshops, work groups, game areas. The out of school activities are outings on foot, by train, or by bus; and trips to the museum, exhibitions, etc.

We explore in the first example below, some characteristics of entering and leaving the classroom or school building, in order to illustrate how these understandings can be applied to pedagogical practices, particularly when it comes to facilitating integration between children of diverse backgrounds (see Table 1, next page).

Table 2 (see p. 134) provides a useful assessment tool for teachers when examining how this kind of daily routine can facilitate rich opportunities for detailed assessment of children's interpersonal and communication abilities. Both tables can also be helpful analytical tools for teachers (and researchers) when exploring inclusive practices.

Table 1

Entering and leaving the classroom or school building: Shaping inclusive practices through scrutiny of routine activities

These are times of re-encounter between the children and their teacher and/or their families.	
Appropriate conditions	• Maintain a calm atmosphere and give the children time to express their feelings and emotions. • Take time to greet or say goodbye to peers and teachers. • Leave the children to collect their belongings without rushing them. Children should decide for themselves how to go about it. • Upon entering, the children should have somewhere to sit (for example, a circle) facing each other and waiting for others to arrive. • Upon leaving, the children should observe some rules and follow a prearranged order.
What to take into account	• Leave spaces free for easy entry and exit from classrooms, the school building, common areas. • Leave spaces free around tables, chairs, cupboards, drawers. • Leave obstacle-free paths for new children to enter and leave the school building or classroom. • Leave obstacle-free paths for new children to enter and leave the school building or classroom. • Set agreed standards for moving, to maintain order when using tables, chairs, cupboards, drawers.
Risks to prevent	• Colliding, trampling, and bumping into each other. • Trapping fingers in cupboards, doors, windows, etc. • Falling down.

How to organise:

- On the first day of class, the teacher should discuss and agree on certain rules with the children about how to do it better, when arriving or meeting each other, and explain why.
- Easy routines can then be established: how to proceed on arrival, how to introduce themselves, when and how to start playing, where to sit, who to sit next to if applicable, how to use things, cooperate and work together. These routines will be reinforced daily, to make them work and become accepted.
- Teachers will monitor how these routines work out, and will call the children's attention whenever they are broken or someone disregards the rules, in the event of conflict.

For example, in Table 1, three dimensions of practice, which shape and enable inclusive /exclusive behaviours, can be analysed and highlighted:

- The cultural-discursive order or arrangements that are prefiguring and shaping the 'sayings' of the teacher in relation to children's entry and departure from the classroom/school building. For example, "giv(ing) the children time to express their feelings and emotions … tak(ing) time to greet or say goodbye to peers and teachers" suggests a set of 'sayings' in terms of classroom practice in

which the establishment of a routine of calm (or the 'system') is balanced appropriately with an emphasis upon interpersonal relations between teachers and children and children themselves (the 'life world'). To explore this aspect of inclusive practices further, teachers and researchers could examine how specific social, material, and discursive structures are shaping this kind of routine classroom practice and whether these structures are enabling or constraining more inclusive practices. For instance, how might the language of the discipline and welfare

policies of the school be facilitating conditions that are conducive or inimical to children's integration? What are the 'sayings' that are encapsulated in school policies, school and classroom rules and norms regarding classroom entrance and departure? What do these sayings imply about what is valued or privileged in regard to this practice? (For example, an overwhelming emphasis upon establishing routines of calm entry into the classroom which overshadows time to greet or farewell peers and teachers may be preparing students for 'social practices of compliance and regimentation rather than democratic and rational forms of social participation and communication') (Edwards-Groves et al., 2010, p. 44).

• The material-economic orders or arrangements ('doings') of the teacher which are prefigured by school, curriculum, and broader policies and systems which in turn open up or may shut down more inclusive practices in regard to children's entry and departure from the classroom/school building. For example, 'Leave the children to collect their belongings without rushing them … Leave spaces free for easy entry and exit from classrooms … Upon entering, the children should have somewhere to sit … facing each other and waiting for others to arrive' emphasises the need for the active scrutiny of the set ups or arrangements of the classroom. These include (but are not limited to) the physical layout and teachers' activities vis-à-vis children. Active scrutiny of such practices and the broader structures that prefigure teacher's actions in relation to classroom set ups, for example, are critical in understanding how more inclusive practices may be engendered or constrained.

• The preceding two dimensions feed into the social-political orders or arrangements ('relatings') that are prefiguring and shaping the practice of children's entry and departure from the classroom/school building. For example, the insistence that children should have somewhere to sit when they first enter the classroom and that this be a circle in which they face each other is an important way in which possibilities for fostering deeper interpersonal relations between a variety of students may be facilitated. It suggests opening up the possibility for a greater democratisation of the classroom through the use of spatial arrangements. It also suggests the possibilities for enabling a more symmetrical set of relations of power between groups of children and children-teacher. Such arrangements may fit with practice architectures such as broader school norms, welfare and discipline policies or subtly contravene them (in the latter case, for example, if school policy is focused on establishment of routines which, emphasise particular norms of practice through sayings such as the need for 'quiet' and 'orderly' classrooms, as opposed to 'calm').

Table 2

Recording guide: Entering and leaving the classroom or school building

Name of Child:	Class:	Date:		
What to Record:			yes	no
Can handle separation / controls his/her emotions				
Takes the initiative when greeting and saying good bye				
Is aware of different spaces and how to use them				
Is able to put on and remove clothing without assistance				
Puts away his/her personal belongings in an orderly fashion				
Collaborates in tidying and cleaning operations				
Observes established standards of behaviour for classroom functioning				
Behaves appropriately and shows interest in planning routines and work				
Displays orderly behaviour and helps others				
Shows concern for safety, helping the others, using things properly, relaxing				
Additional Observations:				

Games: Musical Hoops

As was previously stated, games can shape inclusive practices. The second and final example drawn from our ongoing studies is the development of an assessment tool through which teachers can reflect on the developmental aspects of children's play through games. When we refer to games, we include collaborative and socio-

emotional game-playing situations. The active participation of children in these activities allows us to observe and report the characteristics of interpersonal and social interaction that lead to emotional conflicts. We will scrutinise musical hoops, one such collaborative/social-emotional game, more closely.

Table 3
Recording guide: Musical hoops

Name of Child:		Class:		Date:	
What to record:				yes	no
Listens to instructions given to group as a whole					
Needs individual instructions in order to follow the task					
Expresses joy					
Expresses fear					
Performs gestures and actions to the music.					
Accepts the other children and gives them shelter.					
Understands the meaning of the game.					
Facial expression suggests child is happy and enjoying the activity					
Controls his/her emotions					
Degree of participation in the debate:					
Additional Comments:					

An Example of the Game

In an afternoon free play session, the children placed ten hoops placed around the psychomotor room. Each hoop represented a house in which the children played. The hoops symbolised different animals and different situations in which the children played. Each time they returned to their "houses," one of the hoops had disappeared, and the children from that house, had to move to another one. The children had to negotiate with one another how to enter the new house. The process continued with the hoops disappearing one by one. The negotiations that were involved when moving from their houses became more complicated each time and the exchange and cooperation with one another became increasingly sophisticated. After a couple of hours they all entered the remaining house, feeling happy, satisfied, excited and talking to one another in an animated fashion.

Relational Aspects

The game of hoops firmly foregrounds the relational aspects involved in this practice through its exploration of children's feelings and strategies in regard to inclusive practices. In particular, it foregrounds these relatings as a priority valued by the teacher through the game's attention to student and teacher sayings (for example, 'encourage and support someone in trouble'); the doings, (for example, 'active listening habits'); and the relatings (for example, the aim of developing 'cohesion and confidence in the group'). This is not to suggest that there may not be problems or issues, which arise as the game is played; however, the critical point here is that an emphasis on relationships and developing emotionally and socially is being prioritised through the doing of the game. As such it opens up possibilities for children's agency and the building of more

integrative relationships in the classroom context.

Organising Daily Routines and Games: Practical Considerations

It should be made clear at this point that the organisation of daily routines and/or games depends on the duration of the activities and to a greater or lesser extent on: (a) a full plan of action, which should be decided jointly by teachers and students. This helps to reach the right decisions, to clarify needs and permits everyone to express and communicate their own ideas; (b) a period to carry out the different actions when children share their plans, communicate and interact with the help and mediation of the teachers; and (c) a review session to think about what happened and what else could have been done. It is at this point that teachers and students get together to analyse, review, and think about what has happened or is happening.

What we refer to as routine activities should be planned as such, and the planning scheduled to help a whole period of children's growth. It is important therefore to register the growth of both individuals and groups, how they develop, interact and socialize. The supervisors of the different activities should then keep a diary, since anecdotal records of the different situations are recommended. At the same time, teachers, supervisors, and observers should meet for discussions from time to time.

When we refer to games, each one is geared to a certain level of emotional, social, intellectual, and psychomotor development. It is therefore important to record all activities, and while the teacher organises the activity, a support teacher, a school supervisor, observer, or other figure tracks the different situations and records what happens. Next, the whole group of teachers and supervisors involved in the

experience in each school can listen to what has been recorded and can discuss the anecdotal records of the observers. In each game, teachers can include a record sheet for each pupil, paying closer attention to children with difficulties.

Conclusions from Six Years' Research

The proposed aims and objectives outlined above can be realised through the proper organisation of socio-emotional and routine activities, such as those detailed in the paper. These can help us to explore the classroom environment and the interpersonal relationships that take place in it. Daily routines contribute to social and personal growth while promoting healthy interaction. The different games can also bring to light a variety of personal and social development issues that can be addressed in collaboration with the families.

As we work through different daily routines and play different games, we can observe the arousal and development of different emotions, such as love, fear, rage, sadness, joy and different moods and mixed emotions.

When planning daily routines, everything should be organised and detailed in advance and children's development should be recorded. Nevertheless, before the game starts, especially for the first time, the youngest children need a demonstration, since a spoken explanation does not appear sufficient.

Repetition of the games gives the children more opportunity to imitate the procedure, which is important in building their confidence, while allowing them gradually to become more creative and take the initiative, once the insecurity of the early stages has been overcome. Each game needs to be played at the right time and in the right atmosphere, and it is useful to relate the games with one another as far as

possible. Nevertheless, daily routines in school should be organised around established norms, and can, with care, gradually generate a positive climate and promote effective communication. Planning and supervision are therefore of utmost importance.

Games can be used for a wide range of purposes. They represent a useful resource in certain classroom situations, such as welcoming a new member, solving conflicts, etc. Games give children the opportunity to interact, overcome their inhibitions and control their impulses or aggressive reactions towards peers and adults. Daily routines build character, instill norms, promote appropriate behaviour, and help to reinforce key references.

The most practical way to record qualitative observations is the anecdotal technique. Diaries are useful when we need to record what happens in different situations, how children progress, how things develop. Observers' guidelines give an account of what happens and in what circumstances, while providing educators with a framework for intervention when circumstances permit.

Face-to-face contact has proven to be the most successful and popular with children. Life is understood better when boys and girls meet each other face-to-face, exchange opinions, play and make plans together. In the case of games, there is a common project. In the case of dealing with the routines of daily life, boys and girls know how to interact and how to do it better, respect others, share and put themselves in the place of others.

The organisation of daily routines and common shared games as school activities helps to establish common standards, shared projects, healthy interaction and attitudes towards integration, communication and friendship, as a joint educational project to be shared with the families, and to be continued and reinforced in out-of-school peer actions.

Conclusions

Exploring what a practice is composed of, that is, how it 'hangs together' or is arranged (Schatzki, 2002) as a recognisable and comprehensible form of action, is an important step by which educators can begin to transform their own practices in ways, which open up possibilities for more inclusive practice. Changing classroom practices, our understandings of these practices, and the conditions under which they are carried out, "requires changing the sayings, doings and relatings that compose practices" (Kemmis, Wilkinson, Hardy, & Edwards-Groves, 2009, p. 5). It also requires changing the practice architectures, that is, "the mediating preconditions" such as school and system policies, curriculum and norms, which prefigure the daily practices of classroom teachers (Kemmis et al, 2009, p. 5). This may seem like a task that is beyond the ambition of everyday educators; however, we have utilised the preceding examples as a means of demonstrating that it is precisely in the scrutiny of educators' everyday work through the minutiae of classroom practices such as routines and games that transformation to more enabling and inclusive practices is indeed possible.

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EMOTIONS IN TEACHERS' TALK: A CASE STUDY IN RURAL AND REGIONAL NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA

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Abstract: *This paper adds to the growing literature on the emotional aspects of teachers' work. It reports on the analysis of semi-structured interviews with 14 teachers located in rural and regional NSW. The interviews were conducted in-situ and addressed the teachers' biographies, professional trajectories, notions of 'good teachers' and rural pedagogies. Corpus-assisted discourse analysis was used to analyse the semi-structured interview transcripts, which form a corpus of almost 100,000 words. The Appraisal framework was used to structure the analysis, which focuses on unsolicited comments that address emotions, with particular attention to happiness. The findings demonstrated that the participants frequently animated their talk with unsolicited references to emotions and, whilst a range of emotions was referenced, the vast majority of references were to happiness.*

Keywords: emotion, teachers' work, happiness, Appraisal

Introduction

Sutton and Wheatley (2003) reported that there was scant research on the role(s) of emotion in teachers' work. Since then, however, there has been an increase in research interest and outputs in this area. This paper briefly outlines major foci within the growing research corpus. The paper then introduces a new research perspective by analysing the integration of emotion-referenced language in teachers' talk. Specifically, the analysis examines the talk of fourteen teachers working in rural and regional schools in New South Wales, Australia. The teachers' talk was collected in interviews conducted with all research participants as part of the Bush Tracks Research project funded by the University of New England.

The interviews resulted in a corpus of almost 100,000 words, and it was apparent that affectual language that explicitly named various emotions or that described behaviours typically associated with various emotional states was a prominent feature of the teachers' talk, as demonstrated in the quote below.

I think I might not be the best organised person all the time but I'm really dedicated and focused on getting the best out of my kids and I just love, because I have Infants you see just so more progression with them and it's just amazing to see them go from not being able to do something to see them suddenly being able to do it, it's just incredible. As I said, sometimes I say "You make me so proud I could cry" and they just look at me like "she's crazy" but I'm really committed and I just love it.

The analysis presented here focuses on the teachers' *representation* of emotions in their talk, which introduces a linguistic perspective into the growing body of research. Thus, the paper utilises linguistic methods of analysis, namely corpus assisted discourse analysis (Baker, 2009; Conrad, 2002; Koteyko, 2006) and Appraisal (Martin & White, 2007). The analysis is structured by Martin and White's typology of emotions: un/happiness, in/security, and

dis/satisfaction, each of which was well represented across the corpus.

Researching Emotions in Education

In 2003, Sutton and Wheatley reported that there was "surprisingly little research about the emotional aspects of teachers' lives" (p. 9). In particular they specified that researchers "know surprisingly little about the role of emotions in learning to teach, how teachers' emotional experiences relate to their teaching practices, and how the sociocultural context of teaching interacts with teachers' emotions" (p. 10). The modest research base to which Sutton and Wheatley refer has continued to expand, however. There is a growing body of research that focuses on the physiological, psychological, and social basis of emotions and their regulation for teachers (Fried, 2011; Sutton & Harper, 2005; Sutton, Mudrey-Camino, & Knight, 2009) and students (Bradley et al., 2010). Other research focuses on students' and teachers' perceptions of the role(s) of emotions in learning and teaching, respectively. In relation to the former, O'Rourke and Cooper's study (2010) involving 314 Australian primary school students investigated the students' self-rated happiness levels and, in relation to the latter, Hargreaves' (2001b) empirical study involving 53 elementary and secondary teachers in Canada elicited "teachers' reports of their emotional relationships to their work, their professional development, and educational change" (p. 1058). Building upon this project, Hargreaves' (2001a, 2001b) further research includes emotional geographies of teaching. Another substantive area of research focuses on emotions and teacher identity (Reio Jr., 2005; van Veen, Sleegers, & van de Van, 2005; Zembylas, 2003, 2005). Despite paradigmatic differences and the associated consequences for the nature of the research questions, methodologies, and findings, the growing body of research

proposes that emotions are influential in teaching and learning.

The research reported here adds another dimension to the extant literature; it examines how references to emotion are interwoven into teachers' talk. As such, the research offers linguistic insight into the integration of affectual lexis into teachers' talk. Accordingly, the research draws on linguistic research methods, namely corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Baker, 2009; Conrad, 2002; Koteyko, 2006) and Appraisal (Martin & White, 2007) (Uppercase is used here to distinguish the technical usage of the term *Appraisal* from other more general definitions. The same approach is used later in the paper when the term Affect is introduced as a technical term.) The former, corpus-assisted (critical) discourse analysis is a relatively recent approach that combines two previously separate methods, which has been enabled by the increased capacity of personal computers, whereas the latter is an extension of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Appraisal "is concerned with the construction of texts by communities of shared feelings and values, and with the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments" (Martin & White, p. 1). Thus, Appraisal is ideally aligned with this investigation into the affectual aspects of teachers' talk.

Rather than performing a full Appraisal analysis, however, the research presented here uses the Appraisal framework to provide an analytical lens for corpus-assisted discourse analysis. The Appraisal framework comprises three domains: Graduation, Attitude and Engagement, each of which is subdivided into regions. The analysis presented here is located within the Affect region of the Attitude domain. Affect concerns "evaluation by means of the writer/speaker indicating how they [or others] are *emotionally disposed* to the person, thing, happening or state of

affairs" (White, 2001, p. 7, emphasis added). Affect can be subdivided into three categories of emotion: un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction (Fig. 1).

