Delving into Diversity

An International Exploration of Issues of Diversity in Education

Vanessa Green
Sue Cherrington

Editors

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DELVING INTO DIVERSITY: AN INTERNATIONAL EXPLORATION OF ISSUES OF DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION

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PREFACE

There is considerable interest in diversity within education as our communities become increasingly globalized and the evidence mounts that diversity is in fact the norm within most educational contexts. This book aims to highlight some of the issues surrounding diversity that are apparent in all educational settings regardless of the international location. It seeks to un-pack the range and breadth of diversity that educators are likely to face. In particular, the chapters in this book review research on the potential issues, challenges and possible learning opportunities that may arise for educators as a result of working with diverse learners in diverse educational contexts. As teachers become increasingly accountable for the quality of learning experiences they are under pressure to ensure that discrimination is not only recognized, but addressed in order that all participants experience quality learning environments. Thus each chapter considers a different aspect of diversity, raises issues of concern, at times challenges conventional wisdom and offers insights as to how educators may address these issues in their own context. Each chapter includes an implications section for educators as they seek to provide *all* learners with environments in which they can engage in quality learning experiences and have equal opportunities. There are three principal audiences. First, the book is intended as a possible text to be used in the social sciences and teacher education. In particular this text may be useful for university faculty who teach in departments of Primary, Secondary, Early Childhood, Curriculum and Instruction, Special Education, Gender and Women's Studies, Sociology, and Psychology. Second, the book would be of interest to graduate students enrolled in courses on diversity and more general educational courses such as Contemporary Issues in Education. Third, the book would be of interest to teachers and other educational professionals, as it provides information on how to create enhanced learning opportunities for all learners.

Chapter 1 – An overview is provided of issues related to diversity for educators in the 21st century, including the need for individualized learning and inclusive learning environments. Given the multi-faceted nature of diversity, this chapter contains a case-book approach by including chapters that cover a wide range of diversity issues and topics across a variety of educational settings. The chapters have been presented using an ecological framework to illustrate the various forms of influence on the learner. Furthermore, each chapter in this case-book includes information about specific practices and strategies that educators can use in order to create learning environments that are equitable, inclusive, and free from discrimination.

Chapter 2 - Student engagement is an essential element in students' learning. Two important but related factors that are increasingly associated with strengthening student engagement and learning, and in particular the learning of at-risk students, are student-teacher relationships and students' perceptions that their teachers care. In line with this, the purpose of this chapter is two-fold. Firstly it will review a selection of the research that supports the contention that positive student-teacher relationships and teacher care have a significant impact on students' learning and secondly; it will identify a range of teacher-related variables that have been associated with improved student-teacher relationships and student perceptions that their teachers care.

Chapter 3 - This chapter places cooperative learning in a context of diverse classrooms of the 21st century and the demand for the inclusion of all children in our school system. The chapter begins with a comment on the promise of cooperative learning as a viable and readily usable methodology. The reasons for its introduction or wider use in our schools are explained. The background to the method is discussed and the research to support the use of cooperative learning from primary through tertiary education is noted. Finally, the use of cooperative methods developed by a number of writers is described and the application of the method to regular classrooms is explained.

Chapter 4 - This chapter expands discussions of culturally responsive pedagogy by focusing on the responsibilities and challenges of classroom organisation and management. A case story is introduced to demonstrate aspects of culturally responsive classroom management (CRCM). New Zealand theoretical examples of CRCM are introduced and the challenge of teaching cultural concepts to teachers of a different culture is raised. The chapter emphasises that CRCM is about cultivating a perspective through which classroom teachers view behaviour and develop an ongoing critique of their practice grounded in social justice and equity.

Chapter 5 - For effective learning, teachers and students must understand themselves and each other as learners. New Zealand's bicultural society, as established in the Treaty of Waitangi, requires that the needs of indigenous Māori learners are met. This chapter describes strategies known to facilitate Māori students' mathematics learning. There are many inter-related factors which contribute towards successful mathematics learning for Māori children. The focus is on the concept of *Te Ira Tangata* (honouring all people and respecting all individuals) within the context of teachers and students knowing one another as learners. Four areas will be discussed: development of effective teacher-student interactions; knowing individuals' learning preferences and needs; involving everyone; and using suitable encouragement, feedback, and praise. Themes from literature and our own research will be presented. The voices of students, teachers, and student teachers are used to highlight implications for teachers and teacher educators.

Chapter 6 - New Zealand is a bicultural nation. The Treaty of Waitangi is the foundation document governing this partnership. The authors' encounters with *Te Ao Māori* (Māori world) view have strongly influenced their teaching practice when catering for cultural diversity in the classroom. A description of research carried out by each author within their respective focus curriculum areas of teaching is relayed. The first contextualises Treaty of Waitangi and *Kaupapa Māori* (conceptualisation of Māori knowledge) principles within storytelling to promote socialisation and understanding of self, others and cultural perspectives in the drama classroom. The second describes how using *tikanga Māori* (Māori customary) approaches to technology inform teaching and learning for diversity. In this

chapter case studies illustrate these bicultural approaches to drama and technology education and highlight implications for educators.

Chapter 7 - English is widely used as the medium of instruction at all levels of education in New Zealand. Multilingual students strive to succeed in classrooms where the language of instruction may be different from their home language. Each specific discipline has its own discourse which students need to master. Evidence presented in this chapter illustrates teaching practices that enhance the learning of linguistically diverse students. Such approaches include: accommodating cultural diversity within the curriculum, and valuing it as a resource while maintaining high expectations of learners. Case studies show how teachers explicitly model subject discourses; provide opportunities for feedback and evaluation; allow information and skills to be revisited in different ways; integrate receptive and productive language and use a student's first language as a resource. Implications for educators of linguistically diverse students are explored.

Chapter 8 - The purpose of this chapter is to explore how adolescents' views of race influence their experiences in racially diverse educational settings. As the United States becomes more racially diverse, questions related to diverse educational settings become increasingly important, particularly because, during adolescence, youth become more aware of racial stereotypes and racism. The chapter will explore the role of cognitive development, school matriculation, and racial socialization in adolescents' changing views within the context of diverse schools. Implications of adolescents' changing views of race on their academic performance, aspirations for the future, and relations with peers in racially diverse schools are also explored. Finally, the chapter includes suggestions for educators who are working in diverse schools.

Chapter 9 - Teachers across Australia are now required to include Indigenous perspectives in their teaching for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous children. Most teachers know little or nothing about Indigenous people and so they present a pedagogy that fantasises about the lives of Indigenous people before the British invasion rather than confronting the historical and political controversies of the present. Non-Indigenous children learn to think about Indigenous people in the past tense, while many teachers overlook the myriad resources available that narrate and explicate the contemporary lives of Indigenous people for children. I suggest in this chapter that teachers in Australia have a powerful role to play in how the future relationship develops between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and this future will depend on whether teachers are prepared to reassess their own place in history. The impetus for this was created recently through the Australian Prime Minister's apology to the Stolen Generations.

Chapter 10 - In recent years there has been a call to celebrate diversity in education, whilst reducing disparities in learning outcomes between diverse student groups (Cochran-Smith, 2004). In Aotearoa New Zealand, significant educational disparities exist between the indigenous Māori and non-Māori students. Despite attempts to close this gap, differences in outcomes can be attributable to individual and institutional racism that maintains an inequitable status quo (Walker, 1991). The present chapter examines the racism that emerged within a New Zealand government-initiated action research pilot project that sought to improve practice and outcomes for Māori students (Hynds, 2007). Evidence indicated that racism, fuelled by stereotypes and deficit thinking, disrupted reform within two schools that were involved. Study results revealed that racism was largely ignored within the context of improvement and that school leaders were uncertain about how to deal with it. Implications

from this research are discussed along with recommendations for school-based reforms which seek to improve practice and outcomes for marginalised students.

Chapter 11 - Developmental and physical disabilities represent a significant and increasingly prevalent source of diversity in educational settings. Consequently, it is important for educators to gain a basic understanding of the learning and behavioral characteristics associated with the various types of developmental and physical disabilities. This chapter describes the most common types of developmental and physical disabilities that affect school-aged children and highlights their associated learning and behavioral characteristics. The specific disability categories described are: (a) attention-deficit, hyperactivity disorder, (b) autism spectrum disorder, (c) cerebral palsy, (d) intellectual disability, (e) learning disabilities, and (f) multiple disabilities. This general overview is intended to increase understanding of the educational needs of children with these types of developmental and physical disabilities.

Chapter 12 - This chapter addresses the issue of physical education for students with disabilities. It firstly examines research on the experiences of students with disabilities in physical education and on the perceptions of physical education teachers. Issues around physical education curriculum and pedagogy are considered, particularly in relation to the impact that choices made in these areas can have on students. The chapter concludes with a section on practical applications for teachers and learners. This section includes an examination of two major pedagogical approaches to the teaching of physical education, Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility (TPSR) and Sport Education (SE). The chapter concludes with a discussion on the three major principles to be used when adapting activities in physical education for students with disabilities.

Chapter 13 - Strengthening cooperation between schools and parents is critical to improving learning outcomes for children. The chapter focuses on parental engagement in their children's education in the early years of school. It considers issues of social and cultural capital as important to whether, or not, parents are involved in their children's schooling. Analyses of data from a national representative sample of children and their families who participated in Growing up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children are presented. Results indicated that higher family socio-economic position was associated with higher levels of parental involvement and higher expectations about children's future level of education.

Chapter 14 - This chapter examines successes and challenges experienced by gay and lesbian headed families in New Zealand in relation to the education services their children attend. Successes identified by the parents included: educational services which validated and affirmed gay and lesbian headed families, having visible gay and/or lesbian teachers, and knowing that other gay and lesbian headed families had experienced inclusion in the setting that they were planning to send their children to. Some of the challenges reported in the study included parents experiencing and/or anticipating homophobia in their interactions within educational institutions. Heteronormative assumptions and curricular activities by teachers were noted by participants. The phenomenon of 'shifting closets' was identified. From findings is can be determined that teachers and educational policy-makers need to develop socially just and inclusive pedagogies and teaching practices so that gay and lesbian headed families are affirmed and accepted. The chapter includes suggestions for policy development and teacher practice.

Chapter 15 - Most discussion of the acquisition of literacy involves the school and family. This interpretation omits the out-of-school sites that contribute to children's learning. This chapter describes the uses and practices of literacy in different sites in the lives of fourteen 11- and 12-year old Samoan children living in New Zealand. The children were socialised into cultural practices associated with the church and the maintenance of literacy in the Samoan language as well as into uses associated with popular culture. For the children there was both overlapping and conflict of values between their sites of literacy practice.

Chapter 16 - This chapter reports on a small exploratory study describing the experiences of four students who had recently transitioned from schooling in a context where *Te Reo* Māori[1] was the language of instruction to learning in an English-medium school. The chapter briefly describes the movement for Māori-medium schooling in Aotearoa, New Zealand and outlines the rationale and methodology of the study. It identifies, through the voices of the four students, challenges and language demands they faced in making this change. The chapter considers the implications of these findings for educators and policy makers if such students are to be better supported in future.

Chapter 17 - Young people in *Aotearoa* New Zealand are increasingly diverse. National surveys of secondary school students carried out in 2001 and 2007 provide essential information on their ethnicity, family configurations and living arrangements, connection with school and community, physical and mental health, sexual behaviour, nutrition, and other factors influencing their health and wellbeing. The key findings, as they relate to student diversity in school settings, are reported and discussed and the implications for those working in education explored.

Chapter 18 - Child abuse and neglect is a significant health and social problem with serious consequences for children, families and communities. This chapter provides students, early childhood teachers, and administrators with an evidence base for understanding their role in relation to child abuse and neglect. The chapter draws from international and interdisciplinary research to address four key areas of responsibility: i) recognising signs of child abuse and neglect; ii) reporting child abuse and neglect; iii) supporting children in the classroom; and iv) teaching children to protect themselves (Watts, 1997).

Chapter 19 - Traditionally, there has been a great deal of attention highlighting the needs of ethnically and linguistically diverse children and those with special learning needs within education. Less emphasis, however, has been given to the needs of children who are living in poverty and facing financial hardship. This chapter examines early childhood educators' beliefs and practices in meeting the learning and developmental needs of children and families living with such disparities, drawing on data from a research project that investigated the impact of "diversity of diversity" in New Zealand early childhood services. To minimise the disparities for children and families experiencing poverty and financial hardship, some pedagogical practices that early childhood services can implement to build on the resources that each family has.

Chapter 20 - This chapter draws on the results of two doctoral studies (Hynds, 2007; McDonald, 2002a) which investigated New Zealand Māori and Cook Island Māori teachers' engagement in the context of professional development. Both studies highlighted the

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[1] *Te Reo* Māori - one of the official languages of New Zealand, and the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand.

influence and importance of teachers' cultural values and beliefs, which influenced their participation in professional development activities. The implications of this are subsequently explored.

Chapter 21 - Introduced to the public and embraced by politicians as the answer to all the failings of our school system, the No Child Left Behind Act preaches accountability and imposes punitive consequences on schools that are unable to bring their students up to legislatively imposed standards. Yet, persistent underachievement of African Americans in the United States is a manifestation of a deeply rooted sociopolitical, historical, and educational legacy of continuous and unequal treatment, and differential outcomes for African American students can not be totally overcome by legislative change to drive educational reform. This chapter explores the educational realities of African American students today and seeks to understand why this racial minority has not been able to achieve at the same level as other students, concluding that a large part of the answer may rest with the alignment of standards-based instruction and culturally responsive pedagogy and improved teacher quality.

Chapter 22 - Students with ASD are diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, language status, social class and gender. That is, they are culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD). Special educators therefore need expertise related to ASD and working in diverse socio-cultural and linguistic school and community settings. This chapter describes a program to prepare educators to work with students with ASD from CLD backgrounds. The program at The University of Texas at Austin, involves a collaboration between two areas: Autism and Developmental Disability (ADD) and the Multicultural Special Education (MCSE). The program includes coursework and practical experiences that aim to develop knowledge and skills related to teaching students with ASD using culturally responsive practice. Future directions for the program and for promoting culturally responsive practice for students with ASD are discussed.

Chapter 23 - This chapter describes the authors' development and implementation of a process of collaborative scrutiny of academic practice to support diversity and inclusion for students in tertiary education. Here, an overview of the theoretical foundation for this work in transformative education and Foucault's analysis of discourses is presented. A process of "reflexive supervision" was created to support academics working together to interrogate the inclusiveness of their own practice. This process was applied to a research project examining inclusion of students with impairments in higher education. Findings of the research led to questions about humanistic models of social inclusion that underpin much work with diverse students. The supervisory process was also used to support tertiary teaching. The chapter ends with several examples of this work, which aimed to support students towards being more inclusive, culturally responsive and democratically active professionals and future community leaders.

Chapter 24 - This chapter considers the teaching of queer studies in the tertiary classroom, based on twenty years of teaching queer studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Queer studies is presented as a useful addition to an understanding of diversity and to implementing and teaching human rights in the tertiary classroom. The article includes a discussion of the New Zealand background on homosexuality and human rights, and includes practical exercises and explanations of intersectionality for use in classroom settings, as well as recommendations for future research.

Chapter 25 - It is hard to imagine what Freire might have put into *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* if he wrote it in the new millennium. He certainly would continue to focus on reading and rewriting the world through critical literacy, but the tools of this new and fresh form of literacy might be different. Today, young people live in a world of diverse peoples and diverse literacies. Young people no longer have to master a single form of literacy which would enable them to read, comprehend, question, write, and rewrite. Today, young people need to be literate across many modes of communication. In this chapter, I will look at the power of multimodal literacies when combined with critical literacy. Modes of communication such as video, music, words, and images stimulate diverse readings and writings of the world. Multimodal literacies allows for a moment of cognitive dissonance without disrupting the identities of the reader and the writer.