These categories have been used to present the data and discussion concerning the affectual aspects of the teachers' talk.
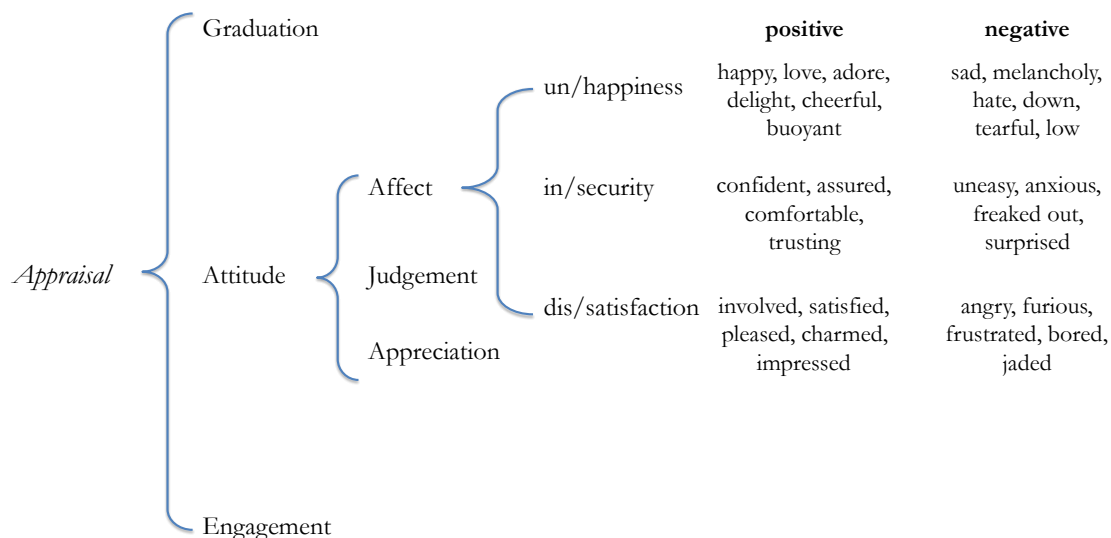

Figure 1: *Schematic overview of the Appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2007), highlighting the typology of the Affect region*

Bush Tracks

The data analysed in this paper are drawn from the Bush Tracks project undertaken from 2003-present. The Bush Tracks Research Collective formed in 2003 with the aim of addressing gaps in Australian education research. The Bush Tracks project explored 'place' as a significant factor in schooling outcomes.

The theoretical / explanatory framework, which consisted of three overlapping domains (Fig. 2), drew narrative, post-psychoanalytic, and place theories into combination. Each of the domains contained multiple research questions as summarised below.
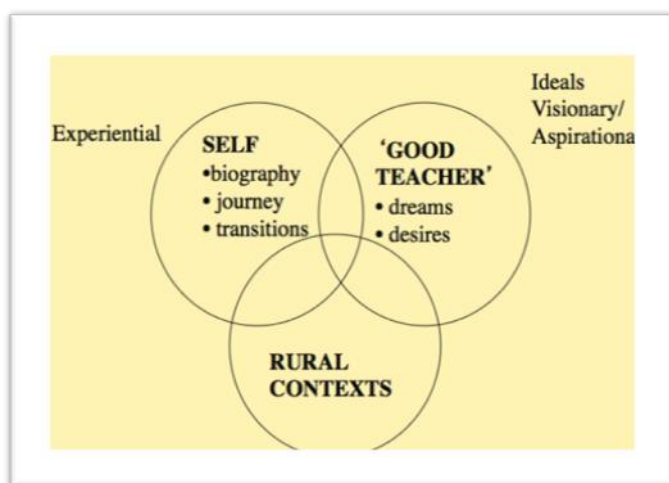

Figure 2: *Bush Tracks: Theoretical / Explanatory Framework*

'Self'
- Biography – What is the story of 'self'?
- Journey – What is the personal story and how does the story provide a sense of 'self'?
- Transitions – What changes does the 'self' experience when moving from one sense of 'self' to another and how do these produce 'growth'?

Situating the 'Good Teacher'
- What is a 'good teacher'?
- Is a 'good teacher' something generic or does it differ in rural contexts?
- Given that so many of our pre-service teachers are sent to a rural area, are we preparing them successfully, both to be a 'good teacher' and also an early leader?

'Rural Contexts'
- Why do teachers stay?
- Why do teachers leave?
- What are the opportunities, rewards and challenges of leadership?
- What issues attend professional learning?

As can be seen from the research questions above, the Bush Tracks project did not explicitly address the role of emotions in rural and regional teachers' work. Yet, as the quote in the introduction illustrated, the teachers drew on emotion-related vocabulary and referred to behaviours that are associated with particular emotions. The references to emotion were unsolicited and prominent in the teachers' talk.

Analysing the Representation of Emotion in the Teachers' Talk

The teachers' lexical choices that explicitly named various emotions covered the three major categories of Affect proposed by Martin and White (2007),

namely un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction. The discussion below addresses each of these categories in turn. However, the teachers referenced emotions associated with un/happiness more than those associated with in/security and dis/satisfaction. Thus, the discussion focuses more on un/happiness than in/security and dis/satisfaction.

Un/happiness

Lexical choices that identified emotions within the un/happiness category had the highest frequency across the corpus and the majority were on the positive side of the binary, with 'happiness' specifically having the highest frequency. Numerous questions can be posed to the references to 'happiness' that teachers interspersed into their discourse: Are the teachers happy or seeking happiness? Do the teachers refer to their own happiness or to the happiness of a significant other/partner, their colleagues, their students or their students' parents? What are the sources of such happiness? Are the teachers teaching about happiness? etc.

The majority of the teachers' statements that mentioned 'happiness' referred to the teachers' own happiness, followed by that of their colleagues, and then the parents. It is important to note that varying grammatical structures may be used to 'frame' the emotions being referenced, e.g. happy, happiness, happily, happier. These different grammatical structures result in significantly different meanings being realised. The most commonly used grammatical structure used across the corpus presented 'happy' as a quality attributed to participants, in other words, teachers claimed that they and /or their colleagues were happy.

According to Bullough and Pinnegar (2009), "happiness follows when work is found intrinsically rewarding, morally upstanding, purposeful, appropriately

challenging and fully supportive of the people involved" (p. 246). The most frequently mentioned factor that the teachers raised when describing themselves and/or their colleagues as being happy was an absence of change. A link between emotion and change has been identified by Hargreaves (2005) and Reio, Jr. (2005), and it is widely acknowledged that responses to change are influenced by personal factors such as gender, age, and generation, etc. However, great consistency was shown across the corpus: teachers consistently articulated that they were happy with their current position within the continuum of career stages.

At the moment I'm just happy on fine-tuning the skills. I'm enjoying being a class teacher. I don't want to be a deputy yet.

Some people are more than happy to stay in the classroom, but I think they are the best teachers that we have.

I'm very happy with the job I'm doing at the moment.

Teachers also described themselves as being happy when they were discussing supportive working environments.

You don't have family, you're in a place and you support each other, you make each other happy, you help.

I was so happy that I'd gone into a school where there was a lot of support and I got a lot of spoon-feeding I suppose.

The happiness that teachers referenced when discussing supportive environments can be linked to Hargreaves' (2001a, 2001b) notion of 'emotional geographies', which he uses as a spatial metaphor to signify the emotional manifestations of people's personal, cultural, moral, professional, political and physical 'closeness' or 'distance' in their relations and interactions. Specifically, the happiness referenced in relation to supportive working environments in the first quote above draws on closeness in both personal and professional relations and interactions.

Following happiness, 'love' was the second most frequently mentioned emotion within the un/happiness category. Unlike the strong recurrent patterns that occurred when the teachers referenced happiness in their talk, love was referenced when the teachers spoke about a wide range of topics relating to their work. However, several teachers similarly referenced love when talking about rural places and rural teaching. This is poignantly illustrated in the following quote, which counterpoises love and sadness.

I love rural teaching because, without being condescending, their [students'] experience is so limited in the 'outside world', as simple as never seeing the ocean, that you feel you have a lot to give. On the flip side, the experiences I have had are vast, comical, sad and some that I never would have had on the coast or in the city. Really, the list could go on. I will be very sad to leave.

In/security

Within the Appraisal framework, which has been used to structure this discussion, Martin and White (2007) specify that "In/security covers our feelings of peace and anxiety in relation to our environs, including of course, the people sharing them with us" (p. 49). Positive emotions in this category include confidence, assurance, and trust, and negative emotions include anxiety, concern, and surprise. The most frequent emotion that the teachers referenced within the in/security category was 'worry', which was often referred to in very close connection with 'concern'. Recurrent

worry/concern was expressed when the teachers spoke about accelerated career progression at a young age.

Age probably worries me more here in [regional city] than it worried me in [remote town] because everyone out in [the remote town] is very young, the majority and when I first came here, not now but when I first came here three years ago it was something I was concerned about that I would be walking into a school where there had been people who'd been teaching here for twenty-five years.

I was a bit concerned about telling, giving instructions to people, because I wasn't that much older at that time.

The most frequently referenced positive emotion associated with the in/security category was 'confidence', resulting from increased professional competence either as beginning teachers or as teachers beginning a new career stage.

I think sometimes I think I'm still at the beginning stages, but I'll get a lot of competence and confidence as time goes on.

I feel like competence is definitely developing, confidence is probably a lot better.

My judgement is a lot clearer and I guess that results in more confidence.

Dis/satisfaction

Within the Appraisal framework, Martin and White (2007) specify that "Dis/satisfaction deals with our feelings of achievement and frustration in relation to the activities in which we are engaged, including our roles as both participants and spectators" (p. 505). Positive emotions in this category include satisfaction, pleasure and enjoyment, and negative emotions include frustration, boredom and anger.

The most frequent emotion that the teachers referenced within the dis/satisfaction category was frustration; however, frustration was referenced in teachers' talk about a wide range topics. There were some recurrent connections, however, such as frustration concerning bureaucratic requirements such as paperwork and mandatory professional development courses.

I do find that one of the most frustrating things for me is paperwork which stops me from being better… there's an hour gone that I'm not actually doing that. I do find that frustrating.

My biggest challenge I find and it is very frustrating is when I first came here you have to go to the principal's induction course, you have to do to have someone on your staff trained in anti-racism and that and someone trained on your staff in OH&S and so everyone has to have somebody on their staff trained in all these things and in a one teacher school, it's you.

The most frequently referenced positive emotion associated with the dis/satisfaction category was 'enjoyment', especially in relation to professional learning, both informal and formal.

Well, I never stop learning. And, um, I enjoy the stimulation.

A lot of in-service is just for principals for things like that. I enjoyed that.

I ended up in a K-1 most of the time I was there, enjoyed it, learned a lot.

Teachers also referenced enjoyment when discussing their rural location.

I think it's just the challenges and the reward and I like the sense of small community and knowing the parents, and knowing the kids in that small community.

Family sort of situation, I really like that. I suppose that's not for everybody, but for me that's part of what I enjoy.

No, no, I wasn't [lonely]. No, again, I don't know why, I just have not, I never not enjoyed my experience in [rural town].

Discussion

As mentioned previously, the research questions of the Bush Tracks project neither explicitly nor implicitly addressed the role of emotions in teachers' work in rural and regional settings, yet the participating teachers drew on affectual lexical resources extensively, and the emotions that were represented were wholly germane to particular research questions. Specifically, the research questions concerning the teachers' stories and identity sought to draw out personal stories and *how* the stories provided a sense of 'self'. The use of affectual lexical resources constituted a highly influential structural element in the narratives: the teachers chose to foreground emotions rather than other aspects of given situations. For example, when discussing professional learning one of the participants foregrounded personal affect by stating *I enjoy the stimulation* rather than stating that the learning was stimulating. The alternative version identifies a quality of the learning rather than a personal emotional response. Although it may be argued that the distinction is subtle, it is a distinction nevertheless, and the distinction is made consciously to foreground identity and to present the self as an affectual rather than dispassionate professional.

The research also sought to investigate transitions, namely the changes that the 'self' experiences when moving from one sense of 'self' to another. The teachers again utilised affectual lexical resources when discussing continuity and transitions. The teachers explicitly described being happy during periods of continuity/ stability and frequently described a yet-to-be-achieved confidence when entering a new career change. The unsolicited affectual response associated with continuity and transitions is noteworthy given the accelerated career paths of many teachers in rural and regional areas in Australia.

Another research question sought to determine whether the initial education courses at the University of New England were preparing students successfully for teaching appointments in rural and regional areas. The linguistic analysis of the rural and regional teachers' talk highlights the importance of emotions in their presentation of 'self' and experience of continuity and transitions, as well as their relationships with colleagues, students, students' parents, and place. These findings provide support for studying the role of emotion in teaching in pre-service teacher education courses.

Whilst the role of emotion has received critical attention in relation to practicum components of pre-service teacher courses, Bloomfield, 2010; Hastings, 2004, 2010), greater attention is required in other aspects of pre-service teacher education courses (Hawkey, 2006). Whilst the role of emotion may be addressed at all year levels in pre-service teacher education, the inclusion of in-depth study of emotions in a capstone unit warrants serious consideration. Capstone units serve multiple functions such as providing course cohesion and the integration and synthesis of knowledge and skills gained across a course, as well as preparing students for the transition from study to work. Perrone and Vickers (2003) describe this transition as "a time fraught with stress, anxiety, shock, fear, uncertainty, loss, loneliness, depression and feelings of low worth. These feelings are not routinely anticipated by students" (p. 69). This transition is also accompanied by identity

change from student to professional, from pre-service teacher to beginning teacher. As noted in the analysis, rural and regional teachers associated emotion with transitions, thus addressing the role of emotion in capstone units in pre-service teacher education courses enables students to anticipate and prepare themselves for the emotions that they may experience as they transition into the teaching profession.

Conclusion

According to Gardner (2004), "Life's experiences – the ordinary and the everyday, the profound and the momentous – are first and foremost experiences that are shared socially through the activity of talk" (p. 263). Teachers in the Bush Tracks project shared the ordinary and the everyday, the profound and the momentous experiences of working in rural and regional settings and they animated their talk with frequent references to emotion. The references to emotion were wholly unsolicited, which demonstrated the links that the participants made with, and the importance that they ascribed, to the emotional aspects of teaching.

The discussion presented here has drawn on and situated the emotions that the teachers referenced within the three categories of Affect configured by the Appraisal framework, namely un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction. Although, the emotions that the teachers referenced could be mapped to all three categories of Affect, the vast majority referred to happiness. One teacher commented, *you can't be unhappy and do a good job teaching.* Bullough and Pinnegar (2009) have linked teacher happiness to Aristotle's notion of *eudaimonia*, which is usually translated as 'flourishing'. The teachers' referencing to emotions certainly conveyed a sense of flourishing and one teacher explicitly described herself as thriving: *I was really happy ... I really thrived!*

The role of emotion in teachers' work has been neglected or underplayed in pre-service teacher education (Perrone & Vickers, 2003). The incorporation of explicit study of emotions in the coursework and practicum components of pre-service teacher education courses is essential for pre-service teachers to gain understandings of the role of emotions in teaching and learning, and in professional identities, relationships and transitions. Such study can be strategically interspersed throughout pre-service teacher education courses and capstone units provide a particularly strategic opportunity to enable students to anticipate and prepare for emotions that they may experience as they transition into the teaching profession.

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GROSS NATIONAL HAPPINESS THROUGH GROSS NATIONAL *HEALTHINESS*: CROSS CULTURAL APPROACHES OF PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION THROUGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' HEALTH EDUCATION

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Abstract: *The philosophical and culturally aligned role of pre-service teacher education in Paro, Bhutan and Armidale, Australia is the context for this paper. The effect of these programs to prepare teachers to impart key health information on nutrition is reflected through interviews of school-aged children in Paro (n=8) and Armidale (n=16). The knowledge evidenced from these data included confused and inaccurate understanding of 'sometimes' and 'everyday' foods and what constitutes three basic food groups of carbohydrates, proteins, and fats. Students in Armidale regularly cited fast-food chains as synonymous with foods to be limited while this was less of a concern of the students in Paro. Such commercial food availability and other culturally specific differences underline the comparisons in these two locations. The implications of these findings have relevance to the role of school-based teachers and pre-service teacher educators, negotiating for creative space in programs of study employing a research informed position.*

Introduction

Nutritional education has been at the centre of health education programs particularly because concerns around the general populations' health related fitness and wellness have been raised. Diet and exercise rates have been associated with cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and strokes (Brown, Burton & Rowan, 2007; Warburton, Nicol, & Bredin, 2006). The social and economic costs to society for what has been termed 'lifestyle' diseases, underscores the interest in health education.

In Australia, even though there is a strong identity with the sporting culture, the incidence of people leading a sedentary lifestyle is high (ABS). For example, the obesity rates for children (5-17 years of age) have increased from 5.2% in 1995 to 7.5% in 2007-08. Aligned studies of pre-school aged children have indicated a 15.2% incidence of children classified as being overweight and 5.5% classified as obese (Wake, Hardy, Canterford, Sawyer,

& Carlin, 2007). Studies have shown that children are more likely to stay obese into adulthood and have an increased risk of developing diseases associated with obesity (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW], 2010). Being overweight or obese increases the risk of suffering from a range of conditions, including coronary heart disease, Type 2 diabetes (AIHW, 2010), and a range of social prejudices (Dietz, 1998). Obesity is not a concern for many countries such as Bhutan.

One factor in addressing the health concerns of children and obesity relates to nutritional education. Educating children through knowledge of food types and guidance of choice is the primary focus of health and nutritional education (Board of Studies [BOS], 2006b). In much of the literature surrounding food, health, and choices that children make, there is concern for the perceived lack of transfer from knowledge to behaviours (O'Connor-Fleming & Parker, 2007) or to health practices (Mielewczyk & Willig, 2007).

The nature of individuals and their long-term health behaviours and practices in *ex-post facto* study of school-based learning remains a central challenge to this issue (Nutbeam & Harris, 2010). In addition, the difficulty in designing methodologically appropriate studies that have the capacity to segregate and detect the issues of knowledge and application to behaviour and/or health related practices (Nutbeam & Harris), keeps this facet of health education's effectiveness elusive. However, the concern for educators at the tertiary level is '*how much of what*' is presented in pre-service teacher education programs flows on to students in schools?

In this paper we describe how societal health concerns are approached in two diverse cultural contexts. This is achieved by firstly describing the pre-service teacher education for Paro and then Armidale – cities in respective countries of Bhutan and Australia. This structure allows for each section of the paper to follow that comparative case study approach.

Pre-service Teacher Education at Paro College, Bhutan

In 2010 the Physical Education Teaching Team at Paro College adopted the philosophy of GNH (Gross National Happiness) by institutionalising this concept through a programme of individual fitness. The aim was to stimulate pre-service teacher trainees and recent graduates to reach out and influence the thoughts and attitudes of the various school communities by, metaphorically speaking, scaling the highest mountains, braving the torrential rain, and spending marathon days walking to their place of employment. This latter comment refers to the fact that to reach some schools in Bhutan may involve a two or three day walk, that is, from the nearest road (Office of the Census Commissioner, 2005).

Health lectures at Paro College are advocating GNH through the idea of gross national *healthiness*. This innovative concept can be achieved in a number of ways, such as by raising awareness through practical applications. For example, a class activity might include a task such as examining food wrappers to determine the calorific value and nutrients they contain. This activity is creating an awareness of nutrition and a pedagogical approach that can be replicated in schools. School-aged students could collect food wrappers from a school playground, thereby providing greater consciousness of environmental issues, including for example, pollution and hygiene. By using such a hands-on teaching approach, pre-service teachers are being equipped, not only with greater knowledge and understanding of a number of important issues, but are also provided with teaching strategies they can take with them into the schools and communities to which they are posted.

Pre-service Teacher Education at UNE Armidale, Australia

For pre-service teacher education students at the University of New England, health education is delivered as a one lecture/workshop topic in a Master of Teaching program (2 year pre-service teacher education award) or a one unit of study in the Bachelor of Education (Primary) award (4 year pre-service teacher education award). As such, there is either a very small amount of time allocated to the approach and pedagogy of health education, or a one unit allocation (150 hours of learning time). Therefore, academics have adopted a conceptual approach to health education at UNE, and it is up to each student to elect to apply their understanding of nutrition to their lesson programming assignments. Many students wade into the quagmire of nutrition, espousing 'good' and 'bad' foods, healthy and unhealthy choices, and

are usually bereft of the sociological implications of using the obsolete healthy diet pyramid (see http://www.lifehacker.com.au/2010/10/how-to-use-the-food-group-pyramid-for-better-eating/), which was most recently replaced by the plate – (see http://www.health.gov.au/internet/healthyactive/publishing.nsf/Content/eating).

Some pre-service teachers will look to planning for nutritional education through activities such as having school-aged students conduct an inventory of their lunchbox and categorising foods that children have brought from home. They also have students interrogate their school environment by screening the availability of 'healthy' choices at the school canteen, providing a rationale for such learning activities of health promoting schools. Without careful and considered approaches, pre-service teachers' well-meaning intentions to educate their future students on the knowledge of nutrition can have negative emotional and social implications for the students in schools.

So from diverse approaches to health education: Paro adopting an ecological approach through practical learning activities, backdropped by a cultural philosophy of Gross National Happiness through GNHealthiness, and Armidale through procedural, tokenistic food inventories, the pre-service teacher education programs operate in different social and educational contexts. Pre-service teacher education programs are to prepare future teachers to impart an effective school based health education program. School-aged children are expected to achieve knowledge of food groups, food choices for good health, balancing eating habits, and fast food - a health choice, as prescribed by the Board of Studies Health Education Syllabus, (BOS, 2006b, pp. 39-45). Given these diverse approaches to pre-service teacher education for nutritional knowledge, what is the effect of these programs and what type of nutritional understandings do students in Paro and Armidale demonstrate? To answer these questions, school-aged children have been the focus of this research. The focus on school-aged children's knowledge is one avenue to determine the baseline of knowledge as a precursor to informed decision making in eating behaviours and to reflect on the effectiveness of in-service teachers and via *ex-post facto,* pre-service teacher education programs.

Methodology

The Health Education Program (HEP) implemented for Armidale schools will be described, followed by the procedures governing the collection of data in Paro and Armidale. Features of the school systems will be provided as will the profile of the students and researchers participating in the study.

The Health Education Program (HEP)

The Health Education Program was constructed with the collaboration of both classroom and specialist teachers. As such, an age and developmentally appropriate program of nutrition was developed and delivered to each of the class groups. Specifically, the Health Education Programs were based on the Australian state of New South Wales, Personal Development, Health and Physical Education (PDHPE) syllabus content strand of *Personal Health Choices* (BOS, 2003, 2006a, 2006b). Students in Paro, Bhutan were delivered a context specific program on healthy eating, and afterwards, they were asked the same interview questions as those in Armidale. The years of schooling were matched as closely as possible; however, due to the contextually diverse schooling systems the alignment in student age groups and school year(s) may not always be consistent.

The developmentally appropriate Nutrition Education Resource for Youth Ages 6-11 (Wisconsin Nutrition Education Program, 2007) provided a robust framework upon which teachers could base their programs of study. Associated learning and assessment choices were framed by the *Knowledge and Understanding Outcomes* of the NSW curriculum in combination with decision-making outcomes from the *Skills* section of the syllabus. Similarly, the primary (K-Year 6) and secondary school (Years 7-10) Health Education programs were based on the NSW K-6 and 7-10 PE syllabus for Stages 1-3 and 4 -5 (BOS, 2003, 2006a, 2006b) respectively.

In the schools in Bhutan, and more specifically Paro, nutrition education is delivered by generalist teachers. These generalists are trained, usually during an organized nationally based workshop organized by the World Food Programme of the United Nations. This is a short-term programme aimed at providing some nutritional knowledge to teachers. However, the programme is not based on a hands-on approach and not intended to make teachers to be experts in nutrition. Prior to 2000, there were few books available, which delivered lessons on nutrition. Nowadays, however, the usual mode of delivery of nutrition education in Bhutanese schools is through referral to textbooks. The aim of using these texts is mainly to ready students to sit for examinations. It would appear that the lack of understanding of nutrition education, by the generalist, has done little to enhance the quality of Health Education in schools. For want of a better phrase, the apparent lack of resourcefulness, on the part of the generalists, seems to have led to a situation whereby nutrition education has not kept up with the more diverse range of foods available in Bhutan.

In accordance with the organisation of the Armidale school, students enrolled in Year 3 to Year 5 received a unit on nutrition delivered by their generalist primary classroom teachers. These year groups would align with eight to ten years of age. At the same time, specialist PDHPE teachers taught students in Years 6 to 10 their HEP. Similarly, the age groups are generally, eleven to sixteen years of age.

Data Collection

In Paro, students (*n*=8) were interviewed. These included three female students from Year 4 (10 years of age); two students from Year 8 (one 14 year old female and a 20 year old male); and three female students from Year 9 and 10 (two 17 year olds and a 15 year old). Due to the diverse age groupings of students in Paro, direct comparisons were difficult to make from Paro to Armidale, and the gender balance was 7 females and 1 male.

In Armidale, two students from each year group from Years 3 to 10 were interviewed (*n*=16). These students were from diverse points on the achievement continuum as identified by their classroom teachers. The gender balance of participants was representative of the larger school population with 10 boys and 6 girls interviewed. The junior school is co-educational; however, the middle and high school sections cater for male students only.

The interview instrument was based on that used to evaluate the Wisconsin Nutrition Education Program. Students were asked in age-appropriate language to explain the rationale behind the terms of 'Sometimes' and 'Everyday' foods, and what foods were examples of carbohydrates, proteins, and fats.

Researchers included educators in pre-service teacher education universities and school-based teachers. All authors were involved in aspects of either collecting data in respective international contexts

and/or analysis of coding the transcript data.

Data Analysis

Interview data were recorded, transcribed, coded manually, and subsequently analysed using the Leximancer text mining software (Smith, 2000). The interview data were first coded manually for trends within and between participants' responses across the same questions. Due to limitation on the space here, Leximancer results are not included; however, there were high levels of confirmation between the manual coding and the Leximancer concept and theme maps.

Results

Results are presented firstly for Paro and secondly for Armidale in each section. Students were asked to indicate their understanding and to provide examples of what the following terms meant. These are considered to be basic nutritional terms.

"Sometimes" Foods

The first term was regarding *sometimes* foods, referring to foods that are recommended to be consumed on rare occasions. Daily consumption of sometimes foods would lead to malnutrition and/or excess of energy intake. Chocolate is one example of a "sometimes" food. Each student is identified as either F (female) or M (male) with his/her year following; therefore, a F-4 would be a female in year 4.

Sometimes Foods in Paro
Sometimes foods for students in Paro were identified by the students in a different set of meanings than expected – these ranged from interpretations of the various religious and/or availability of food choices over the concept of nutritional guidelines. For example, "Sometimes I eat

maggie/noodles, rice and chillies" (F-4). "Daily I eat rice, chillies, papaya, watermelon and spinach" (F-4). "Other, sometimes food that I see are Bhutanese red rice, peaches, apples, oranges and tea" (F-4). "Meat are sometimes food because we eat them once in a while. They are special and eat only on occasions" (F-7). Or as F-11 stated, "Sometimes food were other than daily meals: Food that we eat in casual times other than our daily meals which are healthy. Examples: bread and jam, koka (noodles) and momo (meat or vegetable dumplings)".

This last quote may be indicative of different interpretations of the question, potentially exacerbated by diverse cultural contexts. Meat as a sometimes foods may relate to the effect of socio-economic status and/or the influence of Buddhist lifestyle.

Sometimes Foods in Armidale
The majority of Armidale students (*n*=12/16) could recall and provide examples of foods that were categorised as sometimes foods. Most students' responses provided evidence of a basic understanding of the term. When provided with a prompt from the interviewer, about foods being categorised into sometimes or *everyday* foods, the students could then provide examples of different types of foods which are recommended to be consumed infrequently (e.g., chocolate and chips).

Regarding the reason for the term sometimes foods, the majority of participants (13/16) indicated that eating these types of foods each day would mean that they would get "fat," or that their tastebuds would become "collapsing and boring," and that if they "had the same thing over again and again you would get fat" (F-4), or you would "get heaps of acne" (M-8).

Fast foods were commonly identified as sometimes foods with many offerings from named fast food outlets such as McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken, etc., (15/16). Chips, burgers, fat, chocolate, soft drinks, sweets, and chocolate biscuits were all named as sometimes foods.

Some students (*n*=8) provided in-depth descriptions of the long-term health implications related to eating too much fat from meat, chips, and fast foods. However, a small number of students (*n* = 2) also erroneously provided examples of everyday foods such as vegetables as being deleterious to long-term health (M-5).

"Everyday" Foods

Everyday foods are those that are recommended to be consumed daily. For example, fruit and vegetables are considered to be everyday foods, and they are recommended as "Five a Day" media campaign in Australia – as suggested – a total of five serves of fruit and/or vegetables will provide the recommended nutritional requirements for individuals. Grains, proteins, and minimal fats are also recommendations for everyday foods.

Everyday Food in Paro
The Paro students indicated the following: "I eat potatoes, pumpkin and I drink sugar tea" (F-4). "Everyday, I eat rice, potatoes, chillies and green vegetables" (F-4). "Rice, potatoes, cabbage, spinach and chillies" (M-8). "Every day food were food which we eat every morning, lunch and dinner. Examples: rice, curry, tea and water" (F-11).

Rationale for eating these foods included "My teachers said that healthy food are spinach, beans, fiddle head" (ferns in the jungle) (F-4). "If I eat unhealthy food all the time, it will make me sick" (F-4).

Everyday Food in Armidale
In Armidale, all students (16/16) could identify what everyday foods were and why they were termed such. Students provided examples of healthy everyday choices that were aligned with the nutritional guidelines. Example responses included: "Apples, bananas and vegetables are everyday foods" (M-3). "Red meat, vegetables such as peas and broccoli" (M-6). "Meat, vegetables and fruit" (M-7).

Overall the questions about everyday foods were answered the *most* accurately of all the nutritional knowledge questions. Students also provided accurate rationales for eating these foods and explanations about why everyday foods are important. A representative response to the request to give a rationale for eating everyday foods was that, "Parents force you to eat them, so you get used to them …" (M-6)

Identification of Food Groups

Across the age groups and contexts, there were students who gave inconsistent and erroneous examples of types of foods. For example, when students were asked to tell the interviewer about the foods that were representative of specific groupings, they made the most errors for the category of carbohydrates. Students were more accurate for protein foods, and most accurate in giving examples of vegetables and fruits. Specific results are discussed next.

Carbohydrates
In Paro students' knowledge of this food group was the most accurate. Level 2 students did not provide answers to this question. However, the following answer is typical of the mix of foods listed to represent one category. For example: "red rice, wheat flour, meat, butter, cheese and pork" (M-8).

In Armidale, students providing accurate answers to this question were in the

minority (*n*=4/16). Most correct answers came from the older students who provided correct examples such as: "pasta, rice" (M-7); "nutrigrain (a popular Australian cereal, regularly advertised as a young man surfing, and growing across time-lapsed sequences), bread, snacks, milo and shapes (crackers)" (M-8); and, "bread and pasta" (M-10).

In both Paro and Armidale, students at the younger age groups did not provide answers to these questions on food categories. Older students provided examples of carbohydrates, but they also included various proteins and dairy products which provide evidence that students were not clear on which foods were in each food group. When asked for the rationale for eating foods from this food group, responses from Paro included "Green vegetables help us to fight the diseases and makes us healthy" (F-11). Responses from Armidale included "no idea" (M-8); "gives you the most energy and proteins" (M-10); "I'm not sure what it means – I have learned about it in Year 3 though" (M-4); "I am not sure" (M-6); and "need them for energy and if you eat too much you will get too fat" (M-4). Many teachers would find these responses at odds with their expectations of student knowledge.

Proteins
The knowledge of this food group was inconsistent with the younger children confusing proteins with other more well-known food groups while the older students were confident of their answers (Armidale, *n*=10/16).

Students in Paro provided examples of proteins. "Dahl (dried lentils), milk, rice, meat, fruit, vegetables and juice" (F-11). "Egg and dahl" (Indian pulses) (F-11). "Protein are those food which help in growth and repair the cell and even produce antidote" (F-11).

Students in Armidale provided examples of proteins, students made responses such as those provided below: "bananas, apples, pears and vegetables" (M-3); "not sure" (M-5); "fish, meat and eggs, maybe cheese" (M-6); and "Nutrigrain" (M-8).

This level of confusion concerning what constitutes foods within the protein category may be compounded by the advertising on television for the students in Armidale. Nutrigrain is a cereal advertised to 'build strong bodies.'

Fat
In Paro, fat was accurately identified. "Meat (pork), butter, cheese and fried foods" (F-8); "oil, butter, packaged food, noodles and milk powder" (M-8); and "fats are those food which provides energy" (F-11).

In Armidale, for foods identified to have fat in them students (n=11/16) were consistent in knowing that it is preferable if fat on meat is cut off and not eaten. Some of the interviewed students' responses from Armidale included "chips, burgers, smoothies, coffee and lots of other foods have fat" (M-3); and "Sugary foods and normal meals, like at restaurants" (M-10).

When asked about the implications of eating these foods, responses included "It isn't good for you to eat too much fat – because it is bad for your body" (M-3); and "It is not good for you and you shouldn't eat too much of it" (F-7).

Responses to the Question of Why Eat Certain Foods

Paro:
"A variety of food is important because I do not like to eat same food all the time (F-4). "If I eat unhealthy food, I will fall sick and miss my class and not perform well in studies" (M-8). "For the proper functioning of our body and to be healthy"

(F-8). "Protein, carbohydrates, fats are our body will become big, strong and healthy. If we eat too much fats, it will make us obese and we are sick. Diabetics and obesity are also the causes" (M-8).

Discussion

The cross cultural comparison of students' understanding of *sometimes* and *everyday* food in addition to food categories of protein, carbohydrate, and fats has shown more similarities than differences. In Paro and in Armidale students were consistently inconsistent. That is, there were misnomers concerning students' understanding of what constitutes a protein, fat, and to lesser degree, carbohydrates. These outcomes may not be that important in the overall understanding of foods; however, the terms of sometimes and everyday foods have been introduced as a guide to food selection for general populations.

For the students in Paro, the health education program has a different set of findings. The responses from the students there, may have more to do with a linguistic interpretation of what is sometimes versus some times, and everyday foods (intended to refer to selection of foods that are recommended to eat every day) could be interpreted as foods 'seen' or 'sighted' every day. This initial evidence requires following up with the students in a member check process.

The dearth of fast food outlets in Bhutan is a key feature of the interpretation of some of the nutritional information gleaned in Paro relative to Armidale. Students in Armidale were very knowledgeable about the classification of all fast foods as being sometimes foods (even if they wanted them as everyday foods!). This was not an issue for the Paro students as they reported that their parents, predominantly mothers, were selecting and preparing the foods and meals for the students who were interviewed.

There were more parallels than divergences in the demonstrated knowledge of food choices and categories of foods between students in Paro, Bhutan and Armidale, Australia. The health education program provided inconsistent results across all year levels in terms of Armidale students' knowledge and understandings of nutrition. From this phase of data collection it seems clear that students in the Armidale junior school require more opportunities to gain a holistic view of the physical and health implications of eating a balanced diet. These students also need a greater focus on differentiating and defining carbohydrates and proteins to clarify their understandings about these types of foods. Accuracy of knowledge must be considered a precursor to *informed* decision making. This recommendation could inform a second cycle of an action research follow-up study with further probing of Paro and Armidale students' understandings of the interview questions.