Chapter 26 - This chapter approaches diversity from a global perspective by exploring the connections between two related concepts: global-mindedness and intercultural competence. Research from two projects informs this discussion. The first analyzed undergraduate students' views and experiences of citizenship and identified a set of dispositions associated with global-mindedness. The second carried out an international literature review in order to develop a framework for interculturally-informed second language teaching in New Zealand schools. This chapter reports on the main findings from the first study with respect to global citizenship and discuss the implications of these findings for teacher education. The contribution that intercultural language teaching can make to the development of global mindedness in school age learners is examined. The discussion focuses on the potential for interculturally informed language teaching to deliver the kinds of experiences shown to correlate with higher levels of global mindedness.

Chapter 27 - The purpose of this chapter is to look at diversity in relation to outbound international student exchanges. Such exchanges play a role in preparing students for engagement in a complex and diverse world. English-speaking countries such as New Zealand face the problem of an imbalance in the numbers of outbound and inbound exchange students, with low numbers of domestic students going abroad. A research project investigated this problem through case studies of five New Zealand institutions of higher education, and through a survey of undergraduate students. The chapter highlights the barrier monolingualism poses for exchanges and the need to develop diversity in terms of the students participating, the disciplines, and the destinations for exchanges. Examples of effective and innovative initiatives fostering at least one dimension of diversity are provided.

Chapter 28 - Rural schools in New Zealand and Atlantic Canada pioneered the development of open learning structures to facilitate collaborative teaching and learning preceding and following the introduction of the internet. This chapter outlines two stages in the development of rural education provision in New Zealand based on institutional collaboration followed by the export of the model to Canada where it was extended. Institutional collaboration provided a foundation for the development of e-learning in and between rural schools in both countries and, thereby, the enhancement of educational opportunities in communities located beyond major centers of population.

Chapter 29 - This concluding chapter brings together several key themes that have emerged from the chapters in this case-book, including an acknowledgement of the complexity of diversity within educational settings. Furthermore, a number of educator responsibilities are discussed, such as the importance of relationships, individualising teaching, open-mindedness and addressing discrimination.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Chapter 1

EXPLORING DIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

We provide an overview of issues related to diversity for educators in the 21st century, including the need for individualized learning and inclusive learning environments. Given the multi-faceted nature of diversity, we have taken a case-book approach by including chapters that cover a wide range of diversity issues and topics across a variety of educational settings. The chapters have been presented using an ecological framework to illustrate the various forms of influence on the learner. Furthermore, each chapter in this case-book includes information about specific practices and strategies that educators can use in order to create learning environments that are equitable, inclusive, and free from discrimination.

Keywords: *diversity, ecological systems theory, inclusive learning environments*

INTRODUCTION

There is considerable interest in diversity within education as our communities become increasingly globalized and the evidence mounts that diversity is in fact the norm within most educational contexts (Hurtado, 2007). This reality holds regardless of whether the context is an early childhood centre, an elementary or primary school, a high school, or a university. There are not only students from a broad range of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds within educational contexts, but there are also students with varying abilities and different types of home environments (Cushner, McClelland, and Safford, 2006).

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Unfortunately, discrimination often goes hand in hand with difference and in this respect there is increasing pressure on educators to ensure that discrimination, in its many forms, is not only recognized, but addressed in order that all participants experience quality learning environments (Loreman, Deppeler, and Harvey, 2005) Therefore, for an educator, embracing diversity is just one step in the right direction – creating quality, inclusive and equitable learning environments invokes an entirely new set of challenges.

Furthermore, as educators become more accountable for the quality of learning experiences they are also expected to individualize learning, and in this respect there is an increased responsibility on educators to really know the learners in their charge. However, with this requirement there is a counter-pressure to ensure there is a balance between the needs of the individual and the needs of the group. As Alton-Lee (2003) notes, "the central professional challenge for teachers is to manage simultaneously the complexity of learning needs of diverse students" (p.v), and therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that many educators often feel ill-prepared for dealing with the diversity of learners in their classrooms.

Although there are a considerable number of resources available to educators that discuss issues of diversity, recent books published in the area usually focus on specific educational settings (higher education, elementary education) or on specific aspects of diversity such as multiculturalism or learners with special needs. Although these texts may be useful, most educators do not have the time to read a different text for every type of diversity they are likely to face. Therefore, in order to promote evidence-based practice in the development of inclusive teaching practices we decided to compile a case-book for educators that explores diversity in its many forms from early childhood through to the tertiary sector. A case-book approach appealed as it enabled us to present and consider the needs of diverse learners in various contexts. The case-book has been used in other disciplines such as medicine and psychology as a vehicle for illuminating the kinds of problems clinicians may encounter in their daily practice (Byrne, Birchwood, Trower, and Meaden, 2006). In this respect, the approach exposes the reader to a range of situations and possible solutions, many of which would not ordinarily be found within the same text.

As the title suggests, the chapters in this volume bring an international perspective to issues of diversity with authors emanating from Canada, the United States of America, New Zealand, and Australia. Each chapter in this volume considers a particular issue related to diversity and presents the reader with a thoughtful exploration of the theoretical and/or practical issues that underpin the chosen topic. The examples they present may have a localized flavor, however readers will quickly see the parallels that exist as common issues are discussed and addressed. Some of these chapters focus on the immediate practice interface between educator and learner while others present thoughtful discussions on controversial and confronting topics. Regardless of the practical or theoretical approach taken, all chapters include information about the implications of the work discussed for educators.

Therefore, the main aim of this book is to assist educators by providing an evidence-based case-book that spans the breadth of diversity that exists in modern educational settings. Educators will benefit from scholarly reviews of how diversity has been addressed and embraced. Furthermore, in addition to broadening their understanding of the multi-faceted nature of diversity, readers will have access to information about specific practices and strategies that may be useful in assisting them to enhance the teaching learning experience and create a learning climate that is equitable and inclusive.

A SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR CONCEPTUALIZING THE INFLUENCE OF DIVERSITY

The focus of the information in this book is on how the educational environment influences the learner. Therefore, we have taken a social-ecological approach in presenting the chapters in this book by framing the presentation in accordance with Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1979). According to Bronfenbrenner, individuals are a part of multiple interrelated systems, with the individual learner located in the centre of the system. The learner is part of an array of four inseparable systems, all of which have an influence on their development (i.e., micro, meso, exo and macro). In particular, at the first level, the learner is embedded within a number of micro-systems (e.g., family, peers, and teachers and their practices) all of which have a direct influence on their learning and development. The next level of influence is the meso-system, which describes the interrelationships or congruence between these various micro-systems (e.g., the relationship between home and school, or school and church). The third layer of influence is referred to as the exo-system, which describes a layer of influence that is indirect and includes influences from other contexts (e.g., quality/availability of professional development opportunities for teachers). Finally the macro level describes the influence of cultural norms and values such as societal attitudes towards diversity in education.

Focusing on the Immediate Educational Context: Micro-System

A number of chapters in this volume have focused on the micro-level of the learners' immediate context. We begin with chapters on culture/ethnicity, all of which provide an important message about the critical importance of developing and maintaining meaningful relationships. These relationships may be between teachers and students, peers or between colleagues themselves.

In their chapter Tom and Viv Hullena (Chapter 2) stress the importance of positive teacher-student relationships in helping at-risk youth to improve their educational outcomes. In particular they provide evidence to suggest that these students need to know that their teachers really care about them and their well-being. Following a similar theme, Don Brown (Chapter 3) demonstrates how cooperative learning can be an approach to teaching that automatically enables educators to address diversity issues because of the frame it uses. In Chapter 4, Cath Savage cuts across curriculum contexts by providing the reader with an overview of culturally sensitive practice. She includes a pertinent case study to illustrate her point about how culturally responsive pedagogy can diffuse problematic situations with students. The chapters by Dayle Anderson et al., (Chapter 5), Delia Baskerville and Ann Bondy (Chapter 6), and Carolyn Tait and Margaret Gleeson (Chapter 7) locate the issue within particular curriculum contexts. For example, Anderson et al., present a model for learning that is situated within a Māori perspective with a focus on mathematics. The authors emphasize the importance of recognizing learner preferences, developing an inclusive pedagogy, using feedback and, perhaps most importantly, developing meaningful relationships. Similarly, Baskerville and Bondy present their experiences of working within bicultural classrooms using the backdrop of drama and technology. They also emphasize

relationships and describe ways in which learning can be promoted through the use of story-telling, a focus on true participation and the development of meaningful partnerships, all of which result in a collaborative construction of knowledge. Furthermore, in their chapter, Tait and Gleeson discuss the challenges that linguistically diverse students face when confronted with discipline-specific language. They provide data from case studies that clearly demonstrate the ways in which teachers can accommodate these students' learning needs.

In the next few chapters we leave the shores of New Zealand to explore issues of diversity in the United States and Australia. Using data from typical USA high schools, Erin Pahlke and Julie Milligan Hughes (Chapter 8) provide a rationale for why and how racism emerges, why it is prevalent in adolescence and the impact it can have on peer relationships. They highlight the importance of teachers' own values and beliefs, and how this can influence classroom interactions. In particular, they suggest a multi-faceted approach including a multicultural curriculum and cooperative learning. In describing current practice and policy in Australia, Neil Harrison (Chapter 9) presents some sobering statistics and discusses the importance of focusing on contemporary living relationships of Indigenous Australians rather than a paternalistic discussion of a past culture.

In Chapter 10 we return to New Zealand where Anne Hynds delves beneath the surface of initiatives that try to raise cultural awareness by presenting examples of stereotyped attitudes amongst teachers towards their students and colleagues. She highlights the importance of recognizing that teachers' own values and beliefs will interfere with the success of these initiatives and challenges educators to confront their own values and beliefs, both inside and outside the classroom.

In perusing these first chapters, readers will quickly recognize that despite the specific cultural contexts presented in these chapters the authors are presenting ideas that represent good teaching practices and values that would be applicable across cultures, ethnicities, age groups, and curriculum areas. In addition to considering how educators may improve their teaching practice when faced with cultural and ethnic diversity, we then turn the reader's attention to two chapters that focus on diverse abilities. In particular Jeff Sigafoos et al. (Chapter 11) give readers an overview of the range of disabilities that educators are likely to encounter in a typical classroom and provide specific strategies that they can use to enhance the learning experience for these students. In Chapter 12, Barrie Gordon focuses on physical disability. He provides strategies for inclusion that include recognizing potential and presenting strategies that help teachers meet individual needs while not disadvantaging the group.

Making Connections: Meso-System

In this text a number of authors have focused on the interrelationships between various contexts (e.g., family and school). We begin this section with the chapter by Sue Walker and Donna Berthelsen (Chapter 13). They present longitudinal data, which highlights the connection between parental involvement in the school environment, family socio-economic status, and positive child outcomes. The authors present strategies for helping educators to change school practice and be more inclusive of the families in their community to ensure greater parental involvement from those families who are financially disadvantaged. The next chapter in this section is presented by Lisa Terreni et al. (Chapter 14). They also focus on the

connection between family and school, but in this case they describe the experience of gay/lesbian parents when dealing with mainstream education systems. From interviews with gay/lesbian parents they reveal the prejudice from teachers that many of them have faced and provide some helpful strategies for teachers to not only consider their own values but also to create safe centres for these parents.

In the chapter by John Dickie and Geraldine McDonald (Chapter 15), the very strong connections that exist between families, school and church within many Samoan communities in New Zealand are examined within the world of literacy. The authors provide evidence to suggest that for these children literacy can be viewed as a cultural practice that moves beyond the traditional use of text. In the last chapter in this section Gillian Hubbard et al. (Chapter 16) describe the connections between two school systems within a bicultural society such as New Zealand. In particular, they present the experiences of four Māori students who having been immersed in Māori language educational settings throughout their schooling and have since moved to English-language schools. The authors reveal the unique challenges these students face by having English as their second language. They highlight the importance of educators in New Zealand being able to be at least partially bi-lingual.

Indirect Influences on Teaching Practice: Exo-System

A number of authors have presented work that moves beyond the educational environment to demonstrate quite clearly how other contexts can have a significant impact on the teaching and learning situation. The chapter by Sue Grant et al. (Chapter 17) provides readers with a snapshot of adolescence in New Zealand in the early years of the 21st century. The data they present is from two surveys, each of over 9,000 high school students who represent a true cross-section of New Zealand youth. The information provides useful contextual information for educators about the myriad of influences that make high school students who they are. The authors suggest that knowledge of these external realities can have a significant impact on the way in which teachers communicate with their students.

Another indirect influence on the learning context is presented in a sobering chapter by Kerryann Walsh and Ben Mathews (Chapter 18). They present data on child abuse in Australia and suggest that the data is most likely typical of other OECD countries. They illustrate the very real and important role that educators have in not only recognizing and reporting abuse if suspected but also provide useful strategies for educators as they try to help maltreated students.

Sonja Rosewarne and Mary-Jane Shuker address the issue of poverty in Chapter 19 and highlight that New Zealand has one of the worst rates of poverty for children amongst the OECD countries. Their chapter focuses on the views of early childhood educators and demonstrates that many of the early childhood educators they surveyed are well aware of the issues and provide much needed emotional support to the children in their care. The authors provide specific strategies that educators can adopt in order to create a more inclusive environment for children from families who are under extreme financial pressure.

In the chapter by Lex MacDonald and Anne Hynds (Chapter 20) another indirect influence is discussed, namely the effectiveness of professional development programmes for educators. In two detailed case studies these authors provide data on teacher engagement in professional development within the Cook Islands and New Zealand. They stress the

importance of moving beyond superficial understandings of culture and influence. In a similar vein Audrey Sorrells et al. (Chapter 21) remind readers of the extreme educational disadvantage that African American students and youth continue to experience in the USA, including disproportionate representation in special education programmes. The authors suggest that one way to close the gap is to ensure that trainee teachers are better equipped to work with culturally and linguistically diverse students. Continuing on the same theme the chapter by Shernaz Garcia et al. (Chapter 22) presents information about a programme within a USA university that attempts to address two dimensions of diversity that often overlap and therefore present unique challenges for educators. The programme focuses on students with autism spectrum disorder within cultural and linguistically diverse settings. Their tailored Masters degree programme provides educators with culturally responsive training to better meet the needs of these students.

Other chapters in the volume have also focused on higher education programmes including the chapter by Lise Claiborne and Sue Cornforth (Chapter 23). They demonstrate the importance of providing a voice for students with disabilities within tertiary institutions. The authors present data from their own teaching experiences and highlight the paternalistic trap that many educators may fall into when working with students with disabilities. They describe a process of reflexive supervision whereby tertiary educators can learn to reflect on the inclusive nature of their own practices. In her chapter (Chapter 24), Alison Laurie presents information about the development of a Queer Studies Programme in a New Zealand university and highlights the very real and positive impact these types of courses can have on reducing homophobia and other forms of discrimination in university students. In Chapter 25 Fiona Beals draws upon the work of Paulo Freire to frame her argument concerning the need to embrace multimodal literacies and view them with a critical literacy lens. She suggests that by doing so teachers can make more meaningful connections with the diverse student population within the classroom.

Global Influences on Education: Macro-System

In this final section, we present chapters by authors who discuss the broader issues that impact on diversity within educational settings. We begin with a chapter by Jonathan Newton et al. (Chapter 26). In particular they present data from two projects that have focused on global-mindedness and intercultural competence. They demonstrated that interpersonal skills, ways of thinking and participation were positively correlated with global-mindedness and suggest that inter-culturally informed language teaching is a key component in this process. Stephanie Doyle (Chapter 27) focuses on international student exchanges and provides evidence to suggest that there is an imbalance between the number of New Zealand students visiting non-English speaking countries compared to the number of international students embarking on exchanges in New Zealand. This trend is also evident in other English speaking nations. She suggests that in order to develop global-minded citizens there needs to be a stronger focus on student exchanges between developing and developed countries and provides examples of some international initiatives. Finally, in recognizing the unique challenges faced by educators and their students in remote locations, Ken Stevens (Chapter 28) provides an overview of open learning. He presents the successful development of this open learning system in Canada and New Zealand. He highlights the very real benefits that

the internet has had on these alternate school systems and provides an interesting and thoughtful picture of schooling in the future for remote communities.