Overall, the issue of what students know in school has greater potential influence on the changed dietary and lifestyle practices for their families than has been previously considered. The role of the teacher in applying the results of this investigation is critical to addressing multiple strategies considered to prepare young people to make informed decisions regarding nutrition and diet. It is therefore the role of teachers in schools to consider that they are not only preparing students in their class but the influence is far greater. Taking this logic to a natural conclusion, the role of pre-service teacher education programs is quite profound. In the experiences of the authors of this paper, there seems to be little connection between what is happening at the pre-service teacher education level and the understanding of these nutritional

concepts. The results from this study have the potential to inform the level of effectiveness that health education at the tertiary teacher preparation level may have and the flow on effect for teaching practise

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USING THE CASE METHOD IN TAIWAN TEACHER EDUCATION: THE INFLUENCE OF PRE-SERVICE TEACHER'S CHARACTERISTICS ON CASE LEARNING

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Abstract: *The purpose of case learning for this study was to promote pre-service teachers' pluralistic thinking abilities. This study was to explore the relationship of student characteristics on case learning. Does gender, education level, or teaching experience make a difference in pre-service teachers' case learning? The case of "A Lily in the Valley" was presented to 150 pre-service teachers in the Elementary Education Program of the Center for Teacher Education at National Dong-Hwa University in Taiwan. Quantitative analysis was applied to participants' written analyses of the case. The results show that there was a significant difference between genders in case learning. Males score higher means than females. There are significant teaching experience differences in case learning. Participants with no teaching experience scored a higher mean than those with teaching experience. There is no significant difference between participants when their education level was taken into consideration in case learning.*

Key words: case method, teacher education, gender, teaching experience

Background

The school is a site where there is a clashing of modern and postmodern worlds, a clash which presents teachers with conflicting demands that make it increasingly difficult to form a professional identity. A case is made for a respectful teacher education; one that focuses on the self-formation process, engages beginning teachers in exploring their beliefs and the contexts within which they learn to teach in relationship to their moral responsibilities to care for and educate young people (Bullough, 1997; Kim & Hannafin, 2008).

Pre-service teachers must learn to deal with the many dilemmas they will encounter in the course of their work. They cannot come to understand the dilemmas of teaching only through the presentation of techniques and methods. Conditional knowledge and a way of knowing that reflect and address the complex context and moral embedding of teaching and learning are also required

(Harrington, 1995). The case method has been recommended as an addition to pre-service programs which may overcome some of the limitations of field and clinical experiences while facilitating the professional development of teachers (Harrington, 1995).

Cases represent problems, dilemmas, and complexities of teaching something to someone in some context. Cases are richly detailed, contextualized, narrative accounts of teaching and learning (Levin, 1995). They convey contextual knowledge to pre-service teachers and provide them with opportunities to develop an understanding of the situatedness of evidence, the interrelationship between theoretical and practical knowledge, and the moral nature of teaching (Harrington, 1995).

Cases based on dilemmas may meet these goals most effectively. Dilemmas present situations for which there are competing, often equally valid solutions. Using dilemma-based cases in pre-service programs helps students begin to

understand and accept the tentativeness in knowing, with certainty, what action to take, provides opportunities to marshal and evaluate evidence for judging alternative interpretations and actions, and can illuminate the moral dimensions of teaching (Harrington, 1995).

This paper explores whether gender, education level, or teaching experience make a difference in Taiwan pre-service teachers' dilemma-based case learning.

Literature Review

Case Learning

Since the 1980s, case methods have gained traction in teacher education. Typically, cases are narratives drawn from real-life instances and used as teaching tools to catalyze group discussion and individual reflection (David, 2007; Sato & Rogers, 2010). Research in teacher education classrooms has produced a number of early findings about the influence of cases on what teachers think. For example, researchers have discussed case use to develop multicultural perspectives, knowledge about motivation, formal authority, and management. In addition, some research has focused on how cases can foster deeper understandings of theories and the relationship between theory and practice. Finally, important work has examined the ability of cases to develop pedagogical content knowledge (Andersson, Hussenius, & Gustafsson, 2009; Merseth, 1996).

Two theories that have been used to describe how one learns from cases are based on the process of conceptual change and cognitive flexibility theory. The theory of conceptual change considers learning to be a process of inquiry through which students' concepts change under the impact of new ideas and new evidence (Posner, Strike, Hewson, & Gertzog, 1982). According to Posner et al., teachers

must introduce new concepts and ideas in ways that create cognitive dissonance and counter the images and beliefs that novices already hold if they want students to modify their strongly held beliefs. In order for change to occur, students would then have to view their own existing concepts with some dissatisfaction before seriously considering a new one (Boling, 2007).

Cognitive flexibility theory has been used to describe how one learns from cases. Spiro, Coulson, Feltovich, and Anderson (1988) developed the theory of cognitive flexibility to describe how people acquire the advanced knowledge needed when dealing with complex conceptual materials in ill-structured domains. They argued that advanced knowledge acquisition is different in many important ways from introductory learning and that the characteristics of advanced learning are often at odds with the goals and tactics of introductory instruction. They claimed that during the learning process, novices frequently make oversimplifications and develop an overreliance on top down processing (Boling, 2007). The process of conceptual change and cognitive flexibility theory can be used to describe the various ways in which people learn from dilemma-based cases.

Good cases and skillful instruction work as an antidote to oversimplification, moving students toward greater sensitivity to context and uniqueness. This technique exposes learners to differing interpretations of complex situations and provides them an opportunity to examine and to rehearse the skills required of effective teachers. The literature has identified that case method can increase awareness of multiple perspectives (Merseth, 1991, 1996). The purpose of case learning for this study is to promote pre-service teachers' pluralistic thinking abilities and explore whether gender, education level or teaching experience

make a difference in Taiwan pre-service teachers' dilemma-based case learning.

Background Variables and Case Learning

Variable of Gender of Participants
Lundeberg and Fawver (1993) set out to measure the degree to which case studies affected the "reflective cognitive growth" of students in an educational psychology course. Specifically considering flexibility, perspective taking, and connectedness of the students' statements about the cases, they determined that women generated significantly more decisions and identified more issues than did men. Kang, Lundeberg, Wolter, delMas, and Herreid (2012) also found difference between genders in that men and women experience two pedagogical approaches -- Clicker Cases, which is personal response systems (clickers) along with case study teaching, and lectures -- differently, and that Clicker Cases are more favorable for women than for men.

In contrast, Scheuneman (1997) found that performance on the total set of cases was similar for men and women. The two cases with the largest performance difference favoring women were obstetrics-gynecology cases, and an emergency surgery case had the largest difference favoring men. At the item level, results suggest that men tend to request more beneficial and inappropriate actions than women, although the effect was small. Overall, the performance differences on the cases were very small.

There are a few empirical studies that address the gender differences in pre-service teacher's case learning. However, just as McAninch (1993) posited

> It is unclear how readily a form of pedagogy developed for the graduate education of elite men at Harvard Business School can serve as a model for teacher education.

> The special challenges of promoting intellectual growth among primarily non-elite undergraduates, the majority of whom are women, have yet to be criteria for examining case methods in other fields." (p. 62)

Therefore, it is very important to explore gender issue if we want to successfully implement case method in teacher education.

Variable of Education Level of Participants
Lundeberg and Fawver (1993) who carried out an investigation of case method approaches to learning with pre-service teachers' reflective cognitive growth in an educational psychology course and found that older students generated more than twice the number of issues and decisions as did younger students. However, these results contradict those of Kleinfeld (1991), who found no differences between traditional and non-traditional age students and of Richardson and Kile (1992), who found greater benefits for traditional age students. Although graduate students are normally older than the undergraduate students, this study compares how graduate and under-graduate students differ in their case learning to explore whether case method will benefit graduate students or not.

Variable of Teaching Experience Background of Participants
Another context issue in respect to participants in studies of case method approaches to learning relates to the influence of previous professional experience on case users. Many professional fields such as business and law have suggested informally that case methods are more successful with practitioners who have had previous professional experience. Exploring this topic in education, Levin (1993, 1995) examined the differences elicited by case discussions in the thinking of eight student

teachers, eight first-year teachers, and eight experienced teachers. She found that less experienced teachers exhibited thinking that was more declarative, critical, and less complex than the more experienced teachers. For very experienced teachers, discussion of the case seemed to be a catalyst for reflection and promoted meta-cognitive understandings of important issues in teaching and learning. For the less experienced teachers in this study the case discussion appeared to allow these teachers to clarify and/or elaborate their thinking about particular issues in the case. (Levin, 1993).

Moje and Wade (1997), who were looking into the sociocultural and semiotic tools pre-service and in-service teachers used to mediate and construct images and issues of teaching and learning literacy, examined differences and similarities that appear between in-service teachers and pre-service teachers in their discussions of different cases. The in-service teachers connected the cases exclusively to their own teaching experiences and became emotionally involved. In contrast, pre-service teachers included their own experiences as students in the discussions; they also related to course texts and theories that they had come across during their teacher education. Both groups pointed out that it is important for the teacher to understand the diversity of pupils' needs and abilities.

Merseth (1996) suggested that additional research will help the field of teacher education examine the influence of prior professional experience on case learning. Such investigations will be particularly important for those who wish to use cases in professional development programs.

Method

Participants and Context

One hundred and fifty pre-service teachers participated in this study. They were enrolled in five different classes in the course of *Principles of Teaching* which was taught by the researcher during the 2011-2012 academic year. All participants were students in an elementary education program at an eastern university in Taiwan. This 2-year teacher preparation program leads to an elementary teaching credential. Of the participants, 77 were female, and 73 were male; 72 had prior teaching experience, and 78 had no prior teaching experience; 121 were undergraduate students, and 29 were graduate students. The course instructor was the same for each section of the class and taught each section in a consistent manner. The course syllabus was identical for each section. The materials, activities, and case studies utilized were the same across sections.

Case Materials and Discussion Questions

In this study, the belief was held by the teacher-educator researcher that learning through cases offers pre-service teachers opportunities to practice decision making and problem solving. Case materials were used to help teachers "think like a teacher." In this conceptualization of case method, cases were not used explicitly to exemplify theory but rather to present situations from which theory emerges. This use of case method approached works well with the concept of teaching as being a complex, messy, context-specific activity (Merseth, 1991; 1996). The cases presented problematic situations that required analysis, problem solving, decision making, and action definition. With such cases, students could, within the confines and safety of a teacher education classroom, "practice such professional

skills as interpreting situations, framing problems, generating various solutions to the problems posed and choosing among them" (Merseth, 1996, p. 728).

The case of *A Lily in the Valley* was presented to the pre-service teacher. It presented a case of an urban teacher who taught in a rural area. A lot of things happened in interactions between the teacher Lily, her students, parents, and residents in the valley. One year after she had gradually grown use to life in the valley, she struggled between going back to city to live with her mother and staying in the valley to continue teaching students there.

The case discussion questions put before the class as an assignment included the following:
(1) What challenges does teacher Lily meet when she teaches in the rural area? How does she face these challenges?
(2) Would you choose to stay in the rural area or go back to the city to teach if you were teacher Lily? Why?
(3) What general capacity should a rural teacher possess? Would you teach in the rural area if you have the opportunity? Why?
The second question, which required analysis, problem solving, and decision making, was discussed in class.

Data Analysis

The primary data source for this study was a set of case question answers, which participants completed as part of the requirements for the course of Principles of Teaching. All the 150 participants were required to complete an analysis of each of the assigned case questions before and after class discussion. The assigned case questions for the case were: *Will you choose to stay in the rural area or go back to the city to teach if you were teacher Lily? Why?* All participants' pre- and post-answers were analyzed to explore pre-service teachers' thinking. The pre-service teachers' reasons for staying in the valley or going back to city were classified as 'resources', 'environment', 'filial piety', 'special feeling', and 'important others'. An independent *t*-test was performed to test the mean differences in case learning scores across pre-service teachers' differences given the variables of gender, education level and teaching experience.

Results

The findings of the analysis revealed three main ideas which are discussed below.

1. There is a significant difference between the responses based on gender in relation to case learning. Males scored a higher mean than females.

Table 1 presents the mean and standard deviation for males and females. Males scored a higher mean than females when asked the question of *Will you choose to stay in the rural area or go back to the city to teach if you were teacher Lily? Why*? It demonstrates that there is a significant difference in their pluralistic thinking. In other words, there is gender difference in case learning.

Table 1
Summary of Independent t Test for Male and Female Pre-service Teachers

Gender	N	M	SD	t
Male	73	2.82	2.226	-1.219*
Female	77	2.45	1.391	

Note. * p <.05

2. There is no significant difference of education level in case learning

Table 2 presents the mean and standard deviation for undergraduate and graduate pre-service teachers. Graduate pre-service teachers scored a higher mean than those of undergraduate. However, the difference did not represent a significant difference. In other words, the education level of participants did not translate into any differences of significance in relation to case learning.

Table 2
Summary of Independent t Test for Undergraduate and Graduate Pre-service Teachers

Education Level	N	M	SD	t
Undergraduate	121	2.61	1.925	-0.294
Graduate	29	2.72	1.509	

3. There was a significant difference evident between participants' teaching experience difference in respect to case learning. Participants with no teaching experience, pre-service teachers scored a higher mean than those with teaching experience.

Table 3 presents the mean and standard deviation of pre-service teacher participants with and without teaching experiences. Participants with no teaching experience pre-service teachers scored a higher mean than those with teaching experience. This finding represents a significant difference leading to the conclusion that those participants with teaching experience responded differently to case learning than those without teaching experience.

Table 3
Summary of Independent t Test for Experience and No Experience Pre-service Teachers

Teaching Experience	N	M	SD	t
Yes	72	2.35	1.165	1.836***
No	78	2.90	2.283	

Note. *** p <.001

Discussion

The questions that were established for this inquiry were (a) How readily could a form of pedagogy that was originally developed for the graduate education of elite men at Harvard Business School serve as a model for teacher education? and (b) What differences do gender, education level, and teaching experience make when using a case learning approach with pre-service teachers?

Results from this study show that there is significant difference in responses with respect to the pre-service teachers' gender. Males scored as higher mean than females in their pluralistic thinking when questions were asked about *Will you choose to stay in the rural area or go back to the city to teach if you were teacher Lily? Why?* This result contradicts those findings of Lundeberg and Fawver (1993), Kang et al., (2012) where it was claimed women performed better than men, and Scheuneman (1997) where it was claimed men and women performed similarly.

One reason for this might be the lack of consistency in what is understood by the term 'case method' and 'case-learning' outcomes among the above studies. This study use dilemma-based cases, which were similar to that used by the Harvard School, which was quite different from the above researchers' approaches.

Does dilemma-based case method learning benefit males more greatly than females? The following studies suggested that it might be related to the instructor's gender influencing students' engagement. Neufeld (2005) found that greater gender disparity in courses may be partly explained by the somewhat higher overall participation in courses taught by female professors on average. In other words, a female professor might place more attention in class on males, resulting in better performances of males. Because the researcher is female, the result of this study might be explained in this point. More studies are suggested to explore this issue.

In regard to the question of differences in education level, the result of this study is that there was no significant difference to the case learning findings when comparing undergraduate pre-service teachers and that of postgraduate pre-service teachers on case learning. However, it could be claimed that the effect might result from the small group of graduate learners. The size of a sample is extremely important when determining the significance of difference between means. With an increased sample size, means tend to become more stable representations of group performance. If the result the researcher found remains constant, as the researcher collects more graduate samples, then the findings could be trusted to exist. Therefore, with caution, this study's findings suggest that there is no difference in pre-service teachers' education level. This result is consistent with that of Kleinfeld (1991) who found no differences between traditional and non-traditional age students.

Pre-service teacher participants with no teaching experience scored a higher mean than those who registered as having teaching experience. This result is consistency with those of Levin (1993) and Moje and Wade (1997). For the less experienced teachers the case discussion appeared to allow these teachers the opportunity to clarify and/or elaborate on their thinking about particular issues in the case: they include their own experiences as students in the discussions, they also related to course texts and theories that they had come across during their teacher education preparation. For very experienced teachers, discussion of the case seemed to be a catalyst for reflection and promotion of meta-cognitive understandings of important issues in

teaching and learning. Sometimes they connected the cases exclusively to their own teaching experiences and became emotionally involved.

The result might suggest that case method could be used in both undergraduate and graduate teacher education. However, we should use case methods differently in pre-service teacher and in-service teacher. For pre-service teacher, the purpose of case method might focus on clarity and/or elaborate their thinking about particular issues in the case. For in-service teacher, the purpose of case method might be reflection and promoted meta-cognitive understandings of important issues in teaching and learning. Further study is suggested to continue explore the issue with larger samples or with different case and case questions.

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MATHEMATICS CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN THE REPUBLIC OF NAURU: LOCAL TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract: *Internationally, developing countries are receiving aid and assistance devoted to enhancing educational opportunities for the school-age population. Predominantly, the projects involve foreign consultants, who often begin their work through immersion in the counterparts' education system, language, and culture. Due to time constraints, many decisions are based on classroom observations and dialogue between Education Officials. In the area of curriculum development, the focus is on the formation of the syllabus document and subsequent implementation. This article presents the qualitative analyses of semi-structured interviews with eight local teachers of mathematics, primary and secondary (teaching children of age five years to age sixteen years), in the Republic of Nauru. The thematic analysis focuses on teachers' perceptions of teaching mathematics in Nauru in the current climate, the desired composition of the new mathematics syllabus, and identified future resourcing and professional development needs. This article concludes with a discussion concerning the issues expressed by local teachers and the subsequent implications prior to implementation of a proposed student-centred mathematics curriculum in a climate of minimal resources, limited professional development opportunities, and high unemployment in the community.*

Background

Similar to many Pacific Island Nations, the Republic of Nauru is undergoing significant curriculum development. Presently, Nauru is the process of developing curriculum documents in the content areas of science, English, mathematics, physical education, and social science. This paper presents the findings of part of a larger study that considers the issues surrounding the implementation of the new Nauru Mathematics Curriculum, Prep to Year 10. This paper presents the practicing teachers' perspectives on their current mathematics teaching situation and the nature of a curriculum that they perceive would provide the required support for the teaching of mathematics.

The Republic of Nauru, formally known as Pleasant Island, is an island country located in Micronesia in the South Pacific. Nauru's population is approximately 10, 000. For an island of 21 square kilometres, it is well known around the world as one of the three great phosphate rock islands of the world. The mining of phosphate deposits provided substantial wealth to the island inhabitants in the late 1960s and into the 1980s. For some of this period, Nauru had the highest per-capita income of any sovereign state of the world. After exhaustion of the phosphate deposits in the 1980s, Nauru became well known in Australia for the opening of an Australian Government Detention Centre for the assessment of asylum seekers for refugee status in 2001 to 2008. As a result of the extensive mining, Nauru has very little capacity for industry and the large area that has been mined is uninhabitable and requires the completion of a massive rehabilitation program.

In an attempt to improve opportunities for local Nauruans, a number of projects, often funded by AusAID and NZAid, are targeting education. One focus is the improvement of numeracy outcomes in the early childhood, primary, and secondary

schools. Like many Pacific Islands, for many years they have relied on curriculum documents designed for other nations. A number of authors have "pointed to the disconnection between cultural, religious and social issues in developing countries as they grapple" (Coll & Taylor, 2012, p. 771) with an imported Western curricula. The first step in improving mathematics education in Nauru is to design a mathematics curriculum that is culturally responsive to the Nauruan culture and context whilst maintaining local ownership of the curriculum design and implementation. A culturally responsive curriculum is more than culturally sensitive and is designed to respond actively in relation to factors such as cultural stories, language, local environment, social issues, and the learning space.

Curriculum development and implementation "often involves external 'experts' that are very different to economic, political and cultural terms." Furthermore, "such curricula are often delivered in English, which is a second or third language for many students and teachers in non-Western settings." In retrospect, "it is not surprising that curriculum development and implementation have been less than successful than hoped" (Coll & Taylor, 2012, p. 771). Meaney (2001) identified "parents and teachers could make a valuable contribution to mathematics curriculum development" (p. 13). Jenkins and Jenkins (2010) found that developing a context specific peace curriculum in Bougainville found that focussing the workshops "on 'how we teach' is as important as 'what we teach' and it equally important that local teachers and community members are involved in the writing" (p. 201) of a document of this type.

Curriculum change has often been viewed as the "preferred vehicle for education reform" (Montero-Sieberth, 1992, p. 175). There has been a reliance and dependence in developing countries on curriculum design from the West. Montero-Sieberth (1992) has critiqued curriculum change and stated that "curriculum change needs to be extended so that curriculum is no longer viewed as a separate entity that operates in isolation, but rather as one feature of an educational process that works in conjunction with a whole series of factors" (p. 175). This was supported by (Dawson, 2005).

Mathematics Curriculum Development Process in Nauru 2011/2012

The mathematics curriculum development was initiated by the Department of Education, Nauru. Due to the contracting of external consultants an important component of development was three on-site visits.

The external curriculum developers' first onsite visit (three weeks) involved a 'fact-finding mission' and included meetings with Department of Education Nauru Case Manager in the curriculum unit, school visits to meet with principals and teachers, classroom visits to observe resourcing and mathematics teaching strategies, and discussions with teachers. A reference group was formed and is known as the Nauru Mathematics Curriculum Development Reference Group. This group comprises two case managers and 14 teaching staff in different teaching roles. Initial curriculum design was discussed and design options were presented.

The second onsite visit (three weeks) was for the purpose of consultation and further writing of curriculum documents, peer mathematics teaching with local teachers, presentation of a Mathematics Parent Workshop (open to all parents/caregivers in the community), and mathematics workshop activities as catalysts for

discussion of the current mathematics-teaching situation in Nauru, and further interactions with the reference group members.

The third onsite visit (10 days) began with a presentation of the complete draft of the Nauru mathematics syllabus, organisation of available mathematics resources with Case Managers, resource ordering, and professional development planning in response to eight semi-structured interviews with local teachers. Whilst the informal teacher discussions and Reference Group meetings assisted in shaping the draft curriculum design and content, the interviews provided greater insights into the teachers of mathematics needs.

The research questions investigated were
(a) How do the local teachers in Nauru describe their current teaching practice?
(b) What do the local teachers in Nauru describe as necessary for a mathematics curriculum to enhance their teaching?
(c) What are the implications for implementation when considering the local perceptions of teaching mathematics and a newly developed mathematics curriculum?

Methodology

All teachers were invited to participate as an interviewee and eight teachers agreed to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted individually and were digitally recorded and then transcribed for a thematic analysis. This study presented in this paper is a qualitative analysis of the interview data using a clustering approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The interview was structured around two leading questions:

1. How would you describe teaching mathematics with the current curriculum?
2. What do you think is needed in a Nauru Mathematics Curriculum?

Sample

The participants comprised of two teachers of Years 1/2/3/level (Mary and Kate), three teachers of Years 4/5/6 level (Olivia, David, and Betty), two teachers of Year 7/8/9 level (Jessica and Leanne), and one teacher of Year 10 (Cameron). The teachers involved came from five different primary and secondary schools in Nauru.

Results and Discussion

The content analysis of the eight interviews and clustering of responses resulted in nine themes, namely; textbook reliance, nine themes are presented below and interview excerpts are included. Statements made by the participants will be presented in italics.

Theme 1: Textbook Reliance

One of the key themes identified in the school visits and emphasised in the teacher interviews was the teachers' desire for a mathematics curriculum that is based on a provided textbook for each student. Most teachers in the infants and primary section preferred an individual student workbook where the students added text to a prepared workbook.

David: *Um I would want lot of books, lot of books 'cause they have to do their work and also for their working out and all that and materials, resources that caters for the whole class, not just one or two.*

Cameron, who teaches in upper secondary, preferred to use a variety of textbooks with few opportunities for investigative activities. Cameron: *... and I, like, select the, ah, activities, the best ones that I think*

that is suitable for them and, um, I select from different textbooks.

In contrast, Betty, who teaches upper primary, wants a syllabus that includes a variety of teaching ideas to suit the individual needs of the students. Betty: *Um… the, the important thing is the preparation for lesson and resources like the teaching materials. Mostly most of the materials are here, so if not then I just improvise and, um, everyday situations and things like that. I think, um, I'm quite comfortable with maths … As long as I know what the outcome or the objective of the lesson is, then I can freely teach any way I want or I believe that will get to the students, 'cause I think the textbooks are too technical and…*

Whilst the school visits highlighted a reliance on textbooks, this is not reflected in Betty's interview. She is currently utilising many student-centred activities. It is evident in the responses above a hierarchical progression in the levels of textbook use in the classroom. These responses showed range from a total reliance on textbook/workbook style activities to a variety of teaching resources and strategies.

Theme 2: Reliance on Blackboard as Textbook Substitute

During school visits and discussions with Department of Education Case Officers, it was revealed that the schools did go through a development phase that relied on the distribution of textbooks. The schools are no longer resourced this way, and the teachers voiced their frustration with this situation. As a consequence, teachers have reverted to using the blackboard as a textbook substitute. This has created time-consuming strategies to be employed by the teacher in preparation of blackboard materials and considerable copying of text on the students' behalf. The theme is illustrated in the excerpts below:

Olivia: *I find difficult in teaching maths is because of the time limit because we have to put up illustrations of shapes and all that stuff, and there's just not enough time to do it because um it's just for an hour and then we have to rub it off again and then put more work for every other subject that needs to be done that day … it would really be a great idea to provide us with um those text books like we've been having for the last two or three years.*

This teaching strategy is further exacerbated when the teachers attempt to cater for different levels of understanding in the classroom through solely blackboard style lessons. This is evident in Jessica's description of using three written mediums for the teacher, these being a fixed blackboard, a flip chart, and a mobile blackboard. Jessica: *Just the one blackboard plus a flip chart board and ah yep, at the back for just the butcher paper, so just pin the butcher paper, whereas the other one I just flip the flip charts.* When prompted to discuss the benefits of this strategy Jessica stated, *It's the quickest way … Yeah but for usually for the Level Zeros and the Level Ones I usually have to do, use concrete learning but that's on my part during the term that is in discussion and demonstration, but they don't actually do it themselves, although I was teaching it I was actually showing it to them, yeah because…that's, they'll…yeah.*

Theme 3: Teacher Interpretation of Student-centred Teaching

During school visits and informal discussions with school principals and teachers, pedagogical approaches observed were predominantly teacher-centred. The interviews revealed some interesting insights into teachers' desires to move towards student-centred teaching. Some teachers have experienced recent success in this area and were struggling with developing this area further. The excitement in Olivia's discussion

concerning a mathematics number game is enlightening. Olivia described the student experience as: *Exciting yes. They found it enjoyable. They enjoyed it because I think it's a, It's a time where they really try and do their best out loud and freely, that's what I found um during those activities, it's a time for them to say whatever they want to say freely without having anyone looking at them and embarrassing them and all that stuff. So whatever answer they come up with you know, they get a clap or they get an X, so they enjoy activities. I think the Nauru kids; it would be very wise for them to have a lot of maths activities because they find maths very boring at times.*

Jessica commented on one of the peer teaching sessions during on onsite visit with her class. It is evident in her response that she is eager to learn more about this pedagogical approach. Jessica: *When you came that time and you taught that lesson, I see a difference in the students. Like the next day they came and they asked whether or not you'll be coming back, 'cause they really enjoyed the lesson. They really, really enjoyed the lesson, and it was like a combination of geometry, measurement and number, and that's where I lack the skills.*

Leanne voiced her concern about adopting student-centred approaches. It is evident in the excerpt below that the design of the professional development program needs develop the teachers' understanding of what comprises student-centred approaches. Leanne: *No, it's just that a new approach to what you showed us, to me it's going to be a very big challenge ... 'cause most, well, most of us are more into, like, teacher-centred learning rather than student-centred. I tried it, actually I've tried it the student-centred approach in Term Three, and I think it was a disaster. [Laughs] ... That's right. And 'cause, they'll, like, I was used to, like, going to them, assisting them whenever,* whatever I can, and then in Term Three everything stopped. [Laughs] So I said, now it's all yours, you've got the textbook, I'll just explain to you at the beginning and then you do help each other. If you're stuck, you ask that other person next to you and things like that. But when it came to assessing them, I found that, like, things like, because it's a textbook, it's got the answers at the back.*

Betty shared the positive outcomes she had witnessed as a result of adopting student-centred investigative tasks. Betty: *Yes, 'cause I see that the students are more interested if they are involved, like, instead of me just standing there and pouring news or knowledge to them and not having them discover or investigate and for themselves.*

Theme 4: Assessment

The teachers in Nauru are attempting to use diagnostic assessment tools at the start of the year. Olivia's excerpt below depicts the distinction that is perceived between assessment and student activities. Olivia: *In the first term we struggle, because we don't really know what the kids are able to do and unable to do. It's very difficult; it takes us practically one whole term. The first term of the year to try and assess them and then put them in their places.*

The schools currently rely on a mid-year and yearly exam. It became evident that 'assessments of learning' is the predominant assessment tool, and this is impacting on truancy and student motivation. David: *Well they just... 'cause they, they not interested. I mean some of my students those remedial ones, slow ones; they just wouldn't put their effort in it or just try. I think because the test, it was hard or I don't know*

The scholarship exam offered to Year 8 students was of concern to teachers of this year group. This concern is emphasised in

Jessica's responses below. Interviewer: *What happens after the exam?* Jessica: *The attendance rate, the attendance rate drops and everyone came to school without any books or pens; they thought it was free time. But they knew that they had like an annual end of year exam in week six, but it's like all the energy and all the effort they've put into the scholarship exam, and everything else after that there's no point, they don't see any point in it.*

Jessica and Cameron did attempt an assessment for learning task recently and describe the following experiences. Cameron: *Ah, that one was on statistics, which they had to, um… um, survey, ah, one hundred people, one hundred to two hundred people, and, ah, ask them about their favourite restaurant and why do they prefer to, ah, eat in those, ah, restaurants.*

Similar to the other themes, Betty described assessment for learning approaches where assessment and student activities are seamless. Betty: *Mmm, assessment. I would say that, um, by monitoring the students while doing the work and, and evaluating their answers and how they understand, how they understand the lessons and…*

Of interest in the statement above is Betty's reference to conceptual understanding being an important issue. This is moving towards processes rather than product.

Theme 5: Lack of Resources

All teachers described their frustration due to lack of classroom resources. The organisation of the resources appeared to be a dominating factor. Leanne however, was of the opinion that the teachers needed to make better use of the resources they did have. Leanne: *I think resources are OK, but it's, as long as they, like, even if they say that they don't have any counters or things like that, they've got a lot of, um, natural resources that they can use. Like collecting seashells and things like that, or even pebbles and them … but it doesn't really have to be fancy…*

Jessica is in agreement with this comment; however, there is awareness that a collection of ready-made but open-ended resources would be useful. Jessica: *Like teaching them place value is very, very hard because I did not have any MAB blocks and I had to just tell them and they cannot visualise and they find it very, very hard and so for that what I did was I just collect stones from outside … I put them together like ten stones.*

Mary, after a peer teaching experience during Onsite Visit Two, decided to make her own ten-frame template and collected shells from beach as counters. Mary: *I had to improvise by making my own ten frame … on coloured paper … on coloured paper plus periwinkles I had to get from the beach … to use them as counters.*

Alongside the debate concerned with mathematics teaching resources, there exist issues surrounding pedagogical content knowledge in terms knowing how and when to use the resources. David is hopeful that the new syllabus might provide him with a greater range of experiences to create in his classroom. David: *Yeah, I think it's good 'cause there are all different types of you know lessons, teachings and it's put out together for some other experiences in maths. It would be pretty helpful for me and also for the students I think.*

Theme 6: Catering for the Range of Levels of Understanding in the Classroom

Any teacher of mathematics finds the range of levels of ability in the mathematics classroom a challenge. In settings such as Nauru, the difference in

levels is vast due to absenteeism. In attempt to cater for this in the classroom, many teachers are resorting to creating a seating plan where the ability groups are named and clustered. Jessica: *Teaching the subject; I find it very hard, that's because I have the different like you know how I was saying, in the classroom there is like a mixed ability, I have like a mixed ability of the students so that's the hard part in teaching the kids. Whereas teaching the content in the math is not that difficult.*

Interviewer: *How do you arrange your classroom when you've got those different abilities?* Jessica: *Um well, I sit them in specific areas in the classroom, like for the level, like students who are at, let's just say Grade One to Grade Three Level, I put them right at the back of the classroom and then I use that back board to put like the activities that I want them to do and then at the front of the classroom, that's where I have the Level One and Twos and then the Threes and Fours are just over there.*

Betty was using other strategies to meet the challenges when catering for different levels in the classroom. In the excerpt below, Betty eludes to open-ended tasks and adapting the same task at different levels in the classroom. Betty: *…they just carry on with the lessons, but, for the low-achiever ones, um, I monitor how understand what has been given to them and then maybe I give them some, umm, simpler form of what the high achievers are doing.*

Theme 7: English as a Second Language

The issues surrounding language was raised by two teachers when interviewed. The responses refer to English as the written communication in the mathematics classroom and the fact that it is a second, or even third language for the Nauruan students. The difficulty and approach is evident in Kate's excerpt: *Even the*

advanced ones, they understand most of the things. Like, if I'm speaking to you right now, they'll understand that we're talking about maths, and they don't, they can't explain it in English, but they can ask me in Nauruan.

The difficulty lies in variances in translations between English and Nauruan. It is also a concern for the teachers that the communication of explanation and justification of mathematics concepts, being Nauruan, is not the language of written instruction or assessment tools.

Theme 8: Truancy

All participants interviewed discussed the students with poor school attendance. Students with long-term and consistent absences are known as 'truants.' Each teacher described an improvement in attendance levels due to the introduction of the Education Act in 2011 where parents/caregivers were asked to be accountable for their children's attendance at school. David: *Just the thing, just ah three or two truants since the beginning* [of the Education Act]. Other teachers, however, described 20 of their 43 names on a class list as "just names, no faces".

Theme 9: Teacher Training

The final theme concerns teachers' perception of their own professional development needs. The teachers interviewed did convey a sense of desire to complete further training in mathematics teaching. Those that have teaching qualifications voiced a readiness to develop their mathematical pedagogical content knowledge. Kate stated, *"I did maths for a unit, but it's not as much training as I should have."* When asked to describe the nature of the mathematics unit she responded: *In that training, um, be like, they give us a, a, a problem, like for the assignments, they give us a problem and I have to explain how to – it's a, I*

think it's for Year Ten, for Year Ten level…

Leanne also thought she needed more mathematics education training when asked if there was anything else that would assist her in the future. Leanne: *Well, actually, I've been thinking that I, I really needed more training on maths, 'cause I'm not really, like, when I did my degree I was sort of doing Bachelor of Teaching Primary, but not as Secondary teaching.*

Betty, when asked to think of the main factors that are hindering mathematical growth in the classrooms stated *"teaching strategies and the teacher themselves and parents."*

Conclusion

Whilst the students are divided into year groups according to biological age, there exists great variability in the level of understanding in relation to mathematics concepts. Despite this variance in Nauru, the main form of assessment is 'of learning' and consists of half-yearly and yearly examinations in response to accountability concerns. Education is compulsory, but with very high unemployment and little opportunity for industry, many Nauruan school students lack motivation to attend school regularly. Many of these issues are not unique to Nauru but are prevalent on many of the Pacific Islands. Nauru implemented an Education Act in 2011 to reduce the level of truancy and attendance has improved across the sector.