CONCLUSION

As outlined in this introductory chapter, we have tried to demonstrate that the chapters in this book highlight that there are multiple levels of influence on every learner from the immediate experience of the interface between teaching and learning through to the more global dimensions that impact the learning environment. In addition, the compilation of these chapters also demonstrates another dimension of diversity. In particular, we have sought input from colleagues in the USA, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand in order to give the reader an international lens through which to view diversity. Similarly, by inviting colleagues who conduct research from different sectors (i.e., from early childhood through to tertiary teaching) we are hoping that educators will be able to gain valuable insights into teaching practice that they may not have come across before. Furthermore, by focusing on a range of diversity issues we hope that educators who read this text will gain something from reading in areas that may not ordinarily be within their usual realm. As we have highlighted diversity is certainly the norm rather than the exception in the 21st century learning environment and as such, educators are frequently faced with some significant challenges as they try to meet the needs of their students. It is hoped that the chapters in this case-book will go some way to helping educators navigate this complex yet exciting aspect of teaching practice so they can not only embrace diversity but start to create truly inclusive equitable learning environments.

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Chapter 2

STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS: A PATHWAY FOR AT-RISK YOUTH

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ABSTRACT

Student engagement is an essential element in students' learning. Two important but related factors that are increasingly associated with strengthening student engagement and learning, and in particular the learning of at-risk students, are student-teacher relationships and students' perceptions that their teachers care. In line with this, the purpose of this chapter is two-fold. Firstly it will review a selection of the research that supports the contention that positive student-teacher relationships and teacher care have a significant impact on students' learning and secondly; it will identify a range of teacher-related variables that have been associated with improved student-teacher relationships and student perceptions that their teachers care.

Keywords: *student-teacher relationships, teacher caring*

INTRODUCTION

Within the large body of educational literature it is possible to identify a multitude of variables that are believed to impact on teaching and learning. One such variable, the nature of student-teacher relationships, has in recent times gained considerable prominence in the literature (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richardson, 2003; Cothran and Ennis, 2000; Hall and Kidman, 2004; Hellison, 2003; Hoy and Weinstein, 2006; Kesner, 2000; Larsen and Silverman, 2005; Noddings, 1992). According to this literature, students are more likely to

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interact co-operatively with their teachers and engage in classroom learning if their relationships with teachers are positive. Hoy and Weinstein, (2006) tend to emphasise the view that students will actually withhold their co-operation until such time as their teachers earn it. Several related studies (Aicinena, 1991; Bishop et al., 2003; Coelho, 2000; Cothran, Kulinna and Garrahy, 2003; Ennis et al., 1997; Hill and Hawk, 2000; McCormack, 1997) have identified teacher variables (e.g., behaviours, attitudes, values, beliefs, and skills) considered crucial for the development of positive student-teacher relationships. Teacher behaviours that are appreciated by students include: showing respect, being fair, setting high expectations, being enthusiastic, getting to know students, communicating positively, interacting personally with students, using humour, showing support and encouragement, helping students meet their needs, and behaviours perceived by students as caring.

The notion of care, whilst considered a significant factor impacting on the development of positive student-teacher relationships, has also been a focus within educational literature (Cothran and Ennis, 1999; Larsen and Silverman, 2005; Noddings, 1992; Owens and Ennis, 2005; Wentzel, 1997). Students' perceptions that their teachers care about them have been associated with improved learning outcomes for students. Teachers considered by students as caring were said to: take the time to listen and dialogue with students; respond to their needs and assist with their problems; show an interest in them; treat them as individuals; encourage them and acknowledge their efforts; show them that they trust them; challenge them academically; and empower them. These teachers created safe classroom environments for their students; produced a sense of belonging; made school fun; and put their students' needs ahead of their own.

Although student-teacher relationships and care are considered beneficial for all students, they are seen as particularly beneficial for students at-risk or students disadvantaged through personal, social, or economic circumstances, including students from minority cultures (Bishop et al., 2003; Hellison, 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000; Hoy and Weinstein, 2006; Owens and Ennis, 2005). Positive student-teacher relationships and care appear to function as mechanisms that support the engagement of at-risk students in mainstream education.

The combination of the two concepts, student-teacher relationships and teacher care have been linked together and considered in relation to student educational outcomes in this chapter for the following reasons. Firstly, it is argued (Hill and Hawk, 2000; Hoy and Weinstein, 2006; Mawer, 1998; Rink, 1993) that these concepts have a considerable degree of overlap. This connection may be best understood by the idea that through care and other teacher-related behaviours, student-teacher relationships are established. Furthermore Noddings (1992), states that care is the essential element underpinning relationships and which over time, naturally results in the development of positive student-teacher relationships. One final link shared by the concepts of student-teacher relationships and care relates to their association with improved educational outcomes (Cornelius-White, 2007; Pianta, 2006; Wentzel, 1997). Many of the behaviours reported in the above literature thought to promote positive student-teacher relationships are in fact the very same behaviours that are thought to promote perceptions of care. A selection of such research is outlined below.

FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE

Research Supporting the Belief that Positive Student-Teacher Relationships and a Perception of Care Lead to Improved Educational Outcomes

Wentzel (1997) investigated the relationship between students who thought their teachers cared about them and the impact that these perceptions had on their motivation to learn. She found that if students perceived that their teachers cared about them they were more likely to engage in classroom learning activities. At present explanations as to why student perceptions of teacher care impact on student effort are not well understood. Wentzel argues that despite this the strength of the link between caring behaviour by teachers and student engagement is such that current models of student achievement motivation should be extended to include students' perceptions of the relationships they have with their teachers and, in particular, perceptions of teacher care.

Pianta (2006) made a similar claim, arguing that research exploring the impact of student-teacher relationships and student outcomes supports the view that positive student-teacher relationships are associated with improved developmental and educational outcomes for students. Both Pianta (2006) and Wentzel (1997) emphasised the correlational nature of the above findings and agree further experimental studies are required before specific cause and effect relationships can be established.

A significant recent meta-analysis (Cornelius-White, 2007) analysed the impact of two person-centred teaching models and teacher-student relationships on students' educational outcomes. The meta-analysis found that person-centred teaching and student-teacher relationships had associations of $r = 0.31$ and $r = 0.36$ respectively with positive student outcomes (cognitive, affective and behavioural). These correlations were considered especially significant in light of Hattie's (1999) comments claiming that any teaching innovation with a correlation greater than $r = 0.20$ was *well worth pursuing*, while innovations above $r = 0.30$ were said to be of *much interest*. For that reason, Cornelius-White argues for increased use of relationship-based approaches to schooling.

Cothran and Ennis (1999) found that when students perceived a lack of social attachment with their teachers they were less willing to participate in classroom activities. They also found that lack of engagement resulted when students perceived little connection between school curriculum and their future lives. However, when students believed their teachers cared for them, they were more willing to engage in learning despite its lack of perceived relevance (Cothran and Ennis, 2000).

The Significance of Student-Teacher Relationships and Care for At-Risk Youth

In addition to the above findings there is a body of research suggesting that student-teacher relationships and care are of even greater significance for students at risk of not succeeding at school. For these students the research claims that teacher care and positive student-teacher relationships may act as a safeguard protecting them against the many

stressors and barriers they tend to encounter within the school system (Baker, 1999; Pianta and Steinberg, 1992).

A study by Hill and Hawk (2000) concluded that "forming the right kind of relationships" with students was a critical factor for them to engage in classroom learning. Bishop et al. (2003) make similar claims that student-teacher relationships underpin the willingness of Māori students to engage in formal classroom learning. Hoy and Weinstein (2006) noted that while care tends to be valued by all students, it is particularly valued by students who are marginalised or alienated. A study (Cothran and Ennis, 2000) involving 51 high schools of mostly African-American students (89%), found these students were more likely to engage in learning when they believed their teachers cared about them. Similar findings were reached in a study by Ennis et al. (1997) focussing on students described as "disrupted and disengaged". It found that students were unwilling to learn when their teachers remained aloof, refused to spend time with them, and failed to show any interest in their lives. Davidson (1999) studied students from diverse socio-economic, cultural and academic backgrounds who were considered marginalised or alienated. He found that teacher attentiveness, support, and respect were crucial for student success.

Despite the consistency of the findings supporting the importance of student-teacher relationships and care in the promotion of positive educational outcomes for at-risk students, the precise mechanism explaining this phenomenon is not fully understood. Baker (1999) suggests that positive student-teacher relationships facilitate students' understanding of the school culture and this enhances their ability to develop the competencies necessary for success at school. From a theoretical perspective, Deci and Ryan (1985) claim that through experiences of social connectedness with significant others, such as teachers, young people internalise attitudes and values that promote their commitment to social institutions such as schools. In a similar line of reasoning Ogbu (1992) argues that young people at risk may not be exposed to mainstream cultural assumptions and without the support of teachers may not make meaningful connections to the culture of the school and its related values. Similarly, Wang, Haertel, and Walberg (1994) state that student-teacher relationships may bridge the gap between the cultures of home and school and let students more aptly negotiate the school-related barriers that would otherwise inhibit their success.

TEACHER BEHAVIOURS ASSOCIATED WITH POSITIVE STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS AND PERCEPTIONS OF CARE

The purpose of this chapter is to identify and describe from the literature the recurring themes that have been associated with the development of positive student-teacher relationships and care in classroom settings. It should also be noted that the following sub-headings are not mutually exclusive or discrete. That is, the evidence used to support one sub-heading may support other sub-headings.

Understanding Students and their Worlds, Acting in their Best Interests, and Meeting their Needs

Cothran et al. (2003) found that when teachers made an effort to try and understand their students it was perceived by them that their teachers cared. Hill and Hawk (2000) state that teachers who are able to develop productive relationships with their students make the effort to get to know them, develop a good understanding of their lives, understand and have empathy for their cultural worlds, and adapt their teaching appropriately. According to Noddings (1992), one aspect of care involves making a commitment to understand each student, their motivations, interests and goals and then structuring the learning and learning environment so as to help them meet these. For example this involves teachers, despite perhaps having different viewpoints themselves, not rejecting student issues, experiences, and feelings but using this knowledge to support student needs.

Listening and Dialogue

Teachers listening to students and engaging in dialogue with them has been frequently cited in the literature as a factor that enhances student-teacher relationships and care (Cothran and Ennis, 2000; Cothran et al., 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000; Larsen and Silverman, 2005; Noddings, 1992; Tarlow, 1996; Wentzel, 1997). Dialogue functions as an information sharing process that helps teachers understand and meet more effectively their students' growth and development needs (Larsen and Silverman, 2005). Dialogue is thought to enhance relationships in that it allows students and teachers to develop an emotional connection (Noddings, 1992). According to Cothran and Ennis (2000), dialogue is a prerequisite for some students to engage in learning. They state that for such students dialogue of an academic nature is only possible if it has first been preceded by dialogue of an emotional nature. Interestingly, Tarlow (1996) claims that different types of dialogue foster caring relationships, although dialogue described as "frequent" and "easy" is that which is preferred by most students.

Spending Time Interacting with Students

An important factor impacting on student-teacher relationships and care involves teachers being prepared to set aside time both inside and outside of the classroom to interact with their students (Tarlow, 1996). Examples of such interactions (Hill and Hawk, 2000) include following up with them after difficulties, supporting them in co-curricular activities, and supporting them with personal problems. In order for these interactions to occur, teachers must be not only accessible and approachable to their students, but willing to take action on their behalf (Tarlow, 1996). Tarlow claims that there is a direct correlation between the duration and frequency of these interactions and the nature of student-teacher relationships. The quality of these interactions is also thought to impact on the development of student-teacher relationships and care (Aicinena, 1991; Coelho, 2000; Cothran et al., 2003; Larsen and Silverman, 2005; Pianta, 2006; Rink, 1993). To this end, teachers should try to ensure that the

majority of their interactions with students are positive and supportive (Aicinena, 1991; Coelho, 2000; Rink, 1993) and democratic in nature (Wentzel, 1997).

Being Sensitive to Students' Moods

Tarlow (1996) identified sensitivity as one of eight characteristics of caring student-teacher relationships. Sensitivity involves teachers being alert to indicators that offer insight into the moods and dispositions of their students. Although Tarlow argues that developing sensitivity is complex, over time if teachers are aware and conscious of their students they will develop the ability to read the signs that will help them understand and meet their needs. For similar reasons Hellison (2003) also states that, through self-reflection and intuition, teachers need to learn to be conscious of their students and their moods. By so doing teachers learn to pick up on, and respond to, the signals as they become evident.

Recognising, Accepting, and Valuing Individuality

Beck and Newman (1996) state that teacher caring is seen when teachers recognise the individuality in each student. At a fundamental level this is said to involve knowing each student by name (Hellison, 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000; Rink, 1993), being able to pronounce names properly (Bishop et al., 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000), getting to know students in person (Siedentop, 1991) and acknowledging their individuality (Capel, 2001; Rink, 1993). For Hill and Hawk (2000) this involves accepting that each student has a voice that needs and deserves to be heard. For Hellison (2003) it involves teachers being aware of each student's individuality or difference and promoting this as something to be valued. Finally, Larsen and Silverman (2005) suggest there is no one way to treat all students.

Showing Respect and Related Values

A key value considered consistent with both the development of student-teacher relationships and caring involves teachers treating students with respect (Bishop et al., 2003; Coelho, 2000; Hellison, 2003; Larson and Silverman, 2005; Mawer, 1998; Owens and Ennis, 2005; Siedentop, 1991). Hill and Hawk (2000), state that respect by a teacher is the most important part of a student-teacher relationship and although respect is sometimes described and demonstrated in different ways, in general it means valuing students first as people and then as learners.

Cothran et al. (2003) suggest that respect is the most important part of classroom management. Without the existence of respectful relations between students and teachers students will not bother engaging in classroom learning (Cothran and Ennis, 2000). Finally, a further aspect which demonstrates respect identified by Cothran and Ennis involves power sharing with students – that is, teachers consulting students in classroom decision making.

Another quality respected by students is that of teacher honesty (Bishop et al., 2003; Mawer, 1998; Siedentop, 1991). Bishop et al. (2003) report that students value teachers who

are trusting and keep their word, even when this included negative outcomes for students such as teachers following through on the stated consequences of inappropriate behaviour.

Fairness is cited in the literature as a value much appreciated by students (Hellison, 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000; Hoy and Weinstein, 2006; Hullena, 2008). Hill and Hawk (2000) claim that students need to trust that teachers will be fair. Interestingly, being fair does not necessarily mean treating all students the same (Hellison, 2003; Hoy and Weinstein, 2006). Hoy and Weinstein, for instance, state that students accept that in order to be fair and supportive teachers must, at times, treat students differently.

Promoting Self-Esteem and Self-Confidence

According to Tarlow (1996), caring is evident when teachers conduct themselves in ways that promote students' self-esteem and self-confidence. One factor thought to impact the promotion of self-esteem relates to student success. Larsen and Silverman (2005) claim that the self-esteem of students is enhanced when teachers promote and acknowledge their students' success. Other behaviours thought to impact on students' self-esteem include: praising student effort; being enthusiastic, encouraging, and using warm body language; holding positive expectations; focussing on current not past performances; providing positive and specific feedback; taking time to interact and get to know students; and letting them share in classroom decision making

Being Encouraging and Promoting Student Strengths

Further factors linked to the development of student-teacher relationships include teachers being encouraging of students and consciously focussing on and promoting their strengths (Hellison, 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000; McCormack, 1997; Noddings, 1992; Siedentop, 1991; Watson and Batistich, 2006). Noddings (1992) refers to this process as confirmation; this involves affirming and encouraging the best in others. It also requires that teachers are able to see students' strengths, irrespective of their inadequacies, and then work with students to promote and develop those strengths. Hellison (2003) claims that working from students' weaknesses suggests they are incomplete and inadequate whereas working from their strengths provides a positive foundation from which they can grow and develop.