The teachers' reflections generally supported the observations gathered at the school visits; however, the interviews highlighted the variability of the pedagogical approaches adopted by the teachers. The textbook need and reliance is a symptom of the need to develop an understanding of constructivism and align the assessment strategies to this. The teachers have a desire to engage their students, but struggle with the direction they need to take in addition to the strategies they need to get there. Whilst we use the word 'constructivism' as a banner for many student-centred approaches, the basic element of constructing knowledge on the individual's level of understanding and experiences encapsulates an immense paradigm-shift for teachers who have predominantly experienced transmission-style teaching. This highlights the necessity for teachers to engage in practical student-centred mathematics tasks and investigations at a personal level. When beginning the next phase of professional development it is essential to build pedagogical content knowledge and mathematical content knowledge from their experience base with active involvement from the local community. One strategy to move forward involves setting up mentors in each school to assist long-term professional development. As an external observer, one can be blinded by the generality of a new context and lose sight of the pockets of positive change that are already evolving.

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ONLINE EXPERIMENTS FOR SCIENCE EDUCATION

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Abstract: *Teaching and learning of secondary school and university physics has long rested on first hand experiences such as experimental activities. The author has researched the principles of the simple pendulum, which is a core topic in physics curriculum. Furthermore, experiments on the pendulum have pre-occupied scientists over the centuries since the early speculations of Galileo (1564-1642). An online pendulum experimental rig was developed to study the motion of the simple pendulum and to determine the acceleration due to gravity. The experiment contains real apparatus in a real laboratory that can be controlled and monitored via the Internet. In other words, it is not a simulation. The applicability and the adaptability of the rig for students to conduct experiments in schools and universities were examined by conducting the experiment by the students at various standards and writing their feedback in the report.*

Introduction

In science, theory is only valid if supported by experimental evidences. Experiments and the objectives are building blocks of science education and therefore conducting experiments are essential experiences for science students. Experimental evidences provide data that stimulates thinking and initiates quality science learning (Anderson, 2010). The data gathered along the course of experiment based on the analysis and interpretation can enhance students' knowledge of data interpretation, statistics and students' power of reasoning. It will also teach them to be patient and persistent (Lehrer, Schauble, & Petrosino, 2001; Musar, 1993).

For every science institution, the establishment and maintenance of experimental laboratories is necessary. It also requires a full time advisor or a supervisor to run the laboratories. All this adds up to considerable cost of time and money. Efforts have been made for reducing the establishment and maintenance costs through computer-simulated experiments (Anderson, 2010; Shu, Shan-an, Qun, 2003). Such

experiments are developed through pre-calculation of the result of the objective experiment, and it provides accurate result as stated in the theory. There is no involvement of the errors due to the environmental factors such as air pressure, gravity of the place, humidity, and temperature, which is unusual and provides limited scope for understanding science of the real world (Winsberg, 2003). Realizing ineffectiveness of the computer simulated experiments and keeping the objective for cost reduction for the establishment of the laboratories, an online pendulum experiment was developed as a part of the author's honors degree at the University of New England, Australia. The project included building a prototype experimental rig, conduction experiment on it, and getting students' feedback.

The experiment consists of an experimental rig in a real laboratory that can be controlled and monitored through the Internet. The result thus obtained from this experiment is influenced by the environmental factors, and the experimental errors may also become evident if not conducted properly. Such a procedure will give students the scope for

understanding the science of the real world and the precautions they may have to undertake during the experiment.

A simple pendulum was chosen for the development of the online experiment because of its simplicity. The simple pendulum is the first real physics experiment that school students perform in standard 7 and 8 (Raju, 2006) and may be extended until undergraduate level (Young & Freedman, 2008). The importance of studying the pendulum is realized due to its ability to depict multiple physical phenomena such as simple harmonic oscillation and the conservation of energy (Matthews, 2001; De Berg, 2006). For the early stage science curriculum, it is used to determine the magnitude of acceleration due to gravity only (Raju, 2006).

The setup of the conventional simple pendulum experiment in schools involves suspension of a weight (also called bob) on a massless string through a rigid surface (Palmieri, 2009). The bob is then displaced from the vertical point of suspension and gently left to swing on its own accord. The time period of the pendulum is then recorded with a stopwatch to a few decimal places and the acceleration due to gravity is calculated using the equation (1) or from the slope of the graph generated by plotting the square of the time period against the length of the pendulum (Nelson & Olsson, 1986). The real physical rig for the online experiment is depicted in the Figure 1 can be controlled online through the user interface depicted in the Figure 2. The change in the length of the pendulum and the oscillation of the pendulum can be seen through the output video from the web cameras mounted on the rig. An ultrasound range sensor is used to collect the range of the bob at the very short

intervals of time. The data is then sent to the user's computer directly without undergoing manipulation or rectification. When the output data is plotted in Microsoft Excel, it produces a sine wave whose period (the time taken for one complete cycle of the wave to pass a reference point) is proportional to the time period of the pendulum (the time taken by the pendulum to make one complete oscillation). The sine wave is depicted in Figure 3.
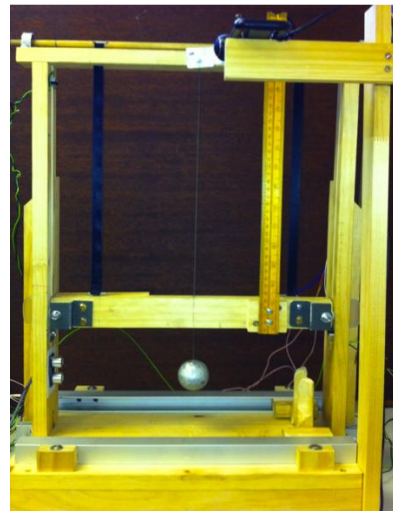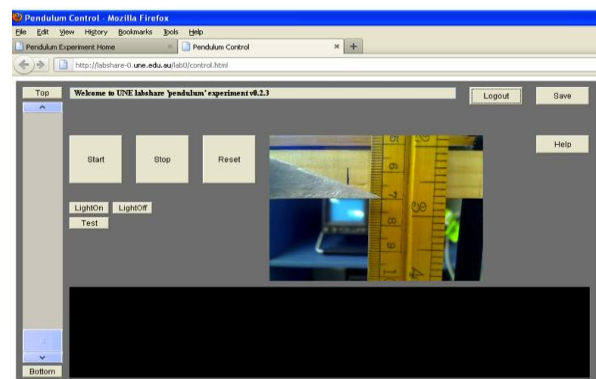

Figure 1. Photograph of the experimental rig.

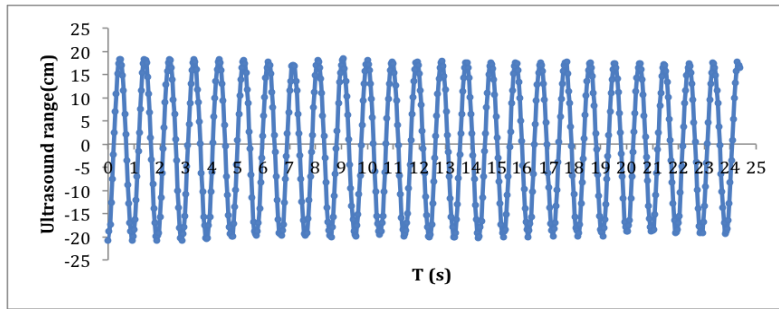*Figure 2*. Photograph of the user interface for the online experiment.

Figure 3. Sine wave obtained by plotting the data for 22.72cm long pendulum.

Data Collection and Calculations

The gravity (g) of the region can be calculated by inserting the time period (read from the sine wave) and the length of the pendulum in Equation (1) and solving for *g* or plotting a graph for T^2 as a function of *L* as depicted in the Figure 4 and equating its slope with the slope of the Equation (2) ($4\pi^2/g$) and solving for *g*. The later method includes determination of the time period of the several length pendulums but it assures better result as seen below.

The sine wave in the Figure 3 represents the motion of a 22.72cm long pendulum and has an average period of 0.95s. Inserting the value for *L* (length) and *T* (time period) in Equation (1) and solving, the value for *g* was obtained to be, 9.93 m/s^2.

$$T = 2\pi \sqrt{\frac{L}{g}} \qquad \text{(Equation 1)}$$

$$T^2 = 4\pi^2 \frac{L}{g} \qquad \text{(Equation 2)}$$

The slope of the graph shown in Figure 4 is 3.9682 s^2/m. When this value is equated with the slope of the Equation (2), the gravity is calculated to be 9.84m/s^2.
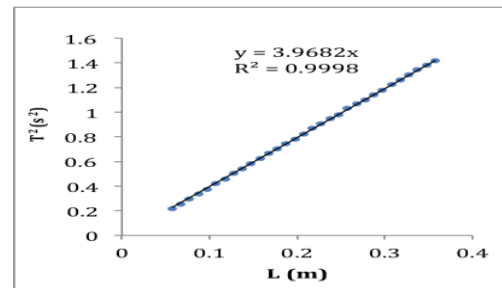

Figure 4. The graph obtained by plotting square of the time period as a function length.

The theoretical gravity for the place where the rig is located (UNE, Armidale, Australia) is noted to be, 9.79m/s2 (laboratory data, UNE), which is slightly smaller than the values obtained from the experiment. The difference was suspected to have occurred due to the movement of the rig that imparted additional acceleration to the swinging pendulum.

Students' Reaction to the Experiment

To verify how the students conceive this method of conducting experiments, university science students from various levels of qualifications were asked to perform the online experiment and provide feedback. They were also given a pilot survey questionnaire to express their views using a Likert scale. The questionnaire and the students' responses are shown in Figure 5.

Sl.No.	Students response (in percentage) N=12 Survey Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	The experiment worked well.	75	25	0	0
2	The online experiment is equivalent to doing experiment in conventional laboratory.	37.5	50	12.5	0
3	The online experiment is better than conventional laboratory experiment.	37.5	37.5	25	0
4	The instructions were clearly directed towards achieving the aim of the experiment.	62.5	37.5	0	0
5	I would like to do more online experiments.	62.5	37.5	0	0

Figure 5. Pilot survey questionnaire and the students' responses.

The students participating in the trialing of the online experiment were satisfied that the online experiment worked well. They also strongly agreed that the experiment was equivalent to the conventional method of doing experiments. However, a quarter considered that the online experiment was not better than the conventional method for conducting the experiment. All of the student respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they would like to do more online experiments.

The general **advantages** of the online experiments over a conventional experiment are furnished below.

- An online experiment offers students access to the experiments that would otherwise be unavailable to them.
- Online experiments give students greater flexibility of when and where to conduct experiments.
- Online experiments allow students to complete or repeat experiments in their work frame.
- Online experiments provide experiences that a hands-on lab cannot, such as access to equipment that is too expensive, dangerous, or logistically problematic.
- Online experiments enable students to gain and enhance their perceptions of specific aspects of an experiment by focusing on the relevant concepts.

The **disadvantages** of the online experiments are listed below.

- Student users will not be able to confront the technical problems directly.
- Requires a number of similar experimental systems to avoid congestion. Logging into the same system from different computers may damage the rig.
- Some online experiments may require sophisticated electrical devices to replace direct human presence and therefore may be too expensive to setup the experiments.
- The data obtained from the online experiment are influenced by the environmental conditions and therefore additional research may have to be done on it thereby the experimental process may be prolonged.
- Any technical or mechanical errors that may influence the data should be conveyed to the students for data manipulation and rectification.

Conclusions and Implications

With the greater pace of development and the availability of the information and communication technology (ICT), many people prefer to undertake their study independently at home or elsewhere working from their computers. The education systems everywhere are considerable beneficiaries of the ICT. Students can now make a choice between learning at home or in a regular school

environment. Teaching online by posting reading materials, video clips and the interaction through instant messaging systems such as Skype, are already a common practice. However, online science experiments such as that described in this paper have not been adopted widely although, it is certainly possible. With all the advantages stated above and the additional advantage of safety during the study of harmful materials such as radioactive substances and carcinogenic chemicals, the online experiments will provide greater advantages to science students and educational systems.

The success of the online experimental rig in its prototype wooden form is currently being improved for greater rigidity and durability and will subsequently be made available to users through Labshare Australia (the site can be access through http://www.labshare.edu.au/) based at the University of Technology Sydney, NSW, Australia.

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ICONIC ARTWORKS AS STIMULI FOR ENGAGING SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THEIR NATIONAL HISTORY:
A PRIORITY IN PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION

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Abstract: *This paper encourages teacher educators to advise their students that the critical analysis of iconic artworks can engage school students' interest, promote inclusive, reflective and generally harmonious social relations, and make learning more satisfying. It also provides the opportunity to increase their own students' knowledge and understanding of their country's heritage, draw their attention to the contentious nature of historical representation, and prepare them to consider history from a variety of perspectives. One such artwork, E. Phillips Fox's* Landing of Captain Cook at Botany Bay 1770, *is the focus of this paper. The first part of the paper presents some fundamental knowledge and understanding that pre-service teachers of Australian history require. The second considers how teachers might use the painting in school history lessons. Finally, it is argued that this method can be used to teach a wide range of topics in a variety of international contexts.*

Introduction

A recent study into the question of why Australian school students appear to find their own national history boring has led to the conclusion that, while they recognise the importance of their national history, "they just ask that it be taught well" (Clark, 2008, p. 145). It would not be surprising to find that this is also the case in other countries. Good teaching in the social sciences, however, requires the effective use of engaging resources that, on the one hand, facilitate the achievement of learning outcomes that promote inclusive, reflective, and generally harmonious social relations, and, on the other, make learning more satisfying. Iconic artworks, critically examined in history lessons, despite and perhaps even because of their shortcomings, can go a long way towards fulfilling a wide range of curriculum requirements. Teacher educators should ensure that pre-service teachers are fully aware of the potential of such resources for engaging student interest and meeting the kinds of outcomes referred to above. At the same time, teacher educators should also take the opportunity to increase their own students' knowledge and understanding of some fundamental aspects of their country's heritage, draw their attention to the contentious nature of historical depiction, writing, and teaching and prepare them to consider history from a variety of perspectives.

Australian syllabuses often make direct statements about the need to teach history from a range of different perspectives. The content specified by the New South Wales *Human Society and Its Environment K-6 Syllabus*, for example, "incorporates gender, Aboriginal, citizenship, multicultural, environmental, work and global perspectives" (New South Wales Board of Studies [NSW BOS], 2006, p. 5). The NSW *History Years K-10 Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 2012) produced in response to the Australian Curriculum makes it clear that "History contains many stories and... there is never only one uncontested version." It goes on to suggest that "there are many differing perspectives within a nation's history" (NSW BOS, p. 10). While the investigation of historical phenomena from various perspectives is

often simply seen as an 'add-on' to teaching programs, it is clearly a high priority of those who produce the relevant syllabuses, at least in one state of Australia. Even in locations where curriculum documents make little mention of the need to teach from various perspectives, however, teachers can bring great benefits to their students by making it one of the central pillars of their planning. This is particularly so in countries where the co-existence of a range of ethnic groups, whether because of recent immigration or for more remote historical reasons, is a feature of social, cultural, and political life. Iconic artworks, one example of which is the main focus of this paper, are excellent resources for teaching in this way.

It has been rightly pointed out that artworks such as E. Phillips Fox's iconic painting, *Landing of Captain Cook at Botany Bay 1770* (1902; see Figure 1), "present the colonisers as powerful figures and as the bearers of learning and civilisation" (National Gallery of Victoria, n.d., para. 8). This paper aims to show, nevertheless, that teacher educators can critically analyse Fox's painting in order to prepare their students to teach about a salient event in the British colonisation of Australia, the landing of Captain Cook at Botany Bay. At the same time, they can acquaint them with certain factual knowledge that sets the context for that event, discuss with them such matters as the nature of history, and lead them to be more consciously aware of the existence of various perspectives from which to view historical phenomena. The first part of this paper presents some fundamental knowledge and understanding that pre-service teachers of Australian history require, while the second considers how teachers might use the painting, a diary excerpt and further evidence in school history lessons.

Figure 1. **E. Phillips FOX,** Australia 1865-1915, *Landing of Captain Cook at Botany Bay 1770* (1902, oil on canvas), 192.2 x 265.4 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia. Gilbee Bequest, 1902*

Early Australian History

Many pre-service teachers, including those who intend to become both primary school generalists and secondary history specialists, display a lack of precise understanding of some fundamental aspects of their country's past, possibly because of their own unsatisfactory experience of history at school. It is thus necessary to provide them with certain contextual knowledge and understanding. The available evidence, they should be aware, allows us to date the appearance of our species in Australia to at least 40,000 years ago, and perhaps as long as 70,000 years ago, though evidence as yet undiscovered may place it even earlier. In comparison, we do not seem to have arrived in either Europe or the Americas until around 30,000 years ago. The first Australians, ancestors of the modern Australian Aborigines, it appears, came from southeast Asia by sea several tens of thousands of years ago. Certain kinds of evidence, such as the arrival about only 4,000 years ago of the dingo, a placental mammal only distantly related to the monotremes and marsupials that make up the remaining land animals of Australia, suggest that immigration from that region

continued at least until 2000 BC (Flood, 1999, pp. 230, cf. 231-236). DNA testing, however, has shown that the dingoes 'all descend from a very small founding population' and thus suggests that the new human arrivals may have been very few in number (Flood, 2006, p. 196; cf. Mullvaney & Kamminga, 1999, pp. 259-260).