Empowering Students and Involving them in Decision Making

Power sharing classroom educational processes with students has gained considerable support in the teaching literature, particularly for students considered at risk (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Bishop et al., 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000). Empowering students in this way has been acknowledged in the literature in regard to care and student-teacher relationships (e.g., Coelho, 2000; Hawk, Cowley, Hill, and Sutherland, 2001; Hellison, 2003; Mawer, 1998; Siedentop, 1991; Watson and Batistich, 2006). Watson and Batistich, for instance, report that when teachers empower students by way of democratic interaction styles, students perceive this as confirmation that their teachers care. Hellison (2003) states that relationships

are fostered when teachers empower students by giving them classroom decision-making opportunities where they have the capacity to make good decisions and that, provided they are given time to reflect and learn from these opportunities, it does not really matter whether they get them right or wrong.

Holding and Conveying High Expectations

The importance of teacher expectations in terms of its influence on students' educational outcomes is well documented. Pianta (2006), for instance, states that when teachers hold high expectations of students, they not only tend to achieve more, but they also gain in competence, self-esteem and tend to resist involvement in problem behaviours. Although the mechanism linking teacher expectations to student performance and behaviour is not well understood, the belief systems of both groups are thought to play a significant role. For example, teachers' beliefs and perceptions about what their students are capable of appear to have a major influence on the time and effort they invest in their students (Ennis et al., 1997).

In addition to the above association there also appears to be support for the view that teachers' expectations influence the nature of student-teacher relationships and perceptions of care. It is argued (Hoy and Weinstein, 2006; Nieto and Bode, 2008; Noddings, 1992) that caring and high expectations go hand in hand. With regard to student-teacher relationships, research by Bishop et al. (2003) involving Māori students in mainstream schools in New Zealand and research by Hill and Hawk (2000) involving Polynesian students in low decile[1] multicultural schools in New Zealand suggests that teacher expectations impact on the feelings students have for teachers. Students in these studies, for example, stated they had little respect for teachers who held low expectations of them and their abilities. It is for these reasons that educational commentators claim (Noddings, 1992) that it is crucial for teachers to get to know and understand their students and to convey to them that they are capable of learning (Ennis at al., 1997).

Using Humour

The inclusion of humour, appropriate to classroom environments, is well documented in the literature as a factor influencing students' attitudes towards learning and their teachers (Bishop et al., 2003; Hellison, 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000). According to a student in a study by Bishop et al. (2001, cited in Bishop et al., 2003), for instance: "They [the teachers] have to laugh with you instead of just sitting there, but still keep us in line. Keep the class in order but still laughing with you…" (p. 192).

Likewise, Henson (cited in Hill and Hawk, 2000) asserts that students rate highly those teachers who display a sense of humour but cautions teachers regarding the balance between having fun and maintaining classroom management.

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[1] New Zealand schools are assigned a decile rating based on the socio-economic status (including income levels and ethnicity) of their communities.

Other Factors

A further factor thought to contribute to student-teacher relationships involves teachers *modelling the values, attitudes and behaviours* that they themselves expect or want from their students (Hawk et al., 2001; Mawer, 1998). With regard to care Noddings (1992) holds a comparable view. She claims that students should not just be told how to care but they need to be shown how to care. That is, teachers need to model care in their everyday interactions and behaviours (Hellison, 2003; Hill and Hawk, 2000).

Hoy and Weinstein (2006) contend that caring takes place when teachers concern themselves with students' personal, social and academic lives and with respect to the latter, caring is manifested by *teaching well.* Larson and Silverman (2005) hold a similar view stating that caring is just another name for good teaching and that students associate caring with being well supported academically. Likewise, Beck and Newman (1996) claim that caring occurs when teachers commit to the work of developing students' ability. Watson and Battistich (2006) argue that caring is evident when teachers implement curricula that are relevant to students' lives, appeal to their interests, develop their understanding and provide authentic opportunities for learning.

A further aspect of teaching well identified in the literature (Hattie, 1999; Pianta, 2006) involves the use of specific academic feedback. Hattie claims that the most powerful single influence on student learning is teacher feedback in relation to students' work. He asserts that effective feedback requires teachers to not only have a comprehensive understanding of where their students are at in terms of their learning, but also a thorough understanding of how they receive, interpret and respond to teacher feedback. He argues that the teachers who endeavour to develop this understanding demonstrate care for their students.

Managing Classrooms Well and Ensuring Safe Learning Environments

Effective and safe classroom management has been linked with the promotion of perceptions of teacher care (Cothran and Ennis, 2000) and the development of positive student-teacher relationships (Rink, 1993). For instance, Hoy and Weinstein (2006) claim that students have little respect for teachers unable to manage their classrooms and they identify a range of management techniques that impact positively on students' attitudes towards their teachers. Students favoured teachers who were strict but not mean, teachers who had rules but were flexible in the application of them, and teachers who used their power not for the purposes of oppression but in the moral interests of their students. In addition, students preferred teachers who were able to use humour to get students back on task, teachers who were able to manage their own discipline issues, were not biased, were prepared to listen to all sides of a story, were able to remain calm, and were able to impose sanctions without aggression, humiliation and harshness.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

Teachers wanting to improve the engagement of their students (especially those at risk) would do well to consider how they might improve the nature of the relationships they have with their students and their students' perceptions of teacher care. Although it is unlikely that

a universal set of teacher behaviours exist that can be applied to all teaching contexts, a range of teacher behaviours linked to the development of positive student-teacher relationships and perceptions of teacher care have been identified. Teachers wanting to enhance their student-teacher relationships and perceptions of care are likely to benefit by considering how well their own practice reflects these behaviours.

CONCLUSION

As evidenced by the literature drawn upon in this chapter student engagement is an essential component in students' learning. This research identifies two important factors that are increasingly associated with strengthening student engagement and learning, and in particular the learning of at-risk students.

The key ideas that have emerged from this chapter that have been linked to improved educational outcomes for students include the importance of developing positive student-teacher relationships and perceptions by students that their teacher cares. A number of teacher-related variables (skills, behaviours, attributes, attitudes, values, and beliefs) have been associated with student-teacher relationships and perceptions by students of teacher care, including: teachers making the effort to get to know and understand students; showing an interest in them as people; identifying and meeting their needs; being respectful; being encouraging and supportive; empowering students; holding positive expectations of them; using humour; and developing in them a sense of belonging to school. Student-teacher relationships appear to be particularly important for at-risk students. Teachers wanting to enhance their abilities to develop relationships with their students may benefit by considering how their own personal biographies, that is their beliefs, attitudes, and relationship histories, influence their student- teacher relationships and the manner in which they interact with their students.

The implications for teaching and learning based on the literature strongly suggest that teachers wanting to improve the engagement of their students (especially those at risk) would do well to consider how they might improve the nature of the relationships they have with their students and their students' perceptions of teacher care. Although it is unlikely that a universal set of teacher behaviours exist that can be applied to all teaching contexts, a range of teacher behaviours linked to the development of positive student-teacher relationships and perceptions of teacher care have been identified in this chapter. Teachers wanting to enhance their student-teacher relationships and perceptions of care are likely to benefit by considering how well their own practice reflects these behaviours.

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Chapter 3

COOPERATIVE LEARNING

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ABSTRACT

This chapter places cooperative learning in a context of diverse classrooms of the 21st century and the demand for the inclusion of all children in our school system. The chapter begins with a comment on the promise of cooperative learning as a viable and readily usable methodology. The reasons for its introduction or wider use in our schools are explained. The background to the method is discussed and the research to support the use of cooperative learning from primary through tertiary education is noted. Finally, the use of cooperative methods developed by a number of writers is described and the application of the method to regular classrooms is explained.

Keywords: *cooperative learning, effective teaching, diversity*

INTRODUCTION

Cooperative learning holds the promise of offering teachers a full and readily implemented methodology for the inclusion of all students in their classrooms. Cooperative learning has emerged in the last thirty years as a fully fledged pedagogical approach which was always intended to ensure positive and supportive interaction among both staff and students. As it has developed, its use as a means of facilitating inclusion has become recognised to the extent that it is frequently cited in any discussion of working with students who might otherwise be excluded or ignored within school systems (Jenkins and O'Connor, cited in Murphy, Grey, and Honan, 2005). The British advocate and researcher in inclusive schooling, Mel Ainscow (2004) proposes three qualities of an inclusive classroom for

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students with special teaching needs – presence, participation and achievement. Both as a philosophy and a process, cooperative learning ensures these qualities can be present in any classroom.

BACKGROUND

Cooperative learning is a teaching procedure which arranges the conditions of the classroom to enhance both academic and social learning. It provides a platform for students to develop effective learning strategies. It develops an inclusive environment by ensuring that every child has a part to play in the management of group activities and classroom procedures.

Cooperative learning places students in supportive groups allowing for the development of group and individual responsibility, interactive learning, and support for each individual within the group and the class. The goal structure of the classroom is cooperative rather than competitive or individualistic. Never-the-less, the objective is to advance the individual capacity of each and every student to stand alone as well as to know how to work in a team.

Depending upon the choice of cooperative methods, classes can be arranged in formal or informal groups, students may work individually for part of the school day and they may move from group to group depending upon the teaching objectives. Cooperative learning is a flexible method. In all these approaches, the intention is to build both individual and group autonomy. Teachers remain responsible for the learning objectives of the class but students are expected to develop the skills of self management and group functioning.

COOPERATIVE LEARNING AS A PEDAGOGICAL SOLUTION IN THE NEW CENTURY

The educational world of the 21st century is a far cry from the learning environment that this author experienced at school. Yet in some ways the emphasis upon greater diversity and the acceptance of difference is not new. The transition from the educational model of my childhood in post-war New Zealand, where classrooms were static places with obedience demanded and finite knowledge transferred, to a greater freedom of expression led also to a segregation of students with some degree of difference. We had children from seven different nations beside Māori and Pākehā[1] New Zealanders, two were refugees from war in Europe and one had a significant intellectual disability. Three of my classmates left primary school to go to work rather than secondary school, having been held back because of their learning difficulties.

In the transition period, children with intellectual and social difficulties like some of my classmates would have been removed, however subtly, to be placed in special classes, schools or residential institutions. The diversity of the classroom and its richness would have been reduced. In the interests of meeting the needs of the child, their exclusion from the regular

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[1] Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand. Pākehā is a term used for non-Māori New Zealanders.

classroom was assured. There is no doubt that this was well meaning just as it was consistent with international trends.

What has remained in our educational system, particularly at the secondary level, is the powerful influence of individualism and competition. While students in class are no longer seated in rank order (in my case changing each Monday following Friday's tests), there remains a general deficit model of a hierarchy of ability most obviously in streaming (tracking) even at primary level in some cases. Students are still withdrawn from class for additional tuition despite the lack of evidence that it improves their performance. In my own work I see example after example of students who have been withdrawn for years without any significant improvement.

The policy now though is toward inclusion (Ministry of Education, 1996). Special schools have reduced in size and number. Special classes are generally replaced by assistance in regular class and students with disabilities are entitled under law to attend the school of their parents' choice (New Zealand Government, 1989). While these trends are honoured more in the breach in some cases, it is a welcome trend which is gaining ground. Two issues emerge from this trend that challenge our capacity not only to make the move a success but also to meet the needs of all our children in preparation for the new century.

The first of these is how we make schools workable in terms of inclusion. It is not enough that a teacher is willing to make the necessary adjustments for one individual student. While this is important, and we know a great deal about how to achieve it, the notion of one-at-a-time intervention is inefficient and, ultimately, ineffective. We will not meet the objective of meeting diverse needs of children that way. The alternative is much harder to achieve. It demands that systems within schools are structured in such a way that diversity is taken for granted and the school is so managed that children with diverse and complex needs are catered for as a matter of course. This is a challenging demand on schools which, in the case of secondary schools in particular, have proceeded on a deficit philosophy since compulsory education was introduced.

The second issue that has arisen in recent years is the recognition that the new century is one characterised by rapid change and a demand for flexibility. Graduates of our school system will need to be sure footed as they learn to work and live together in a complex and sometimes volatile world. It is often said that education is a conservative institution, reflecting society rather than leading it. I suspect that today schools are matching society's needs in some areas but remain conservative at heart.

The notion of effective teaching has been transformed in the last fifty years from simpler prescriptions of what to teach and how, to a recognition that learning is an active process. Early work by Cantor (1953) and Flanders (1965) demonstrate the closer observance of interactions between teachers and their students. Change has been slow (see Cuban, 1993). Teachers have learned, however, to assess learning needs more effectively and to identify learning intentions for individuals and classes. There is a wide literature on effective teaching and learning to support these changes (Ellis and Worthington, 1994; Lewis and Norwich, 2000; Marzano, 2000; Swanson, 2001; Ysseldyke and Christenson, 1998). Recently there have been extensive efforts made by the Ministry of Education, for example the best evidence synthesis *Quality Teaching for Diverse Students* (Alton-Lee, 2003) and, with the University of Auckland, *asTTle* (Ministry of Education and the University of Auckland, 2003) to support teachers in these efforts.

There remains the issue of developing a powerful teaching approach to support the inclusion of a diverse range of students and which is well researched, attends to social as well as academic needs, and encourages student interaction with their academic tasks. Cooperative learning has been practised in many guises for more than a century in formal education and, as a concept, since antiquity. In its modern form, cooperative learning is based around a set of fundamental principles first set out by David and Roger Johnson (Johnson and Johnson, 1975). By establishing these principles, the Johnsons were able to bring together the essential components of active, focused cooperation in the classroom. True cooperative learning is now generally accepted to include these five elements - positive interdependence, individual accountability, face to face interaction, small group skills, and group reflection - which I shall describe later.

A number of other researchers have followed the work of the Johnsons in setting out ways in which cooperative learning can function. The most widely known is the work of Robert Slavin who has systematically researched a range of approaches which tie cooperative learning to team work and reward systems (e.g., Slavin, 1991). Spencer Kagan developed a form of cooperative learning which allowed teachers to use cooperative methods in "snapshot" activities, using the five fundamental approaches of the Johnsons (Kagan and Kagan, 1994) while Yael and Schlomo Sharan followed a group investigation approach not unlike the New Zealand project model (Sharan and Sharan, 1994). There are other forms of cooperative learning including Jigsaw (Aronson and Patnoe, 1997) and Complex Instruction (Cohen and Lotan, 1995). Finally, in our own work Charlotte Thomson and I have proposed the concept of strategic cooperative learning (Brown, 1992; Brown and Thomson, 2000); I shall deal with these approaches later in this chapter.

Cooperative learning has its foundations in social interdependence theory. Morton Deutsch (1949) developed this theoretical approach in his groundbreaking work in what he called "promotive interdependence." In his study of interaction among workers, Deutsch found that goals were reached more effectively when group members saw themselves as interdependent and actively promoted their colleagues in achieving common goals. From this work emerged the concept of positive interdependence, the notion that individuals can work together to meet common goals, supporting each other as they do so. The opposite, of course, is negative interdependence when individuals are in competition with each other and fail to assist, or even try to inhibit the success of others.

The ways in which goal orientation occurs within groups will influence the behaviour of students. If competition, individualism or cooperation is encouraged, groups of students will behave accordingly. Teachers can create the conditions which are most likely to create a sound, effective and safe working environment. In many cases, teachers will develop a goal orientation which suits their own preferences. Whether these preferences are consistent with what the research suggests is important. The traditional goal orientation of schools has been individualistic at best and competitive as the "default" approach, particularly, but not exclusively, in secondary schools.

Cooperative learning has a goal orientation which seeks to have students work together to achieve commonly agreed objectives. It is not prescriptive in nature. Teachers can and do make adaptations to suit their own approach to teaching. In many ways this is an advantage since it allows teachers to find ways to adapt the approach to their own classrooms and the capacities and nature of their students. Spencer Kagan encourages teachers to develop their own structures in his structural method.

A number of studies have been conducted to identify which goal structure is most helpful to students. This is an important issue as we consider the implications for a diverse range of students. Diversity might be thought of as encompassing a few or many students. If we consider students with identified special teaching needs, then the percentage of students may be seen as low – estimates vary internationally between six to twelve percent approximately. If we consider students with particular characteristics such as those with mobility needs then again, the incidence will be low. On the other hand, students who struggle with the curriculum may constitute 20 to 30% of the school population. In more general terms, we might ask: what conditions suit the academic and social needs of all students – how do they respond? And finally under what conditions do we, as a society, wish to see our children brought up in our schools? What is the best goal structure to meet the demands of the 21st century?

THE RESEARCH

The developers of cooperative learning have been highly productive in researching their own methods and those of their colleagues. So too have independent researchers who have compared cooperation to other forms of goal structures as well as its impact on different populations of students. Research has focused on at least five areas: comparisons with other goal structures, comparisons within the cooperative goal structure (the different approaches), investigations of the impact on different populations, checking the responses of students to their involvement in cooperative learning, and the integrity of the use of the method.

In general, the evidence favours the use of cooperative learning as a preferred goal structure. A number of studies and meta-analyses have been conducted to assess the impact of cooperative learning compared to competitive and individualistic approaches to teaching. Marzano (1998) used a meta analysis of contrasted studies comparing cooperative learning with individualised and competitive approaches to goal structure. The high effect sizes of cooperation versus competition and individual tasks (0.78) over a wide range of studies (70 and 104) clearly demonstrate the power of cooperative learning.

Other studies have reported consistent results. In their own meta analysis Johnson, Johnson, and Stanne (2000) reviewed 164 studies covering eight different approaches to cooperative learning. The cooperative methods showed a consistently greater impact on learning than competitive (effect size 0.67) or individualistic (effect size 0.64) approaches to teaching. In an editorial comment as 'editors at large' for Educational Researcher, Leming and Hollifield (1985) described cooperative learning as "a research success story" (p.28). Studies have been conducted in a number of subject areas: Bowen (2000), for example, demonstrated the value of cooperative learning in high school and tertiary classes in mathematics and science. It is a viable approach with very young children as Pardy-Comber, Walker, and Moore (2004) have demonstrated. That cooperative learning works seems to be undisputed.

The advantage of cooperative learning as a methodology is, as I have pointed out earlier, its great flexibility. It is not a prescriptive method, requiring only that the fundamental principles are observed. Thus teachers can adapt instruction and make provision for diverse learning needs of their students. Thus work with subgroups of children is possible. Studies

with gifted children, for example, have shown that students can be assisted by adapting the classroom arrangements (Coleman and Gallagher, 1995). Jacques, Wilton, and Townsend (1998) demonstrated the positive impact on acceptance of students with special teaching needs in regular classrooms. A study by Madden and Slavin (1983) showed that though it didn't increase actual friendship patterns, cooperative learning methods increased the acceptance of students with disabilities in regular classrooms.

Slavin et al. (1991) have taken the notion of inclusion (or mainstreaming as it was then conceived) using cooperative learning a step further with his concept of "never streaming". Slavin's proposition is while general education teachers need support and skills in assisting students with special teaching needs, that is not sufficient. Instead, he and his colleagues proposed (p. 37) an "emphasis on *prevention* and on *early, intensive and continuous intervention* to keep student performance within normal limits" (original emphasis). Since the emphasis on inclusion rather than simple mainstreaming has developed, the notion of schools catering for diversity has taken greater hold. Cooperative learning has featured strongly in developments aimed at more effective programmes for students with additional or challenging learning needs, as well as for those who are capable of maintaining pace academically but whose diverse cultural backgrounds are different from the majority of other children.

Cooperative learning is a western concept, however. Its application in a number of countries was noted in a special edition of the International Journal of Educational Research in 1995. The editors of that edition, Shwalb and Shwalb (1995) cite personal correspondence with Ted Graves who, with Nancy Graves had an early influence on the introduction of cooperative learning in New Zealand and who worked in the Pacific for some time. Graves suggested that cooperative learning has developed across Europe, Israel, Latin America, [and Australasia] where it may not have been so readily accepted in an individualistic and competitive society, yet at that time had had little impact on more cooperative cultural beliefs, citing Africa as an example. To this might have been added Asia generally, though this may now be changing. In the same edition Davidson (1995) notes that "Different forms of cooperative learning are more likely to thrive in different cultures….Cooperative practices for the classroom are more likely to gain acceptance when they are consonant with a culture's values and practices related to cooperation" (p. 199). This point is picked up in an insightful review of cooperative learning in Asia by Nguyen, Elliott, Terlouw, and Pilot (2009). These authors argue for recognition of a nation's cultural heritage and against a Eurocentric approach to the application of cooperative models.

Within the New Zealand context, cooperative learning has been relatively well received, perhaps in part because of the egalitarian aspects of our culture. The New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) is redolent with the values found in cooperative learning. None-the-less the success of Māori and Pasifika students does not always match that of other students. There is a good case for believing that sensitivity to cultural aspects of these students' backgrounds is a major contributor to this situation (Gorinski and Fraser, 2006). Matching pedagogy to culture, as noted above by Nguyen et al. (2009) is a necessary prerequisite to success. As Bishop and his colleagues (e.g., Bishop, Berryman, Powell, and Teddy, 2006; Bishop and Glynn, 2000) have demonstrated, assisting schools toward a bicultural approach can be highly effective in changing this fault in our education system. The use of cooperative learning is one feature of this approach.

One element of assisting students to find their place in school is through their level of comfort within the culture of the school. Where this matches the culture of their own community, there is a widened opportunity for active engagement with the curriculum – an essential element of academic success. This concept of comfort seems to be associated with friendships and sound peer relationships (Hamm and Faircloth, 2005). As Roseth, Johnson and Johnson (2008) have demonstrated, sound peer relationships fostered in a cooperative learning environment lead to both academic success and social ease. It may well be this concept of 'place' to perhaps enhanced by cooperative learning, which is one of the keys to effective inclusion of minority cultures. In the New Zealand case, it is a matter of biculturalism, not just inclusion that is the critical issue.

USING COOPERATIVE LEARNING TO EFFECT CHANGE

One factor influencing this gradual change toward developing inclusive classrooms has proved to be the capacity of teachers to manage change. Responding to innovative teaching strategies depends a great deal on teacher self-efficacy. As Wong (1997) says, "We cannot reach the point of getting teachers to value empirically validated teaching approaches if they do not have sufficient self-efficacy to risk trying them out" (p. 483). Consequently building self-efficacy in teachers would appear to be a priority in bringing about changes in teaching practice.

Ghaith and Yhaghi (1997) have examined the issue of teacher efficacy with respect to cooperative learning and considered if it is a matter of a more general attitude toward change - what they call general efficacy - that is important. Using cooperative learning as their change variable, these authors found that personal efficacy was a contributing factor to a willingness to adopt the new teaching approach, regardless of teaching experience.

The history of change in teaching approaches is not one of a rapid or dramatic movement, particularly at the secondary level (Cuban, 1993; McLaren, 1985). In part this may be contextual; for example as Ellins and Porter (2005) noted, teachers of core subjects at one secondary school were less flexible in adapting to students with special teaching needs than those of elective subjects. In science in particular, where teacher attitudes were least positive, students made least progress. While this is a study of only one school, it was carefully constructed and resonates with the general literature in the field.

The issue of maintenance of change is also important. Ysseldyke (2001) represents others in the research community who note the failure of schools to take up well established and well researched innovations in teaching practice. Ishler, Johnson, and Johnson (1998) followed 158 teachers engaged in a cooperative learning staff development programme. Surveyed three years later they found that the most important variable in taking up and maintaining cooperative learning was membership of a collegial teaching team. Such variables as gender, age and experience had no real bearing on the result; rather it was the capacity to work together to enhance the work of the individual teachers which was the important ingredient in this study. Perhaps here lies the critical element in encouraging schools to take up practices which meet the challenges of diversity. It raises the challenge for the development of a truly cooperative school system. I have seen many cooperative classrooms and many teachers in different countries successfully implementing cooperative

learning. But I have only seen one truly cooperative school, led by an inspirational teacher, Peter Hodne, at Highlands Elementary School in Edina, Minnesota. I'm sure there are other such schools and I hope to have the chance to visit them some day.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Cooperative learning, then, seems to appeal to teachers who are confident of their capacity to work with a diverse range of students. Those who are successful understand the principles of cooperative learning noted earlier in this chapter. They know how to be flexible in their use of the method whether they follow the generic model of the Johnsons, the structural approach, group investigation, jigsaw, student teams, or complex instruction.

This chapter cannot offer detail on how to implement cooperative learning – a list of useful sources is provided below – but a very brief description of each variation of cooperative learning will help to show ways to implement the method. I'll begin with the overall purpose of the method and the basic principles set out by the Johnsons (1975).

Cooperative learning has three main purposes – to help students to improve academic skills by working together, to teach the skills of working together, and to enhance what might be called 'thinking interaction'. Cooperative learning engages students in higher order thinking skills while at the same time teaching how to ensure constructive controversy. In other words, through active engagement with challenging academic tasks, sometimes involving constructive conflict, students learn to work together, to learn from each other, and to respect the viewpoints of others even when they differ widely from their own.

The Johnsons set out five fundamental principles which can be found in any cooperative learning activity. Positive interdependence, the core of cooperative learning, builds among groups and classrooms the understanding that each class member is a valuable contributor to the agreed goals of any endeavour. Whether it is a single task or a continuing element of class climate, students are aware of each other's contribution and make it possible for all classmates to play a part.

Individual accountability leads to every class member being able to stand alone, having had the support of the group or class. When a safe environment is created and positive interdependence has ensured every student is included and assisted, it is much more likely that students will have the confidence to take an individual position, or be willing to be independently responsible for the outcomes of their behaviour.

Face to face interaction is a natural corollary of group skills. When students are grouped, be it in pairs or small numbers, they can communicate with each other readily and with confidence. In cooperative groups, students learn to encourage each other, clarify and comment on the contributions of other group members. Students are focused and can offer verbal and non-verbal feedback – it shows! The busy atmosphere of close engagement is visible to an observer.

Small group skills are taught. Students need to learn how to interact with each other, how to support or challenge, how to manage a group at work, how to lead or follow the leadership of others. These are complex skills, not always present even among adult groups, and require patience and practice to become automatic. Once established, they lead to smooth running groups, capable of working autonomously. In the early stages, students may need to be taught to stay together, use each other's names and maintain a quiet, focused work pattern. Later,

they learn to concentrate on effective communication, ensuring everyone is included and maintaining courteous interaction within the group. It is in this phase of development that students learn to rotate leadership and roles of group maintenance such as sharing resources, allocating tasks and managing disputes.

As students become sophisticated group members, they learn the skills of devising strategies for problem solving, elaborating on ideas, justifying positions taken and extending and developing the ideas of others. All of these skills can be found in well organised cooperative groups and though very young children may not reach the sophistication and autonomy of older students, it is surprising how quickly they all learn and how responsible they can become in managing the learning tasks required of them.

The last of the five elements of cooperative learning is that of self evaluation via reflection on how well their group or class has managed a task, how closely they have focused on the goals set and how they need to improve in future tasks. It is through this group reflection that students learn to critically appraise their own performance and respond to the challenges they and their teacher have set.

All five of these characteristics of cooperative learning will be found in a truly cooperative classroom. While all these skills must be taught it is important that lesson and task construction, the role of the teacher, is built around these skills. Lesson plans and learning intentions are constructed with these elements in mind.

If we observe a cooperative learning lesson in motion, we should see all of these elements in play. Whether it is a longer term task such as a project or extended enquiry following the style of the Johnsons, the Sharans or Elizabeth Cohen, or the shorter activities set out by Spencer Kagan or in a Jigsaw task, these five elements will be obvious. In the list of resources provided at the end of this chapter you will find details of how to establish cooperative learning in classrooms from early childhood to tertiary level. Each method has its merits; finding a match with individual teaching styles is not hard. Some teachers wish to establish a whole classroom cooperative learning model. Others prefer to intersperse their more traditional teaching styles with the use of cooperative learning activities.

CONCLUSION

The evidence is that in classes using cooperative learning, the method enhances the academic and social interaction of all students, including those who struggle with the curriculum or find traditional classrooms less accepting of their difference. At all levels of education, cooperative learning can be shown to influence both academic and social outcomes. In the world of the 21st century, we have no choice but to find ways of assisting schools to work better with a diverse range of students.

While cooperative learning is a complex approach to learning, it can be adopted by any teacher to enhance the social and academic life of the classroom. In a world where conflict resolution is an ongoing challenge both internationally and within the more diverse cultural mix of so many countries, cooperative learning prepares students to manage conflict better, to interact effectively within their community and to learn self discipline within an encouraging and supportive school environment.

How cooperative learning is taken up is very much a matter of teacher preference and cultural imperatives. While cooperative learning has the potential to enhance the educational and social progress of students, it is not a prescriptive methodology. Teachers can use as much or as little of cooperative pedagogies as they find helpful. Equally, cooperative and collaborative methods must fit with the cultural approaches to cooperation that exist within different cultures.

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Useful Resources

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Chapter 4

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT

This chapter expands discussions of culturally responsive pedagogy by focusing on the responsibilities and challenges of classroom organisation and management. A case story is introduced to demonstrate aspects of culturally responsive classroom management (CRCM). New Zealand theoretical examples of CRCM are introduced and the challenge of teaching cultural concepts to teachers of a different culture is raised. The chapter emphasises that CRCM is about cultivating a perspective through which classroom teachers view behaviour and develop an ongoing critique of their practice grounded in social justice and equity.

Key words: *culture, classroom management, behaviour*

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this chapter is to examine culturally responsive classroom management in New Zealand. Classroom management encompasses many teacher practices and behaviours to promote learning including establishing routines, developing rapport, managing transitions, enabling positive student relationships, and responding to individual needs. Culturally responsive classroom management (CRCM) is fundamentally concerned with addressing diversity in the classroom in ways that reflect and respect the culture of all students. This chapter uses an example taken from the author's practice to demonstrate how perception and culture can influence the management of Māori students in schools.

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The remainder of this chapter is divided into four sections. Section one provides a case scenario taken from the culmination of the author's casework as an educational psychologist. The second section reviews current research in the area of CRCM. The third section examines the five CRCM attributes in light of the case example whilst the final section explores the implications for developing teachers.

MISCONCEPTION AND MISUNDERSTANDING

In 2002, I was working as an educational psychologist supporting local schools. I was asked to intervene in a situation involving Tama, a 13-year-old boy who was Māori and physically large, standing as tall as his teacher, Maryanne. Maryanne described him as argumentative, defiant, and stated he would often refuse instructions. When talking with Maryanne she said Tama had too much attitude, he was threatening, and she felt scared of him. She claimed the other boys respected Tama and that it was "him against her" in the classroom when trying to manage the class.

When I met with Tama he looked me in the eye, spoke assertively, told me that the teacher didn't like him, that she didn't listen to him, that she would do things to make him look "stink" in front of his classmates. His explanation for his behaviour was that he wasn't being disrespectful to the teacher; he was just stating his point of view, but that she would yell at him, call him names and tell him not to answer back. He felt that the teacher often "took him on" in front of the class leaving him no option but to stand his ground so he wouldn't lose face. Tama stated that he often spent time out of class on detention, and spent his interval (break) and lunchtime sitting facing a wall.

I went to visit Tama's grandparents who he lived with. They welcomed me in, gave me a cup of tea, and we talked about our links to each other in the community. Arthur, Tama's grandfather, described how Tama was the eldest grandchild in the family. He was considered the future leader of the family, and as such had always lived with his grandparents. They discussed how they taught him about his whakapapa[1], his place in the whānau[2] and how he came from a long line of prominent Māori leaders in the community. He had been taught to speak his mind, to put forward his point of view, and to question authority, as Arthur considered that he needed to learn these skills in order to become the leader of the family. Arthur stated that the future of his whānau was dependent on Tama's strength and mana[3]. Not only did he need to know about his culture but he needed to grow up to be a man, to have mana, to be strong and to be able to face adversity. Arthur felt that the Pākehā[4] teacher and the school didn't understand Tama and they wanted to take away his mana.