Some contact with people outside of Australia either continued or was established later, as shown by the habitation of the Torres Strait Islands in the north of Queensland by people who have much in common with the population of nearby New Guinea and by the regular visits to the coasts and islands of northern Australia by the Macassans, who came from the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia (Mullvaney & Kamminga, 1999, pp. 261-264). Most early Australians, nevertheless, seem to have had little direct contact with anyone from beyond the continent for many thousands of years, until people from the countries of Europe on the other side of the world first began to appear. The Portuguese may have visited Australia as early as 1520, but the first authenticated European sightings were those of the Dutch under the command of Willem Janszoon and the Spanish led by Luis Vaez de Torres, both in 1606. Europeans thus appear to have noticed Australia at least 164 years before the English explorer James Cook sailed along the east coast in 1770.

Accurate information about such matters is easy enough to find. Pre-service teachers, however, should be made abundantly aware that history is NOT simply a number of facts organised in a chronological sequence! The events of the past occurred simultaneously in a great many places at any given time, and a record of every human event that has ever taken place would take an impossible amount of time to write or read, so historians are obliged to select only the

facts that they think are important. Different historians will record different facts and reach greatly varying general conclusions about their significance, and scholars are constantly discussing and debating what actually happened in the past. These discussions can become quite political in character, as people from different countries, ethnic groups, and socio-economic classes, and with diverse ideas about politics and life in general all look at the evidence from their own perspective. We may, in fact, go so far as to define history like this: 'History is a political discourse built upon evidence of the past.' Some historians have looked forward to the day when all will agree on what happened in the past, and perhaps, when the manifold conflicts of interest that divide humanity are finally resolved, we may all adopt the one interpretation of history. So long as we continue to live in pluralistic, supposedly democratic societies, however, there will always be different points of view. If we find that historians are all in agreement, we may have something to worry about, because this is the sort of thing that usually only happens in undemocratic countries. We can, nevertheless, even in states that proudly refer to themselves as democracies, identify a tendency among educational authorities to favour certain perspectives over others.

For decades, Australian primary school students learnt that Captain Cook discovered Australia, even though it was clear that hundreds of Aboriginal tribes, along with the Torres Strait Islanders, had laid claim to it countless centuries earlier and that the Macassans, Dutch, Spanish and perhaps the Portuguese had all 'discovered' it already. Even when it had to be admitted that Cook was not the first to find Australia, qualifications were brought in, specifying, for example, that he was the first European to discover the east coast, which was claimed to be the only useful part. In general, however, the fact of

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earlier discovery was quickly brushed aside and often went unnoticed. So why did earlier educators persist with the claim that Cook discovered Australia when it was so obviously untrue?

Cook's 'discovery' was emphasised, pre-service teachers of history need to understand, because the perspective of historians, syllabus writers, and teachers of the period was generally a British one. By the time of Cook's voyage, they may not be aware, all three nations of Britain, the English, Scots, and Welsh, made up one country called 'The United Kingdom of Great Britain' ruled by the one king and governed by the same parliament. Not long afterwards, the smaller neighbouring island of Ireland was also incorporated into what then became known as 'The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland'. England was the most populous part of Britain and contained the capital, London. An Englishman had discovered Australia, so, as the argument went, it belonged to the British and their descendants. On the basis of this, it was implied, these were the only people who really had a right to be here. The myth that Cook discovered Australia thus had a political purpose. It made the British occupation of the continent seem fair and reinforced two beliefs: that the Indigenous inhabitants were unimportant and that immigrants who were not from Britain or Ireland should be discouraged. A political policy, later known as the White Australia Policy, thus drew strength from a particular historical perspective that selected the convenient facts and left the others out. We may call this political perspective 'Anglo-centric'. It gets this name from an ancient tribe who lived in the south of Britain, the 'Angles' after whom England was named. The myth that Captain Cook discovered Australia came from an Anglo-centric perspective and was used to legitimate the British occupation of our country.

The Anglo-centric perspective dominated history teaching in Australia until the late-twentieth century, when various groups began to demand that different perspectives be considered. This came about, at least in part, as a response to specific international political movements: the break-up of the British Empire beginning soon after WWII and almost complete by the early 1960s; the advent of the Civil Rights movement in the USA; and Indigenous Americans' struggle for justice. Some Australians began to become more conscious that our Aboriginal compatriots, apart from a brief mention at the beginning of textbooks and school courses, had been left out of our history. One result of this was that the Aboriginal perspective began to take its rightful place in history books and syllabi. The idea was to restore the balance, to look at our history from the point of view of the original Australians as well as from the point of view of the British colonists. There was no need to insist that the Anglo-centric perspective be considered because it was already strongly entrenched.

Educators also became conscious of the fact that our historical perspective was not only Anglo-centric, but selective in other ways, too. The effects of the British exploration and colonisation of Australia on the physical environment had also been brushed aside. History teaching tended to glorify the clearing of the land and the development of pastoral industries, without considering the effects of this development, such as soil erosion and desertification or the extinction of many vulnerable native animals. We clearly needed to introduce an environmental perspective. It was largely, too, the history of men so it was necessary to introduce a different gender perspective, that of women. While the lives of bush workers were often romanticised, those of the Australians who laboured in factories, offices, hospitals, and schools, for example, were rarely investigated. From

the end of WWII, furthermore, the proportion of immigrants from countries aside from Britain and Ireland, generally from other European countries such as Greece and Italy, increased rapidly. By the late 1960s, the grown children of these immigrants had started to point out the gaps in our history, and educators were obliged to take notice. Teachers began to include in their courses units on such topics as the Italian settlement in northern New South Wales in the 1890s known as New Italy or the lives of Chinese miners during the gold rushes. This multicultural perspective highlighted the variety of human occupation of Australia instead of emphasising its Britishness.

Traditional school history in Australia had a narrow, limited perspective on the past. To do justice to the colour and complexity of the Australian experience and thereby restore interest in our national history, teachers need to introduce their students to a variety of perspectives. It is best not to wait until they reach high school for this – by then, a kind of Anglo-centric, environmentally insensitive, male-dominant, pro-elitist, mono-cultural, and generally narrow-minded perspective may have become so entrenched that secondary teachers will find it difficult to shift. It is far better to nurture open-mindedness and cultural and environmental sensitivity in our students in primary school than to wait until they have time to close up their minds. Even in secondary school, nevertheless, it may not be too late.

An Iconic Artwork as a Resource for Teaching History

In 1901, the Melbourne-born artist E. Phillips Fox was commissioned to depict the landing of Captain Cook at Botany Bay, and the next year he completed in London the painting with that title. The original, almost two metres high, can be seen at the National Gallery of Victoria. It is a highly romanticised vision of Cook's landing and appears at first to have little claim to authenticity because Fox completed the picture in a foreign country in 1902, only 111 years ago but 132 years after the event that he represented. He was not standing on the shoreline in 1770 and did not even paint it at Botany Bay. The date of its commission is highly significant: 1901 was the year of Federation when six British colonies joined together to form the Commonwealth of Australia. The sense of a fresh, new start in the painting seems to reflect a romanticised 'birth of a nation' theme rather than any actual reality.

Despite these shortcomings, this painting can be used effectively as a resource for teaching school students about the British colonisation of Australia from a number of different perspectives. Firstly, it is clearly produced from an Anglo-centric perspective in the literal sense of the term because it is painted as though the artist were standing a little further along the beach from Cook and his men. Teachers can ask their students such questions as, 'Where do you think the artist would have been standing?', 'Which one is Captain Cook?', 'Why do you think that this is Cook?', 'Why is holding up his arm?', 'How did Cook and his men get there?', and 'Where did they come from?'. These will elicit answers concerning the clothing, the boats, the ship and so on, providing the teacher with the opportunity to elaborate on various aspects of the context. Another useful question is this: 'How many people can you see in the picture?'. Such questions invite students to notice besides the British in the main part of the painting, the Australians in the top right corner prepared to defend their country. It thus offers the chance to provide the students with an Aboriginal perspective on the British arrival in Australia. There is also a work perspective. Why, for example, is Cook dressed in a blue uniform and another man in a red one, while some of them have no shoes? Who are the men in

formal suits? What kinds of jobs would each of these do on the ship? What sorts of work are the Indigenous Australians in the picture likely to have done? Teachers could also introduce a gender perspective, asking why there are no women in the picture. Many of us, no doubt, are capable of pointing out a wide range of issues raised by this painting from various historical perspectives.

The question of whose flag is being held up in the painting is, however, particularly worth considering because it provides the opportunity to investigate further the context of the event depicted and thus to introduce school students to some of the material provided above concerning the meaning of terms such as 'Anglo-centric'. The flag, although a British naval ensign of the time, resembles the flag of Australia, which can be held up for comparison. School students may quickly notice the lack of either the Southern Cross or the Commonwealth Star along with the fact that the background is red rather than blue. It may take longer for them to work out that the 'Union Jack', although in the same corner, is missing the St. Patrick's Cross (representing Ireland) and is composed of simply of St. George's Cross (England) superimposed on St. Andrew's Cross (Scotland), the reasons for which can then be explained. Teachers can also use the flag to prompt discussion of the context in which the artwork itself was produced, considering the nuances of Fox's prominent inclusion of such a symbol at a time when the similar flag of Australia had only recently been flown for the first time on September 3, 1901.

An excerpt from Cook's journal entry for this date may also be presented to students (Cook, 2004). When reading this passage, it is useful to think about the extent to which Fox made use of it when he painted his picture:

> Sunday 29th In the PM winds southerly and clear weather with which we stood into the bay and Anchor'd under the South shore about 2 Mile within the entrence in 6 fathoms water, the south point bearing SE and the north point ^East, Saw as we came in on both points of the bay Several of the natives and afew hutts, Men women and children on the south shore abreast of the Ship to which place I went in the boats in hopes of speaking with them accompanied by Mr Banks Dr Solander and Tupia- as we approached the shore they all made off except two Men who seem'd resolved to oppose our landing - as soon as I saw this I orderd the boats to lay upon their oars in order to speake to them but this was to little purpose for neither us nor Tupia could understand one word they said. we then threw them some nails beeds &Ca a shore which they took up and seem'd not ill pleased with in so much that I thout that they beckon'd to us to come a shore but in this we were mistaken for as soon as we put the boat in they again came to oppose us upon which I fired a musket between the two which had no other effect than to make them retire back where bundles of thier darts lay and one of them took up a stone and threw at us which caused my fireing a second Musquet load with small shott and altho' some of the shott struck the man yet it had no other effect than to make him lay hold of a ^Shield or target ^to defend himself emmediatly after this we landed which we had no sooner done than they throw'd two darts at us this obliged me to fire a third shott soon after which they both made off, but not in such haste but what we might have taken one…

Aside from the opportunity for comparison with the painting, many more questions

and topics for research will arise out of this document. The lives of the botanists Banks then 37 years old, and Solander, 47, could be researched to provide answers to the question of the identity of the two men in formal suits. The Tahitian Tupia, who acted as Cook's interpreter in the islands of Polynesia, including New Zealand, but could not understand the inhabitants of the shores of Botany Bay may also be of interest. Students may consider why Tupia, who may be the man standing behind Cook and Banks, was not given more prominence in the painting. Keeping the Aboriginal perspective in mind, school students might research the kinship group that the Indigenous men in the painting are likely to have belonged to (the Muru-ora-dial band of the Eora people, members of the Dharug language group). This, of course, could lead to further investigation of what happened to these people after the first British colonists arrived, eighteen years later. Certain relevant values and attitudes may also be discussed. Teachers might ask such questions as: 'Were the Indigenous people right to oppose Cook's landing and the later British settlement?'; 'Did the British have a right to claim their land?'; and 'How did the colonisation of their land affect the Aborigines?'.

Sydney Parkinson, the botanical draughtsman on the *Endeavour*, has left us not only his own journal entry about Cook's landing at Botany Bay, but also a sketch of the same Eora men who resisted Cook's landing and appear in Fox's painting (Parkinson, 1972, p. 134, pl. XXVII). Despite his apparently mistaken depiction of a *woomera* or 'spear-thrower' as a sword, Parkinson's sketch is highly valuable because it shows the two men in a dynamic and aggressive pose. In this respect, it accords more closely with Cook's account of the events of that day than with what is seen in Fox's painting and because both Parkinson's sketch and Cook's journal entry are primary sources, while the painting is not, it strongly suggests that the Eora men did, in fact, move forward to defend their land. Parkinson's journal entry, too, contains a written account that differs in some respects from Cook's as does Banks's journal entry (2004). These journals, too, may become the subjects of critical analysis in the history classroom.

We have dealt with some of the perspectives that may be considered when developing school students' knowledge and understanding about this topic, but skills are also important, and teachers who plan to use this kind of resource will have to devise appropriate activities for their students. When doing so, however, they should remain ever-conscious of the need to equip students to interpret events from a variety of perspectives. Teachers may ask their students to imagine that they are one of the people in the picture and to recount, in various forms, the events of April 29, 1770 as that person saw them. If some write a letter home, others might write a letter *from* home in response. If some record a subsequent dialogue among the men on the *Endeavour*, others might create a script in which the Aboriginal defenders of their country discuss the events of the day. A diary entry of one of the naval officers and other 'gentlemen' might be complemented by the reminiscences of one of the sailors. School students may also produce audio and visual material of various kinds. With the appropriate technical equipment and/or skills, this could include re-orientating the painting from the physical perspective of the Aboriginal Australians. Other students might use traditional materials, such as bark and ochre, or perhaps modern substitutes, to depict the event. It may also be worth introducing students to Daniel Boyd's parody of Fox's painting, entitled *We Call Them Pirates Out Here* (2006). In this painting currently exhibited at Sydney's Museum of Contemporary Art, Cook wears an eye-patch, and the skull-and-cross-bones, often recognised as a

pirate emblem, is superimposed upon the Union Jack. Boyd discusses his painting in a video available on the Museum's website, explaining that it 'questions Australian history' (Boyd, 2007).

It is essential that teacher educators encourage pre-service teachers to adopt attitudes that foster understanding, respect, and acceptance on the one hand and promote critical thinking and self-expression on the other. There can be no guarantee, however, that every teacher we train will develop an inclusive and sensitive attitude towards the various perspectives available, or that their teaching will be entirely free of ingrained prejudices. One fact, however, is certain: pre-service teachers have responded in an overwhelmingly positive manner to lectures and workshops conducted along the lines suggested above, showing clear signs of relief that they now understand much that was obscure to them before, and in particular, *why* it is so important to emphasise certain less entrenched perspectives on their national history, and *how* this might be achieved. Without this knowledge and understanding and without these skills, even teachers who are largely free of overt prejudice may find difficulty in imparting inclusive values to their students. As teachers and teacher educators, we must proceed with confidence in the belief that while prejudice comes from ignorance, knowledge and understanding promote sensitivity and inclusivity. Teacher educators must also recognise that if teachers are to impart the kinds of values and attitudes that make for a fairer, more harmonious world, they need to be provided with the skills to do so.

Conclusion

The single artwork produced by E. Phillips Fox, used in conjunction with the available primary evidence, can, aside from its value for the study of the historical subject matter at hand, enable primary school teachers to integrate subjects such as English, creative arts, science, and technology into their history lessons and secondary history teachers to ensure that their students meet some important cross-curriculum outcomes. Fox's painting, Boyd's parody of it, and Parkinson's sketch, while clearly useful resources on their own account, also provide a colourful and attractive means of introducing school students to the surviving written accounts of the events that took place at Botany Bay on April 29, 1770.

Taking a broader outlook, the critical examination of iconic artworks can be used to teach about a wide range of historical phenomena. Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770), for example, has already been the subject of much critical analysis (Schama, 1991, 3-39; Fryd, 1995, 72-85). West, as Fryd (1995, p. 73) points out, also provided the inspiration for paintings such as David's *Oath of the Tennis Court* (1791) and Trumbull's *Declaration of Independence* (1819). Romanticism in art did not end, of course, in the period following the French Revolution. Less than a decade before Fox completed his painting, the Norwegian Christian Krohg, also on a public commission, produced his *Leiv Eiriksson Discovering America* (1893). It is futile to attempt even a sample list of potentially useful items here: teachers and teacher educators from various parts of the world will be aware of the existence of a great many artworks and of paintings in particular that can be treated in a similar manner, though care should be taken to choose pieces that are well-suited to teaching historical phenomena from various perspectives.

The emphasis on the construction of learning sequences based upon seeing historical phenomena from a range of perspectives should make pre-service teachers thoroughly aware that learning

and teaching about history consists of far more than the repetition by the teacher and the memorisation by students of selected events and dates. Teacher educators can follow this up by insisting that teachers need to keep the emphasis on understanding as well as on knowledge, and to teach skills, values and attitudes as well as knowledge and understanding. They should also emphasise the importance for teachers of continuing to seek a variety of resources that are capable of stimulating their students to 'develop a critical perspective on received versions of the past' (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2009, p. 5) and of engaging them in a multiplicity of tasks that will sustain an interest in their national history. If teachers do so, they will be better able to achieve the relevant syllabus objectives and at the same time do their own country in particular and the world in general a favour by helping to shape a population that is not ignorant, insensitive, and uninterested but informed, receptive, and inquisitive.

*Permission was granted by the museum to reproduce this painting. Permission email is on file with the associate editor of JISTE.

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE FOR UNIVERSITY STUDY:
ACHIEVING NET PERSONAL SATISFACTION

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Abstract: *This article is a personal reflection on the author's work helping international university students to write good academic English in their assignments and theses. From retirement the author has assisted numerous students from non-English speaking backgrounds as they strive to write clearly and with good style. The problems are complex and common for many international students at all academic levels and in all subject fields. The author describes his experiences which focus on one-to-one tutoring involving the reading and modifying of drafts accompanied by positive reinforcement and encouragement. Several principles are enunciated based on this experience and feedback from students. It is concluded that GNH is well served by promoting net personal satisfaction for university students when they are assisted to write good academic English.*

Introduction

This article is a reflection on my experiences when helping international students at my university to write clear academic English with good style. It is often said that every teacher is a language teacher: a responsibility university lecturers need to recognize when teaching students for whom English is a second language. My intention is to offer some practical advice to university lecturers when they are teaching such students based on my experiences and the feedback I have received. The central idea is to give one-on-one tutoring in English based on a student's written drafts while providing positive reinforcement.