It is clear from this example that the teacher held a different perception of Tama's behaviour than either Tama or his whānau. In this situation, the teacher held behavioural expectations that did not match those of Tama and his whānau. The following section examines how culturally responsive classroom management might provide the teacher with

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[1] Genealogy, lineage.
[2] Family; extended family; descent group.
[3] Prestige, power, authority, integrity, status.
[4] Non-Māori, usually person of European descent.

another perspective and the skills and strategies to respond appropriately while also respecting the cultural aspirations of the whānau.

BACKGROUND

Educational expectations, practices, and policies reflect the values of the individuals who create them; as a consequence, judgments about student disruption are infused with cultural norms. Decisions concerning behaviour expectations and interactions are created within a culturally specific frame (Munroe, 2005). When teachers and students are not of the same culture, as is often the case in New Zealand, cultural discontinuity in the classroom is likely to occur. Teachers can misperceive their students' culturally specific behaviours, and likewise students may not understand the behavioural expectations of the teacher and school (Cartledge, Singh, and Gibson, 2008). Therefore teachers need to acquire "cultural competence and skills related to culturally sensitive behaviour management and social skill development" in order to take steps to bridge this divide (Cartledge et al., 2008, p. 35).

If schools are to function in a culturally responsive manner, classroom teachers need to critically examine and reconstruct their understanding of what it means to manage behaviour. Research (Kyles and Olafson, 2008; Levitt, 2001; Richardson, 1996; Stuart and Thurlow, 2000) demonstrates that there is a powerful relationship between a teacher's personal life experiences and beliefs and how one teaches. Therefore ethnic and socio-economic background, gender, geographic location, religious upbringing, and life decisions can affect an individual's beliefs which, in turn, affect teaching (Richardson, 1996). These beliefs relate not only to the teacher's efficacy for teaching diverse learners (Alderman, 1999), but their ability to manage the classroom in a culturally responsive manner.

A pre-service teacher who holds biased beliefs, demonstrates biased behaviour, and is unaware that those beliefs and behaviours are biased, is not likely to provide an equitable learning environment (Alderman, 1999). Graduating secondary pre-service teachers in New Zealand have reported biased beliefs and deficit theorising regarding Māori students and their families (Bondy and Savage, 2004). If these biased attitudes remain unchanged, developing teachers will not only be challenged to manage diverse classrooms but may unwittingly contribute to the inequity evident in our current system. The figure below demonstrates the cultural interpretations that teachers and students have to navigate in the classroom.

Culturally responsive classroom management is a result of early efforts by researchers to increase teachers' cultural awareness. Sheets and Gay (1996) introduced the concept of culturally responsive discipline and indicated that its purpose was "for teachers to create caring and nurturing relationships with students, grounded in cooperation, collaboration, and reciprocity rather than the current teacher controlling-students compliance patterns" (p. 92). Subsequent researchers focused on culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 2001) and culturally responsive teacher behaviours (Gay, 2000), which address the need for teachers to develop the knowledge, skills, and predispositions to teach children from diverse racial, ethnic, language, and social class backgrounds. Weinstein, Curran, and Tomlinson-Clarke (2003) focused specifically on the tasks and challenges of classroom organisation and management.
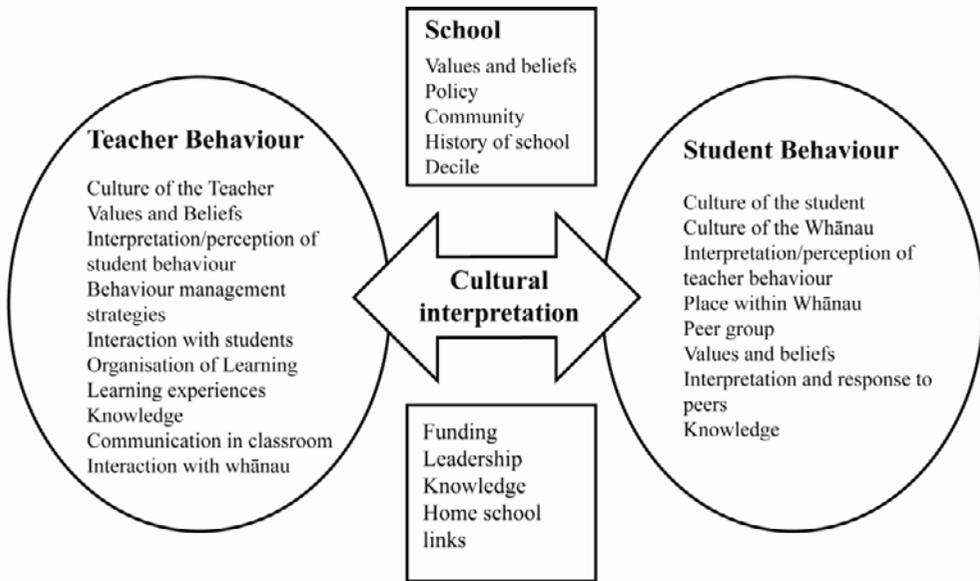
Figure 1. Cultural interpretations in the classroom.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHER BEHAVIOUR

Culturally responsive classroom management (Weinstein et al., 2003) is comprised of five essential components, which are based on the literature on culturally responsive pedagogy, multicultural counselling, and caring.

The first component is the *recognition of one's own ethnocentrism,* or recognising that we see the world from the perspective of our own culture. This is important because it helps teachers become more aware of how their beliefs and practices are connected to their culture. We interpret the world through our own cultural lens, which can make it difficult to see the world from another perspective. A culturally responsive Pākehā teacher needs to understand what it means to be Pākehā in New Zealand society. They should to be able to articulate the values implicit in Pākehā society such as the emphasis on individual achievement, independence, control, and efficiency, and subsequently recognise that these norms may differ from those of other cultural backgrounds.

To do this, teachers need to operate within a structure of reflection and self awareness, to be reflective about their own cultural practice, and identify what further skills they need for working with cross-cultural groups. Cartledge, Singh, and Gibson (2008) found that culturally competent teachers not only take the time to learn about the culture of their students, they will also take time to learn about themselves. They come to recognise their personal biases, that their worldview is not universal and that their cultural norms are not absolute (Tucker et al., 2005).

In Tama's case, the teacher was unaware that she was viewing her students' behaviour through a monocultural lens. From her perspective, teachers hold classroom power and students who question the teacher's authority are undermining that power. The implication of this belief is that the teacher misinterprets Tama's intent when he questions decisions in the

classroom. Her apprehension of Tama may even allude to a belief or fear that big Māori men are frightening, a conviction often reinforced by the media and society (Poata-Smith, 1996). By bringing our implicit, unexamined cultural biases to a conscious level we are less likely to misinterpret the behaviours of our culturally different students and treat them inequitably (Weinstein, Tomlinson-Clarke and Curran, 2004).

The second component is *knowledge of students' cultural backgrounds.* Knowledge is necessary in order to develop the skills for cross-cultural interaction. Cultural identity is complex and multifaceted and, as Gay (2000) notes, descriptions of culture are "merely approximations of reality" (p. 12). Māori are not a homogenous group and do not all behave the same way. In fact many other sub-cultures and experiences may also impact and shape behaviour, for example, urbanisation, music, and peer group. However, there is definite value in encouraging teachers to recognise culturally-based behaviours that are not intended to be disruptive.

School practices and behaviour interventions should not erode but support Māori cultural aspirations. In order to do this meaningfully both school managers and teachers need to have knowledge and respect of Māori culture and protocols and an ability and willingness to use culturally appropriate management strategies. Berryman and Bateman (2008) claim that for many Pākehā, Māori cultural protocols require a "shift in mindset away from the familiar ways in which they prefer to engage in Māori or Pākehā space to learning how to engage respectfully in legitimate Māori cultural spaces" (p. 29).

Tama was valued as a leader in his own whānau. He was expected to take a leadership role and had been encouraged to do so since he was a young boy. The expectations, aspirations, and culture of the whānau meant that Tama's life outside school differed greatly to the school's expectations. Knowledge of this may have changed the perception of his intent and behaviours at school.

The third component is developing an *understanding of the broader social, economic, and political context* in order for teachers to understand the pursuit of social justice and the need for culturally responsive classrooms. To work from a strength-perspective schools and teachers must be aware of the wider social, economic, and political environments that have in the past contributed to the inequity in New Zealand society.

The structure and practices of schools, such as uneven distribution of resources, testing, and streaming, can privilege select groups while marginalising or segregating others (Weinstein et al., 2004). Without a critical and informed eye the beliefs and practices in our schools can proceed unchallenged, and the culturally based nature of discipline will remain an unquestioned component of school life (Munroe, 2005).

Through the process of colonisation, Tama's whānau had lost their land and therefore their economic means. Like many other Māori, the cohesiveness and foundation of their iwi[5] and their aspirations had been compromised by their children having to leave the town to gain employment (Poata-Smith, 1997). Knowledge of the impact of colonisation in New Zealand and of the obligations of the Crown under the Treaty of Waitangi[6] may have assisted the teacher in understanding the perspective of the whānau. Tama was recognised as a leader in his whānau, and through him the whānau were working towards reviving and reinstating their cultural knowledge and their mana.

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[5] Tribe.
[6] The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 between the British Crown and Māori tribes.

The fourth component is the ability and willingness to use *culturally appropriate management strategies*. Teachers need to become familiar with culturally specific behavioural norms and implement culturally responsive strategies. Weinstein et al. (2004) describe CRCM strategies as emphasising self regulation, community building, and social decision-making rather than behaviouristic approaches that reward and punish. There are currently two theoretical models in particular that advance CRCM in New Zealand, the Te Kotahitanga programme (Bishop, Berryman, Powell, and Teddy, 2007) and the Hikairo Rationale (Macfarlane, 2007). Both models aim to increase the cultural knowledge of teachers and describe strategies and teacher behaviour which aim to improve Māori achievement in schools.

The most comprehensive programme in New Zealand schools to address Māori student achievement is Te Kotahitanga (Bishop et al., 2007). In response to student narratives the Te Kotahitanga programme developed an Effective Teacher Profile (ETP) which is the major tool in the construction of an in-school professional development model aimed at changing teacher behaviour. Anti-deficit thinking, agentic positioning, and the six demonstrable elements of the ETP are the essential threads which they describe as a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations.

Macfarlane (2007) explicitly examines teacher behaviour and attitudes in the Hikairo Rationale, in order to enable New Zealand teachers to manage behaviour in a culturally responsive manner. The Hikairo Rationale describes seven threads of teacher disposition and ways of working which are culturally responsive. Further, the model demonstrates that culturally responsive management means working with the whole whānau, engaging Māori, and creating space for the whānau to be part of the intervention, while also demonstrating that individual teachers need to be culturally aware in their approach and conduct.

Tama's teacher, Maryanne, relied on strategies in the classroom which were actually counter to Tama's experiences outside of school. Nuthall (2005) describes how teachers often reproduce the cultural rituals that they experienced at school without thinking critically about the impact of such methods. Maryanne may have unwittingly escalated the behaviour by employing strategies that challenged him in front of his peers and punished him. If Tama was given the opportunity to explain his point of view in a less threatening manner or participated in agreeing what might be fair rules in the classroom, he may be more likely to comply and support the rules of the classroom.

Finally, commitment to *building caring classrooms* is the fifth component. Gay (2000) writes that caring is a foundation of effective teaching and learning and the lack of it generates inequity in educational opportunities and achievement outcomes for ethnically different students. Research in New Zealand demonstrates that the relationships within the classroom are critical in establishing positive learning relationships and improving educational achievement (Bishop et al., 2007). Ross, Bondy, Gallingane, and Hambacher (2008) state that there are four attributes of classrooms that scaffold high achievement for culturally and linguistically diverse students:

> The first is a strong, caring, respectful relationship between students and the teacher. The second is a caring, respectful relationship among peers, creating a culture in which everyone feels safe enough to take risks. The third aspect is a task-focused, calm environment that enables everyone to concentrate and learn, and finally, the fourth aspect is high and clear expectations for academic performance. (p. 142)

From Tama's case information, it is apparent that the classroom environment for either Tama or Maryanne was not caring. Tama was often sent out of the classroom, relationships were strained and the other students in the class felt as though they had to choose sides. By creating a classroom where students and the teacher feel that they belong and where expectations are high but students are able to take responsibility for their learning, teachers can reduce the need for intervening with behaviour.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS

This final section presents the implications of CRCM for developing teachers. Underlying this discussion is the premise that CRCM is a frame of mind, more than a set of strategies or practices. Weinstein et al. (2004) see CRCM as having a wider reach than simply describing teacher behaviour, and advocate that it is a state of mind and a conscious act of critical reflection. CRCM teachers require a commitment to equity, a commitment to examining their own cultural lens and the ability to reflect on their actions and engage with Māori. While CRCM models in New Zealand describe strategies and reflective behaviours as guidelines for teachers, the dilemma of how we transform teacher behaviour still exists and raises several questions.

How do pre-service teachers, in particular Pākehā teachers, cross the bridge from their own cultural experiences and understandings of behaviour to one which is embedded in Māori concepts?

In Tama's case the cultural experiences of the teacher and student were so far apart that they were not able to navigate the space in between. The expectation is not that Maryanne should reproduce Māori values and behaviour, but whether she is able to reflect on her own perspectives and understandings in order to become more inclusive in her practice. If the teacher was able to move across the bridge in cultural understanding, the communication would improve, there may be more congruence in the understanding of behaviour and intent, and a respect may develop between the whānau, student and teacher.

Therefore having cultural knowledge is not enough to ensure that teachers are culturally responsive in their management. Teachers need to be able to couple this knowledge with an ability to critically reflect on their current practice. Classroom teachers need opportunities to examine and deconstruct the taken-for-granted practices and routines that many teachers use to manage classrooms year after year. This may be a discomforting process (Weinstein et al., 2003) and if teachers are not in a context committed to social justice this may not occur. CRCM may need to be a whole school policy initiative that examines wider management policies to develop an understanding of culturally responsive conduct rather than control and compliance.

If teachers do not have an understanding of Māori cultural concepts and values, are they able to enact strategies that are bound within a cultural framework?

Models that have been developed to improve cultural knowledge such as Te Kotahitanga and the Hakairo Rationale describe cultural concepts. However, in order to teach or represent

what 'mana' in the classroom looks like, you would need the cultural knowledge behind the term mana to understand what it means for Māori. To some extent the behaviours and values can be described in English, but it could be argued that these are Māori values that emerge from a Māori world view and to really understand these concepts the teacher would have to have some experience of what these terms mean in context. This would suggest that exposure to Māori culture through immersion may be the way to teach these cultural models. In Maryanne's case she was unaware of the whānau's cultural aspirations and the behaviour which they valued in Tama. Maryanne's perception was that these behaviours were "attitude," but if she were to see Tama in his own context, placed within his whānau, she might be able to reconceptualise and envision ways that Tama's strengths could be used in the classroom.

> Can non-Māori teachers reflect the qualities and values of Māori in order to create the conditions which encourage Māori cultural aspirations?

The implications for teachers and teacher educators, particularly those with limited exposure to Māori, is the ongoing need to be involved with Māori, to experience cultural protocols and values and to build relationships with Māori adults. Teachers in New Zealand ought not to rely on their contact with Māori students to teach them about Māori culture. Pākehā teachers need to become involved with their local community, and Māori need to be given access to be authentic partners in the education of their children in schools. Berryman and Bateman (2008) claim that by "developing and maintaining relationships of trust and respect with cultural experts and others, and by seeking to work within these cultural spaces, opportunities arise which enables individuals to see themselves in relation to others and to learn from these relationships" (p. 28).