It seems that a mastery of English language has become a passport to career success in many countries and has opened travel opportunities and financial prosperity for many young people (Canally & Dallen, 2007; Dar, 2012; Son, 2003). Jin and Cortazzi (2002) explain this phenomenon in relation to modern Chinese society.

English language teaching in China is … characterized by scale and enthusiasm. There is a widespread perception that speaking English confers prestige … and opens doors to academic, professional and business success. However, many students also learn the language for personal reasons, such as the desire to travel or study abroad. At the national level, English has been progressively linked to China's open-door policy… and the recognition of China's significant role in world affairs… English is therefore considered by many Chinese to be the bridge to the future, both for the country and for the individuals. (p. 53)

Australia owes its popularity as a destination for international students to several factors including English being the national language, its reputable universities and schools, its relatively safe and open society, and its geographical location relative to Asian countries (Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007).

The single-minded ambition to learn English and obtain tertiary qualifications from a western university raises questions about the efficacy of such activity for the cultural integrity of many countries let alone the horrors some see in such 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 1992). This modest reflection does not examine such profound matters but simply relates the writer's experiences in helping international students at an Australian university to use English with a clear and good style. Admittedly this is a modest purpose but a preoccupation I have enjoyed since my retirement in the mid-1990s, and one my many international friends have apparently valued.

Wellbeing, Gross National Happiness and English Language

Conventional economic theory (Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo, Alfred Marshall, Joseph Schumpeter, John Maynard Keynes and many others) has limited itself to things that can be readily measured in money terms. The work of mothers, housekeepers, volunteer carers as well as assets such as human health, forests, wildlife was simply taken for granted. The tenets at the macro level for land, labour, and capital gave much attention to the concepts of resources, business cycles, savings, national debt, employment, taxation, interest rates, shares and bonds, and measures of national progress were assessed solely in terms such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It has only been in the last few decades that economists and allied scholars have seriously recognised that analyses based on "other things being equal" and monetary values alone are not just inadequate but can lead to grossly distorted outcomes for people and the environment.

Many modern scholars seek to broaden the scope of their study in fields such as ecological economics and measures of economic wellbeing (Marks, 2004; Halloway, 2010; Irvine, 2012; Seligman, 2011). Recently governments and public affairs organisations in Australia have also sought to measure and advance policy on the basis of happiness and wellbeing surveys (Gruen as cited in Irvine, 2012). Similar surveys have been undertaken in recent years in many countries by governments seeking to measure the 'happiness' of their people beyond narrow traditional economic indicators such a GDP. Irvine (2012) says

> … the Lateral Economics Index of Australia's Wellbeing adjusts GDP to take into account the changes in value of the nation's stock of physical, environmental and human capital. It also adjusts for changes in health, inequality and job satisfaction to provide a better measure of national wellbeing than traditional economic measures.

These initiatives are admirable and have much in common with the goals of those who advocate Gross National Happiness (GNH) (Ura & Galay, 2004). In the United States 'positive psychologist' Seligman (2011) proposes five elements of wellbeing: positive emotion, engagement, relationships, meaning, accomplishment (or PERMA). At least his ideas remind us that the 'happiness' being considered is a much broader concept than merely ephemeral emotions. It is ultimately about "the meaning of life" (Gittins, 2012).

There is a danger however that while seeking to save the world we forget the aspirations of individuals. I do not think that GNH, and the individual will for freedom, health, and wellbeing are mutually exclusive. Furthermore people generally need to work hard to produce food, shelter, public and private services and wealth for cultural enrichment. Friedman (2012) compares the OECD Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) exam results from 65

countries and concludes that "if you really want to know how a country is going to do in the 21st century, don't count its oil reserves or goldmines, count its highly effective teachers, involved parents and committed students" (p. 11). In a similar vein Schleicher, who oversees the PISA exams, says "knowledge and skills have become the global currency of 21st century economics, but there is no central bank that prints this currency. Everyone has to decide on their own how much they will print" (as cited in Friedman, p. 11). It is clear that natural resources are great, but indulgence and dependence on them will weaken a society unless the gains are invested to promote education and lifelong learning.

As 'Education for All' (UNESCO, 2000) is realised in many countries, employment opportunities need to be available for the school graduates. Unemployment is corrosive to youthful aspirations and can destroy social harmony; GDP will be reduced and GNH/well-being will decline. The calibre of the workforce is increasingly dependent on well-educated and skilled leaders in national political and economic life. In the modern world such demands are often met by university graduates who have a facility in English language (Hawthorne, 2012; Jin & Cotazzi, 2002; McDonald, 2012).

Most international students I meet seek an education and skills to follow a career and contribute to the societies of which they are members. They seek greater access to knowledge, skills, and communications including a mastery of English language in order to fulfil their aspirations. They are determined to achieve net personal satisfaction and are supported by their families, their governments, aid agencies, and host countries. The pursuit and mastery of English language is something of a modern passion in many societies, especially in countries seeking expansion of higher education and career

opportunities for their youth. The young and not so young from all corners of the globe make prodigious efforts at great expense to obtain mastery of the English language in written and spoken forms. Two examples will serve to illustrate the widespread and extraordinary nature of this obsession. McDonald (2012) describes how a community in India has deified English:

> In a village called Banka in northern India a community of former Untouchables is building a temple to a new deity, the Angrezi Devi, or Goddess of English. As the walls go up, the idol is ready to be installed: a female figure in robes similar to the Statue of Liberty in New York, only holding a pen in one hand and the Indian Constitution in the other. She is standing on a computer. … the writer who suggested the new deity, Chandra Bhan Prasad, recently told a BBC interviewer "in 20 years no jobs will go to anyone in India who doesn't know English." (p. 16)

Australia is the third largest provider of international education after the United States and Britain with one in five tertiary students in Australia being an international student (Harrison, 2011). In the 1980s I was a member of a University of New England (UNE) marketing team which visited Asian countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea interviewing prospective students. It was obvious that many students we interviewed were talented, keen, and well financed but lacked proficiency in English to successfully undertake university studies in Australia. We recommended that our University establish an English language centre on campus to provide a variety of short and long courses for international students to improve their English before commencing degree studies. The centre was established and

has operated such courses with notable success. Indeed there are many similar centres in Australian universities and numerous private English language colleges, especially in the larger cities, some, however, are of dubious quality (Das, 2009).

Mentoring International Students in English Language

I have spent many hours mentoring and tutoring international students and especially Bhutanese students at UNE in writing academic English. I am not a professional linguist but perhaps a keen amateur in the literal meaning of that word: 'a lover' of language. I find it most effective to work with students on a one-to-one basis with their drafts of essays, assignments, theses, and even letters and applications for scholarships. Undergraduate and postgraduate students have come knocking on my door at UNE, and many have fondly pursued me in my various attempts to retire so that I have been able to continue enjoying this pastime. I first began to mentor and tutor international students with their academic English 40 years ago when I volunteered to help a Ugandan student at the Armidale College of Advanced Education and have learned much about numerous countries and how tormenting English can be for international students.

I have always stressed that I was a teacher not an editor. I insisted on reading students' drafts and making my suggestions for changes mostly in longhand but by electronic track changes when necessary. I tried to sit with each student and have them read their work aloud. Occasionally a fellow student will accompany a student whose work is under consideration, and this has often been useful for all concerned. By discussing each suggestion and explaining the reason for any changes, I believe the students learned more about writing better

academic English. I also found that by hearing the work in addition to seeing the suggested changes, they understood more and remembered better. I am constantly amazed at how prominently the reading and writing of English is seen as the primary tool for learning the language rather than speaking and listening. How do native speakers of English first learn their language anyway? Certainly not from a book.

In the face of the many frustrations for students learning to use good academic English, I have come to believe that the easiest task I have is to find errors in their speaking and writing. The really difficult task has been to build the students' confidence and help them recognise their errors and make changes for the better. This usually means a fair amount of oral work and attention to building confidence and motivation. Listening carefully to students and helping with pronunciation, intonation, and syllabising is important. English often has sounds: vowels, diphthongs, and consonants, which are not part of the student's first language. Helping them to say these sounds and practising them in English words solves many problems not least spelling. At all times, a word of encouragement and a sense of humour helps enormously. I guess I am suggesting my role is that of a 'guardian angel' and not a 'vengeful tormentor'.

I have also found it necessary to insist that the student accepts full responsibility for a final written product. They must be encouraged to accept or reject my suggested changes in their written English. It is very easy to become an editor with the student simply accepting all suggested changes without understanding. This is not good teaching and does not build responsibility in the student. While I am ready to help students in almost any subject field, I cannot really claim any meaningful expertise in many. By

acknowledging this it is necessary for me to avoid misinterpretation of the message the student is trying to express.

Many of the international students who I help tend to write well beyond the word limit for the task set. In their efforts to find the right word or phrase, they double up with adjectives and adverbs and include multiple qualifying phrases and clauses. The meaning is lost in a storm of words. Hence one of my many words of advice, perhaps even a dictum for good academic writing is, "as few words as possible and as many as necessary." To this end I have encouraged the use of tables and figures, including maps, photographs, and diagrams with background information placed in appendices.

The tradition of 'critical analysis' needs to be encouraged by helping students to interpret questions, reveal constituent parts, relationships and reasoning (Arkoudis, 2012, p. 14). Many international students I help have an inflated respect for the printed word and 'authorities.' It is likely that earlier educational experiences and perhaps their culture has imbued them with such modesty. Of course the opposite may also occur when a student indulges in sweeping and unsupported claims and conclusions or fails to provide sources or acknowledge ideas borrowed and quotations used. The problem of plagiarism, especially in the computer age, is alive and well (Arkoudos, 2012, p. 13).

On the positive side I am constantly delighted to find that the international students I help are usually well informed about basic English grammar. The abandonment of teaching grammar in Australian schools for the last few generations has been a disaster which is currently being reversed (Ferrari, 2009). At least if I ask an international student "What is the subject of this sentence?" or "This sentence lacks a verb," they know

what I mean. It is a pleasure to work with students who have knowledge of the English language: its structure, vocabulary, syntax, morphology, phonology, semantics, and punctuation.

Specific problems in the use of English can involve all of the above aspects including grammatical forms such as number, tense, case, mood, and so on. Of these I have found tense to be especially difficult for many students. Spelling is helped by explaining the etymologies of words whether Latin, Greek, middle or old English, French, or even American or Australian. The ever changing nature of English and, of course all living languages, and the evidence of this in different accents, colloquial forms and the use of slang, is a beaut way to have fun with English.

A particular aspect of written English that frequently arises concerns achieving fluency. This aspect is well dealt with in oral contexts before trying to achieve written forms. Fluency means expressing oneself easily and articulately and involves gracefulness and good style. A common difficulty in written English that I have found is a succession of short sentences producing a jerky and arrhythmic effect. This can be corrected by joining short sentences with a variety of conjunctions. Conversely, some sentences can be far too long and convoluted. These need to be simplified and probably broken into two or more sentences. Having the student read aloud and identify the difficulty is revealing for them.

Perhaps the most elusive quality of good academic English for all university students is to achieve a good style. Prisk (2011) quotes the French author and poet, Jean Cocteau, who said "style is a simple way of saying complicated things." She goes on to add, "It is a shame he is so very dead. He would be a great person to have in the newsroom [or university WH] to

explain … why style is so important, which is to ensure simple, clean, concise and consistent [writing]."

Conclusion

This reflective paper has described my experiences in tutoring, mentoring, and helping international students to write clear English with good style during their university studies. I have found it is important to help them to speak English well and listen with understanding. It has also been important to sustain interest,

confidence, and commitment. Most of the international students I have helped are extremely keen to learn good English and earn degrees from an English language university as a passport to a career. They seek a net personal satisfaction in their efforts but are enthusiastic to contribute to their home economy and their country's GNH. I have not considered these aims necessarily exclusive but quite likely to be mutually beneficial. The provision of a well-qualified workforce will be essential for the progress of all societies in advancing their national wellbeing.

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Publication Guidelines

The journal (*JISTE*) publishes articles by members of the International Society for Teacher Education (ISfTE). Exceptions are made for a non-member who is a co-author with a member, or who is invited to write for a special issue of the journal, or for other special reasons.

Articles submitted to *JISTE* must be written in English, following manuscript guidelines (see below) and will be anonymously reviewed by referees. Each article must pass the review process to be accepted for publication. The editors will notify the senior author of the manuscript if it does not meet submission requirements.

Articles are judged for (a) significance to the field of teacher education from a global perspective, (b) comprehensiveness of the literature review, (c) clarity of presentation, and (d) adequacy of evidence for conclusions. Research manuscripts are also evaluated for adequacy of the rationale and appropriateness of the design and analysis. Scholarly relevance is crucial. Be sure to evaluate your information. Articles should move beyond description to present inquiry, critical analysis, and provoke discussion.

Articles pertaining to a particular country or world area should be authored by a teacher educator from that country or world area.

All manuscripts accepted for publication will be edited to improve clarity, to conform to style, to correct grammar, and to fit available space. **Submission of the article is considered permission to edit to article.**

Published manuscripts become the property of the *Society*. Permission to reproduce articles must be requested from the editors. The submission and subsequent acceptance of a manuscript for publication serves as the copyright waiver from the author(s).

Manuscript Guidelines

- Manuscript length, including all references, tables, charts, or figures, should be 3,000 to 5,000 words. **Maximum length is 5,000 words.** Shorter pieces of 1500-3,000 words, such as policy review or critique papers are welcomed.

- All text should be double-spaced, with margins 1 inch (2.5 cm) all around and left justified only.

- Paragraphs should be indented using the "tab" key on the keyboard. No extra spacing should be between paragraphs.

- Do not use footnotes in the manuscript. Use either parenthetical statements or place the information in an Appendix.

- Tables, Figures, and Charts should be kept to a minimum (no more than 4 per article) and sized to fit between 5.5 x 8.5 inches or 14 x 20 cm.

- Abstract should be limited to 100-150 words.

- Include four or five keywords for database referencing; place immediately after the abstract.

- Cover page shall include the following information: Title of the manuscript; name(s) of author, institution(s), complete mailing address, email address, business and home (mobile) phone numbers, and fax number. Also on the cover page, please include a brief biographical sketch, background, and areas of specialisation for each author. Please do not exceed 30 words per author.

- Writing and editorial style shall follow directions in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (6th ed., 2009). References MUST follow the APA style manual. Information on the use of APA style may be obtained at www.apa.org.

- Please do not use the reference tool on Word as it subsumes ALL references when the editor places the article in the final format of the journal. The editor then must retype the entire reference list created by the author.

Future Submissions

2013 (Volume 17, Number 2)
Open submission – Members of ISfTE are invited to contribute manuscripts related to any important topic in teacher education. Members are encouraged to co-author articles with their students or colleagues who may not be members of ISfTE. Articles that explore teacher education issues such as the practicum, mentoring in other disciplines (e.g. nursing, adult education, social work education) are particularly invited. Such articles should explore the discourse in relationship to teaching at the elementary, secondary, or tertiary (college/university) level.
Deadline for Submission: July 1, 2013

2014 (Volume 18, Number 1)
Theme – **Teacher Education: Meeting the Needs of the New Generation**
This seminar will be held in May, 2013 in Hong Kong hosted by the Hong Kong Baptist University. Participants (including those from the Distance Paper Group) are invited to revise their seminar papers, attending carefully to the manuscript and publication guidelines, and submit them to the journal for consideration. Book reviewed on the theme are invited.
Deadline for submission: September 1, 2013

2014 (Volume 18, Number 2)
Currently an open submission with no specific theme – Members of ISfTE are invited to contribute manuscripts related to any important topic in teacher education. Members are encouraged to co-author articles with their students or colleagues who may not be members of ISfTE. Articles that explore teacher education issues such as the practicum, mentoring in other disciplines (e.g. nursing, adult education, social work education) are particularly invited. Such articles should explore the discourse in relationship to teaching at the elementary, secondary, or tertiary (college/university) level.
Deadline for Submission: March 1, 2014

Book and Other Media Review Submission

Reviews of books or other educational media are welcome. Either the review or the item reviewed must be by a current member of ISfTE. Reviews must be no longer than 1000 words.

Annotation of Recent Publications by Members Submission

ISfTE members may submit an annotated reference to any book which they have published during the past three years. Annotation should be no longer than 150 words.

Submission Requirements

It is preferred that articles be submitted directly to the editor, Karen Bjerg Petersen at kp@dpu.dk. To submit an article by email, send it as an attachment using MS Word, if at all possible.

You may also send article by fax to +45 8888 9231. Or you may submit by mail by sending a printed manuscript and a copy on either a computer disk or flash drive. Printed manuscripts and storage items will not be returned.

Manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be directed to:
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Royal University of Bhutan, was established by King Jigme Singye Wangchuck in June, 2003, to promote equitable development in the country of Bhutan. The **Paro College of Education** is one of 11 colleges which are spread across the country. It was the site for the 32nd annual seminar of the International Society for Teacher Education.

Aarhus University is the second oldest university in Denmark. It is also the largest university in the country with over 43,000 students. It offers programmes in both undergraduate and graduate studies. Although the main campus is in the city of Aarhus, Denmark, the university has small campuses in Copenhagen and Herning.

Hong Kong Baptist University was founded by the Baptist Convention of Hong Kong in 1956 as a post-secondary college and became a fully-fledged university in 1994. It now boasts eight faculties and schools and an academy offering a wide range of undergraduate and postgraduate programmes to around 8,400 students.

Weber State University in Ogden, Utah, United States, was founded in 1889. It is a coeducational, publicly supported university offering professional, liberal arts, and technical certificates, as well as associate, bachelor's and master's degrees. Currently, over 25,000 students attend the university.