CONCLUSION

Culturally responsive classroom management comes from the body of knowledge known as culturally responsive pedagogy, but examines how we manage culturally diverse students in the classroom in order to further the cause of social justice. The five components of CRCM: the recognition of one's own ethnocentrisms, knowledge of students' background, understanding the broader social and political context, culturally appropriate management strategies and building caring classrooms, focus on the teacher's ability to create and maintain an equitable classroom environment for all.

In New Zealand, the Te Kotahitanga programme and the Hakairo Rationale outline cultural knowledge and teacher disposition required to teach Māori students. Developing teachers need to involve themselves in cultural partnerships to understand the cultural content of such programmes. Culturally responsive classroom managers, while able to recognise their own biases and values, also reflect on how this affects the ways in which they organise learning, manage the classroom, and respond to behaviour they find challenging. As in the case presented for this chapter, culturally responsive classroom management is about acknowledging perspectives and going through the often discomforting task of reconstructing one's own ideals and preconceived notions about what teaching is.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Chapter 5

KNOWING EACH OTHER AS LEARNERS: MĀORI STUDENTS LEARNING MATHEMATICS

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Mehemea ka tika mai ā muri, ka rangatira te tū ā mua.
Everyone's contribution is needed and valued

ABSTRACT

For effective learning, teachers and students must understand themselves and each other as learners. New Zealand's bicultural society, as established in the Treaty of Waitangi[1], requires that the needs of indigenous Māori learners are met. This chapter describes strategies known to facilitate Māori students' mathematics learning. There are many inter-related factors which contribute towards successful mathematics learning for Māori children. We will focus on the concept of *Te Ira Tangata* (honouring all people and respecting all individuals)[2] within the context of teachers and students knowing one another as learners. Four areas will be discussed: development of effective teacher-student interactions; knowing individuals' learning preferences and needs; involving everyone; and using suitable encouragement, feedback, and praise. Themes from literature and our own research will be presented. The voices of students, teachers, and student teachers are used to highlight implications for teachers and teacher educators.

Keywords: *culturally responsive teaching, mathematics education, indigenous learners*

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[1] The Treaty of Waitangi is an agreement between Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand, and the British Crown signed in 1840. It is a founding document of New Zealand's nationhood, and promises partnership and equity for the co-signatories. New Zealand teachers have an obligation through professional standards to implement the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in their classrooms.

[2] As expressed in Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Piripono (2006).

INTRODUCTION

The opening proverb reminds us that all classroom participants play important roles in learning. We must therefore constantly ensure all students, including Māori, can be empowered to enjoy educational achievement. This chapter describes ways of developing the concept of *Te Ira Tangata* (honouring all people and respecting all individuals) in classroom practices in order to increase participation in learning.

BACKGROUND

The international literature on culturally responsive teaching explores ways to respond to, and build on, children's cultural capital (e.g., Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1995b; Villegas and Lucas, 2002; Wlodkowski and Ginsberg, 1995). New Zealand classrooms have tended to reflect the dominant New Zealand European culture and Māori children have seen little of their heritage or culture reflected in English-medium instruction (Glynn, Atvers, and O'Brien, 1999). New Zealand researchers are exploring ways to improve the engagement and achievement of Māori students (e.g., Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop, 2003; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, Teddy, and O'Sullivan, 2007; Hāwera, Taylor, Young-Loveridge, and Sharma, 2007; Trinnick and Keegan, 2008) providing useful background for the Ministry of Education Māori education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2008).

In this chapter we present ideas drawn both from our own research and that of other New Zealand researchers on bicultural and culturally responsive mathematics teaching practice. The first of our studies explored responses of 124 student teachers to the inclusion of culturally responsive practices in a primary (age 5-13 years) mathematics education course (Averill and Te Maro, 2003). The second investigated responses of a cohort of 12 student teachers to a primary mathematics education course developed around the metaphor of Māori tukutuku (woven panels) (Anderson, Averill, Easton, and Smith, 2005). In the third study three newly graduated teachers were interviewed about bicultural aspects of their mathematics teaching practice (Averill, Anderson, Easton, and Hynds, 2004). The final study focused on two schools where Māori students achieve well mathematically and comprised interview data from the principals, teachers and Māori students (Te Maro, Higgins, and Averill, 2008[3]).

These studies led to the development of a framework for culturally responsive mathematics teaching linking Māori conceptual understanding with teaching strategies (Averill, Te Maro, Taiwhati, and Anderson, 2009). This chapter explores the second of the four themes from the framework: understanding each other as learners. The other themes are: knowing and understanding each other; knowing and understanding each other's cultures; and enhancing feelings of cultural identity. The framework and this chapter include many Māori concepts, the meanings of which can vary according to the context in which they are enacted. Care must be taken to avoid superficial interpretation and implementation of concepts drawn from cultural constructs (Lee, 2005) and in this chapter we describe the concepts as they were reflected in our research.

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[3] This study was funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Education.

Four key strategies integral to the theme and concept of *Te Ira Tangata* are explored: developing effective teacher-student interactions; knowing the learning preferences and needs of individuals; involving everyone; and using suitable encouragement, feedback, and praise.

DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE TEACHER-STUDENT INTERACTIONS

Anthony and Walshaw (2007) describe the complexity of mathematics teaching and learning as an ecological, non-linear system inclusive of students, teachers, homes, and communities. Here we will examine how interactions and relationships that enhance mathematics learning may look and sound within this system. We will discuss relationships which impact on students' learning, how teachers establish teacher-student relationships, and the development of students' personal and mathematical identities.

Much research supports the notion that effective teachers care about their students and consciously work at developing learning focused relationships (e.g., Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richardson, 2003). Many relationships impact on students' learning. Among the most important to consider are those between teachers and their students, the students themselves, each teacher and their students' homes, teachers and the community, and principals and students. Teachers' views highlight the importance of developing a sense of community within and beyond the classroom:

> ...in the first day of school you try and build a relationship... I think [the children in my class] feel supported to take a risk... (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 45)
> …knowing who they are, what they do outside of school as well…it's like we're making connections there. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 45)

Student teachers suggested ways to strengthen home-school connections: asking students to share learning goals with parents; homework tasks involving parents; and "taking maths to the *marae* (meeting place) and bringing the *marae* to maths".

Encouraging parental involvement within the classroom is seen as beneficial for Māori students (Butterworth and Bevan-Brown, 2007). Teachers in our study deliberately encouraged parental participation in students' mathematics learning:

> I actively promote parental participation in the class… I take every opportunity when I do see them to give [parents] a positive vibe about school and tell them how well their child's doing. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 44)
> …at this school, they have that parent partnership and family–*whānau* (extended family) relationship … the kids get games to take home, and there are parent nights … using what we've learnt there in the classroom and vice versa … (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 44)

Using such opportunities to enhance the mutual proximity of students, the community, and teachers, helps to break down traditional barriers and nurture the relationships that impact on students' learning. Other examples that help foster mutual familiarity and a sense of shared endeavour between staff, students, and community include students having access to the staffroom and the school community having access to the school. One principal reported teaching across all classrooms to enhance his relationships with students and, through them, their families. Open and purposeful school environments enable stakeholders to:

…paddle the *waka* (canoe) in time, having a shared understanding of the purpose of the journey, using everyone's strengths. (Teacher)

Relationships and expectations are conveyed in the ways that the teachers interact with their students. Teachers set up interaction patterns, regulate participation (consciously or subconsciously), and convey their expectations about students' perseverance and learning from mistakes. They guide collective expectations about who might speak, when and how, what listeners might do, and encourage active involvement in learning:

We're always working in groups… I think they strategically sit in their circle now, knowing that they're going to have to talk to the person next to them. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 43)
I'm very eager to have everybody [attempting] it. That's why I make them whisper to the person next to them so I can make their lips move, rather than have just one person volunteer. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 43)

Effective teacher-student interaction includes knowing when to be quiet, when to encourage student-to-student communication, when to let students debate mathematical ideas amongst themselves, and when to provide support. Interaction that assists learning is honest and openly encourages students to recognise and share responsibility for their own progress and needs:

I have that [practice] in my room about finding out what they can do at each stage. "So you're at this stage, and this is what you can do. So now I need to move you from there up to there." [And they say,] "Oh, so that's what I need to do to get to there." [And] I say, "Yes." (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 44)

Teachers whose students achieve well mathematically enable students to develop their mathematical and cultural identities (Anthony and Walshaw, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2007). Teachers who have positive interactions and relationships with students are more likely to be able to nurture individual student identity because they create environments in which their students feel comfortable to be themselves, where students feel known, understood, and cared for, both personally and as mathematical learners. Interviews with teachers indicate that many believe teacher perseverance can also strongly influence the development of students' mathematical identity:

My personal philosophy is that everyone is going to achieve. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 45)
I think the most important characteristic is expectation – that you just expect of all children that they will achieve and don't let them off the hook. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 43)
I make sure to give them that thinking space … and that others stay out of their space, so each child gets a chance to get there … there are always children that need longer to think. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 43)
I'll go over the same material until I'm happy that the group is secure in it. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 47)

KNOWING THE LEARNING PREFERENCES AND NEEDS OF INDIVIDUALS

This section explores ways to understand learners' needs and preferences. Effective interactions between students and teachers as described above provide insights into student interests, learning needs and strengths. Observation and discussion with students build teachers' understanding of ways in which students feel comfortable to learn. Some students prefer to work independently and others collaboratively. Allowing and providing for a range of learning preferences will help more students engage with mathematics.

Researchers have sought to assign preferences to particular cultures in attempts to better match learning experiences with students' cultural backgrounds (Tyler et al., 2008). However, we must be wary in applying such generalisations to individuals. For example, there is a common belief among New Zealand teachers that Māori students prefer to work cooperatively. Yet when a group of 40 Māori primary students were asked about their learning preferences in mathematics only 40% indicated they preferred to work with friends in mathematics, 40% stated they always preferred to work alone, and the remainder said that they preferred to work with friends only when they found the mathematics too challenging (Hāwera, et al., 2007). Bishop (2003) advocates pedagogies that allow Māori students to present their individuality.

The Māori concept of *ako* (to teach and to learn) portrays the teacher as a partner in the learning process in contrast to a more didactic approach. Having teachers and students as learning partners allows students to use and share sense-making processes consistent with their individual cultural identity (Bishop, 2003). Ako is reflected in the New Zealand Numeracy Development Projects (NDP) through their emphasis on discussion of students' mathematical ideas and strategies. Teachers involved in the NDP have found that increased discussion has helped engage more students, including Māori:

> I noticed that the engagement for all of the kids was much more powerful…. [in the past mathematics learning] was just directed through the teacher, whereas this was directed through all the kids and it gave them an opportunity to talk… Everybody had a turn to speak. (Principal of school involved in NDP)

Privileging student voice builds relationships and mutual understanding that assists with diagnosis of needs and selection of appropriate contexts and strategies. It also demonstrates that students' knowledge is valued. The voices least likely to be heard in many classrooms are those of students whose teachers consider to be unsuccessful (Bishop, et al., 2007). Providing student thinking time and strategies such as "think pair share" help ensure these voices are heard (Te Maro et al., 2008). These strategies allow students to develop ideas, rehearse their articulation, build on each other's thinking, and place themselves within the learning.

English-medium schools in which Māori students achieve well, overtly value things Māori and target Māori students' mathematical achievement. Teachers in these schools identify needs, discuss as a team ways to address them, and monitor and evaluate the success of their interventions using evidence to inform and modify their practice (Te Maro et al., 2008). Being able to identify mathematical learning needs and develop ways to address them requires commitment to continual development of content and pedagogical knowledge (Anthony and Walshaw, 2007).

Time spent discussing students' reactions to mathematics topics, and providing a choice of relevant experiences are also features of classrooms in which Māori students achieve well (Te Maro et al., 2008). Context-based learning is consistent both with the New Zealand curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and with traditional Māori pedagogy (Hemara, 2000). A beginning teacher who introduced a Māori cultural context for a mathematics topic found this heightened interest in things Māori amongst non-Māori students (Averill et al., 2004). However, sound subject and pedagogical knowledge are needed to maximise mathematical learning opportunities afforded by such contexts. In a study conducted by Anderson et al. (2005), student teachers were able to identify a range of culturally relevant contexts and the associated mathematics once they had experienced such contexts for mathematics learning.

Student teachers report other pedagogies common in traditional Māori teaching and learning (Hemara, 2000) successful for engaging students. One of our student teachers commented on her use of games:

> Many children asked each day if we were going to do these activities... their motivation was very high. (Student Teacher)

Another found that the use of the *tuakana–tēina* (literally: older sibling-younger sibling) learning and teaching relationship, where more knowledgeable students assist their peers, engaged students for longer periods of time than other teaching strategies:

> I feel that motivation was raised as students that took on the role of *tuakana* confidently expressed their willingness to share their skills and knowledge with their peers. The students that were *tēina* demonstrated motivation by remaining on task through the duration of the session with the *tuakana* and engaged in discussion with their *tuakana* to extend their learning. Motivation was measured by the numbers of students that would complete making various polygons compared to the prior day's efforts. (Student Teacher)

The *tuakana–tēina* strategy is one example of how mathematical learning can be enhanced by grounding learning interactions in ways that access students' conceptual understanding, vital for maximising mathematical progress (Anthony and Walshaw, 2007). In order to access students' conceptual understanding, time and effort must be given to knowing students as individuals:

> Know where they're at … know their background … and treat them as individuals, because that's who they are. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 45)
> She does help me and teach me, and I think that helps, and I know her. (Student) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 45)

INVOLVING EVERYONE

The previous section discussed ways to enhance consistency between classroom teaching and learning and traditional Māori pedagogies. Similarly, it is important that strategies for classroom inclusiveness are consistent with a Māori worldview. This section considers school and classroom strategies for involving everyone as expressed in *Te Ira Tangata*. It is

important to include everyone and make opportunities within the school for teachers and students to be, and share of, themselves. MacFarlane, Glynn, Cavanagh, and Bateman (2007) have demonstrated that involvement of everyone is one way of improving the outcomes for Māori learners, and exposed risks of lack of inclusion (e.g., disengagement and lack of progress).

Involving everyone is commonly thought of as "inclusiveness" in teacher preparation courses. Student teachers reported increased awareness of the importance of inclusiveness as a result of learning experiences drawn from Māori contexts. They also commented that opportunities for students to use their own language contributed to shared responsibility for learning and encouraged motivation. Examples included encouraging students to use their preferred language to express names of polygons and the places in their environment where they have seen these shapes. Student teachers suggested that a further way of valuing the cultural capital of Māori students is through adopting Māori cultural practices in the classroom, for example by starting the day with a *karakia* (prayer).

An example of inclusiveness germane to the school sector is encapsulated by the term *whanaungatanga*. Bishop (2008) uses *whanaungatanga* to describe relationships which are deeper than those traditionally experienced between teachers and students. *Whakawhanaungatanga* is explained as the process of establishing and nurturing relationships (Bishop et al., 2007). These terms are useful for describing aspects of a safe school environment essential for many Māori students. Examples from beginning teachers of school practices that fostered *whanaungatanga* included the availability of support (including the provision of cultural advice) from Māori staff for children and teachers. One teacher talked about how much the support from Māori staff members meant to her as a non-Māori teacher:

> I know that I have found [one of the Māori staff members] very supportive if I've got anything in particular about Māori cultural practices, for example, that I feel a bit unsure about. She's a very supportive staff member to go to, and I feel free to ask her anything. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 41)

At the classroom level co-construction was a key strategy for involving everyone. One teacher commented that co-construction involved "working with people" and as "together ownership". She explained that the children "want to make sure that the person next to them also knows the answers, they don't like the idea of one of them being better than the next one". Further she said, "in that way it's more of an equal – 'we've decided', or, 'we did those', or, 'I helped this person' – that's what I mean by 'with'." She pointed out that "together ownership, rather than being a single ownership", was important to Māori students as "they don't want to be singled out" (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 43).

Co-construction also allows teachers to gain insights into the stage and progress of each child in the class:

> [I teach] by modelling first, then co-constructing with the kids that you know have been identified as needing more help, or more time, or more work, co-constructing with them. (Principal)

He explained that by focusing on a group rather than individuals one could be "getting them to group construct rather than individually construct ideas, [and] put [it] together and do all of that thinking and talking". He concluded that:

> Having that co-construction with the teacher and students together, and then the students going away as a group, worked really well. (Principal)

USING SUITABLE ENCOURAGEMENT, FEEDBACK, AND PRAISE

In this section we introduce several Māori conceptual understandings, the adoption of which helps build inclusive environments that promote co-construction and respect Māori cultural capital.

Praise in the classroom includes all expressions of approval, admiration, and support given by teachers to students for their efforts, achievements, abilities, and qualities (Butterworth and Bevan-Brown, 2007). Praise and encouragement can be expressed verbally and non-verbally. It is commonly held that the survival and development of *ngā ao Māori*[4] depends strongly upon the retention, maintenance, and revitalisation of the Māori language. In keeping with Pere (1982) and Henare's views (as cited by Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 34) that the Māori language is the life principle of the Māori people, one teacher identified giving praise in *te reo Māori* (Māori language) as a powerful way to demonstrate approval in a mathematics classroom:

> I'm a big advocate of positive reinforcement and I use it frequently in the classroom. I try and use as much *te reo* as I have at my fingertips to make those people for whom that is a language they've heard in their background feel that it's cool in here. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 40)

Tautoko and *awhi* are described as care, respect, and affection (Ministry of Justice, 2001). Metaphorically, awhi is nurturing, sheltering, protecting, and caring for others. Examples of tautoko and awhi observed by teachers include:

● support for and from others:
> …it's the support of your team… who you're working with. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 40)

● support for culture:
> ...seeing kids walk into the classroom and talk to a staff member in *te reo* and they answer them … that's a real positive to see a language used like that. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 40)
> Practices of *karakia* (prayer) are observed. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 40)

● support through using the NDP diagnostic assessment tools:
> You can show them all the data …and everybody feels good … and you can show that to the kids too. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 42)

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[4] Māori worlds. (It is commonly accepted that there are many manifestations of the Māori world, often referred to as *te ao Māori*. We recognise this plurality by using the plural, *ngā*, rather than the singular, *te*.)

Students identified how they see *tautoko* and *awhi* from teachers:

> ...then she'll just help us and will make us get them right. (Student) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 43)

> Teaching how *Whaea*[5] G teaches us, is nice and simple, and it doesn't get you bungled up, and it's easy. It's how she speaks, she won't get frustrated if we get it wrong, and she'll tell us that you're doing a good job. She encourages us. (Student) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 47)

Whakanui sits well with the concepts of *tautoko* and *awhi*. *Whakanui* encompasses respecting and praising others where it is due, giving thoughtful recognition to others, and reflects on the giver of praise as well as the receiver:

> …not singling the kids out unless it's in a positive way… (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 45)

> …they trust that I'm not going to throw [work that is difficult] at them… they won't be punished… they feel supported to take a risk. (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 45)

Whakaiti as a concept is a little more complex. It has two meanings. It describes people being humble and self-disciplined and is also used to describe actions that belittle or humiliate someone. *Whakamā*, the intense embarrassment brought upon a person through someone's negative actions of *whakaiti*, can be brought on by one's own actions, the possibility of getting something wrong, or of being called upon in front of others. It can also be caused by being praised in an inappropriate manner. Effective teachers of Māori students understand the concept of *whakamā* and its effect on their students, putting strategies in place to minimise these:

> Some of them get *whakamā* but I'll say to them, 'that's fine…' (Teacher) (Te Maro et al., 2008, p. 44)

This teacher emphasised the importance of students recognising their level of mathematical achievement and knowing what is needed for improvement. In so doing the students are not made to feel inferior; rather they focus on what to work on next.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS AND FUTURE TRENDS

While this chapter describes strategies apparent in classrooms where Māori students are achieving well mathematically, it is evident that there is a need for more targeted research into links between student achievement and culturally responsive teaching practices. Research into the impact of specific interventions on achievement would further illuminate ways to maximise mathematics learning for Māori students. Bishop's (2003) entreaty to allow Māori students to present themselves as individuals with individual needs and wants must be attended to. Research should therefore centre on recognition of, and catering for, individual students' needs and preferences. Specific foci could be the effects on learning of the use of thinking time, teacher-student interaction, encouragement, feedback, and praise.

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[5] Literally translated as mother or aunt, this term is commonly used for female teachers.

CONCLUSION

What is clear is that we must use everything we know to create learning environments in which Māori students feel respected and valued as people and as learners, where their diverse identities are acknowledged and nourished, and where they are motivated to learn well and to share responsibility for their own and others' learning. Holistic contexts consistent with Māori cultural values and beliefs, enriched by *whānau* and community members significant to the students, best provide all the ingredients necessary for maximising enjoyment, engagement, and academic success. Such environments maintain clear expectations for learning but allow for flexibility of learning approach, fun, humour, working together, and, in the widest sense, shared responsibility. In these places students are known and recognised as individual learners and, in the words of the opening proverb, the contribution of each to the whole is valued:

> Mehemea ka tika mai ā muri, ka rangatira te tū ā mua.

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Chapter 6

A BICULTURAL APPROACH TO TEACHING AND LEARNING FOR DIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

New Zealand is a bicultural nation. The Treaty of Waitangi is the foundation document governing this partnership. The authors' encounters with *Te Ao Māori* (Māori world) view have strongly influenced their teaching practice when catering for cultural diversity in the classroom. A description of research carried out by each author within their respective focus curriculum areas of teaching is relayed. The first contextualises Treaty of Waitangi and *Kaupapa Māori* (conceptualisation of Māori knowledge) principles within storytelling to promote socialisation and understanding of self, others and cultural perspectives in the drama classroom. The second describes how using *tikanga Māori* (Māori customary) approaches to technology inform teaching and learning for diversity. In this chapter case studies illustrate these bicultural approaches to drama and technology education and highlight implications for educators.

Key words: *bicultural education, storytelling, technology education*

INTRODUCTION

Situated learning theory underpins the authors' teaching and learning philosophies that cater for diversity. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that learning as it normally occurs is a function of the activity, context and culture in which it occurs. That is, it is situated. Social interaction is a critical component of situated learning where learners become involved in a community of practice. Brown, Collins, and Duguid (1989) emphasise the idea of cognitive

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apprenticeship as supporting learning by enabling students to acquire, develop and use cognitive tools in authentic contexts. They state that learning, both inside and outside school, "advances through collaborative social interaction and the social construction of knowledge" (p. 32).

The authors suggest that conventional schooling too often ignores the influence of culture on what is learned in classrooms. A rift between theory and practice can exist possibly due to the structures and practices of our education system. According to the New Zealand curriculum, "Learning is inseparable from its social and cultural context" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 34). By ignoring the situated nature of learning, education may not be accessible to all. Many students, including Māori, may encounter learning environments that are disconnected from their own lives and this might inevitably limit the effectiveness of learning. Brown, et al. (1989) state that "Many teaching practices implicitly assume that conceptual knowledge can be abstracted from the situations in which it is learned and used" (p. 32); however, this may well be a misguided assumption if the level of abstraction is strong.

We, the authors, therefore endorse an inclusive focus to teaching and learning for diversity in which students encounter collaborative social interaction and construction of knowledge as suggested by Brown, et al. (1989). In the context of the positions presented in this chapter, our inclusive approaches refer specifically to a bicultural focus. This is embedded in a *Te Ao Māori* world view which is explained later in the chapter.

New Zealand Māori, Asian and Pasifika populations are growing faster than European and other cultural groups and, as the population ages it is also becoming more ethnically diverse[1]. This will have profound implications for developing instructional programs (Gay, 2003). Luke and Goldstein (2006) argue that one of the greatest challenges for teachers of the 21st century is to modify curriculum to meet student learning needs in relation to diversity. In order that certain minority groups may retain their cultural knowledge and identities within a dominant culture, their world view must be understood and considered in all walks of life, particularly in education (McLaughlin and Tierney, 1993).

Our awareness and developing understanding of the *Te Ao Māori* world view have informed our approaches to teaching and learning for diversity. These understandings and approaches are explained and discussed in turn in the next two sections: teaching and learning for diversity in the drama classroom, and teaching and learning for diversity in the technology classroom.

TEACHING AND LEARNING FOR DIVERSITY IN THE DRAMA CLASSROOM

Bishop and Glynn (2000) maintain that accepting and celebrating cultural difference in order to address cultural diversity only perpetuates the existing pattern of dominance and subordination. Instead, they offer an analysis of a theory and practice approach – *Kaupapa Māori* (Smith, 1990, 1997) – that informs pedagogy:

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[1] http://www.stats.govt.nz/products-and-services/Articles/census-snpsht-cult-diversity-Mar02.08htm.

Learning and teaching are to be reciprocal and interactive; home and school learning are to be interrelated; learners are to be connected to each other and learn with and from each other. Finally, a common set of goals and principles should guide the process. (Bishop and Glynn, 2000, p. 5)

The Treaty of Waitangi, the legal foundation document of New Zealand[2], was signed between Māori and the Crown. The two versions of the Treaty (one written in Māori and one in English) were different, possibly as a result of misinterpretations or misunderstandings through translation. The New Zealand Courts and Parliament developed three Treaty principles in order to honour the accord (State Services Commission, 2005). According to Bishop and Graham (1997) these three principles (partnership, active protection, and participation) are required to guarantee Māori a share in decision making in schools and the power to define and protect treasures and equality of opportunity and outcomes. As teachers (one an infant immigrant in the 1950s and the other a first generation New Zealander) in this bicultural nation we recognise our obligations to the Treaty principles which are integrated into our philosophies of teaching and learning in the classroom.

The first author now discusses ideas from a *Kaupapa Māori* theory and practice approach with her understanding of the Treaty within the context of storytelling. In this context in terms of the Treaty, the students (and their languages) are perceived as the treasures to be actively protected. With the teacher, students co-construct the underlying principles that guide participation in learning. A *Kaupapa Māori* approach offers a shared power arrangement that allows for student interactions in positive learning experiences, and privileges student voices. The teaching and learning strategy of storytelling provides the vehicle to implement these approaches. Data from a case study offer evidence to support and justify this way of working, that in 4 one-hour workshops further developed participant understandings of themselves, others and cultural perspectives built relationships and influenced a change in participant attitudes towards others (Baskerville, 2008).

Case Study: Background

This case study class consisted of 24 students (11 boys and 13 girls) aged between 13 and 14 years in their third week of a new Year 10 drama module. The cultural mix included New Zealand European (63%), Māori (17%), Māori European (8%), Samoan (4%), Fijian Indian (4%), and New Zealand German (4%). At the beginning of this process participants were relatively unknown to one another and they had little experience of sharing personal information about themselves, or working outside their friendship groups.

Principles that guided the teaching and learning process were designed to promote reciprocal teaching and learning (Bishop and Glynn, 2000). A method emerged that epitomised the principles of the Treaty, as discussed in the following three sections: protection, participation, and partnership.

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[2] Lieutenant-Governor Hobson, representative of the British Crown, and 512 Māori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi which (based on the principles of protection, partnership, and participation) promised a power-sharing relationship (Macfarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, and Bateman, 2008).

Protection

Mawter (2000) asserts storytelling develops relationships based on mutual trust and understanding. Storytelling provides a rich nurturing and caring classroom experience that encourages most students and teachers in the process of learning (Aiex, 1988). Because teachers told stories, student participants felt safe to tell their stories, as evident in the following student comment:

> I felt like after today because Delia shared a personal story like that I can share personal stories with her. (Pookie)

This work was reciprocal and interactive (Bishop and Glynn, 2000), facilitated shared learning (Ministry of Education, 2007), and students experienced opportunities to foster intercultural mixing and bridge cultural difference (Ho, Holmes, and Cooper, 2004) by listening to one another's stories. Martina comments:

> I can tell people things about me and it's fun to do it because you're opening up a bit and loosening up and so when you do other things in life you are not up-tight if someone knows something about you.

Assumedly then, trust developed through self disclosure and new knowledge of others as previously reluctant participants appeared sufficiently safe and confident to participate and tell their stories.

> Everyone was listening and it was cool because everyone kind of understood my story and why. (Martina)

It appears students respected one another by listening to the stories. In this way their cultures were valued and understanding of one another grew, and our work honoured the intent of the Treaty principle of protection. Aspects of this approach that strengthened student participation in the teaching and learning storytelling process are now discussed.

Participation

The participation principle "provides individuals and groups with equity of access to resources and services" (Berryman and Bateman, 2008, p. 25). Wason-Ellam (1992) suggests that children need limitless chances to be unique contributors to classroom life, build familiar ground with others, and connect their lives to others who may, at first glance, seem quite dissimilar from themselves. Jez verified this supposition:

> I feel more open with people. I used to be quite shy, I wouldn't talk to random people, and now I can.

As the work progressed connections were made with the storyteller and understandings of other perspectives developed. Participant comments support this:

> I relate to other people. They aren't that different. We can relate to pretty much most of what happened. (Jez)

> Everybody has experiences, and everybody has done things differently, even if it is the same experience. (Martha)

Laughter, interactive banter, the relaxed body language and change in body positioning over time suggested participant engagement and enjoyment of stories. Reflective thought and action were encouraged through journaling responses to stories. Recognition and understanding of our own motivations within others' stories were expanded (Livo and Rietz, 1986) by constructing and transforming reality (Gilbert, 2005):

> I now understand how they grew up and their childhood. The difference how they got raised compared to me, and in a lot of ways how I was more fortunate, like my parents not splitting up and stuff. (Cinderella)

We tied others' stories to our own lives.

> When I hear other people's stories, I just think about the similarities and differences. Other stories remind me of things that have happened to me and just let me think a bit more about myself. (Jez)

Participants appeared to experience an equal opportunity to contribute, and co-construct the curriculum. They shared their perspectives and identities in the classroom (Bishop and Glynn, 2000) which is verified by Martha:

> The way people portray their character is through their culture … So their personalities, and the way they are towards us, when they tell their story, that explains why they do what they do and explains who they are.

The dynamics appeared to change due to the collaborative partnership. These are now discussed.

Partnership

It appears that as participants made personal discoveries about their teachers there was a shift in the power relations in the classroom (Bishop and Glynn, 1999) from the traditional transmission style of teaching, where the teacher presents as a fountain of all knowledge, to a shared power relationship where we all saw each other in the circle, and were partners in the learning conversation (Bishop and Glynn, 2000). This physical positioning in a circle in space may have signalled we were learners together, we were equal, and we were in the learning business of understanding one another. Martha comments:

> We have been able to learn for ourselves, we have been able to teach each other, we have been able to teach ourselves.

Ho, et al. (2004) discuss the importance of New Zealand students reflecting on their own culture, learning about someone else's, and developing socialisation and understanding in the New Zealand diverse classroom. It appears this was happening within this process as participants heard more about who people were, what others had been through, and discovered similarities:

> Some of the ways we do things are similar to other people, like how we get together as a family and have big cooked dinner at Christmas. (Strawberry)

> [Be]cause they don't talk to you at the beginning, they're not actually that different from you. (Wai)

The customs of this class's culture (sharing, openness, listening, communicating, honesty, understanding, and cooperation) surfaced. This potentially compelling learning experience honoured diverse perspectives, as through storytelling, students worked as partners in the learning: they co-constructed the direction of the work, learnt with and from each other, and made connections. The three principles in the Treaty were honoured in this approach to teaching and learning.

Outcomes of this Approach

Storytelling has a central role to play in understanding cultural difference and diversity (Berlack, 1996; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2001; Jaffe, 1997). It seems through storytelling participants were deciphering their individual personal experience of understanding into a public culturally negotiated form (Bruner, 1986). This may explain the apparent relationship and attitudinal changes they experienced in regard to cultural inclusion:

> I think we've become a bit closer because we have got to know each other more during the last couple of sessions, because we are talking about us. (Wai)

> I understand them more so out of school you'll talk to them and usually you wouldn't. (Rawiri)

It appears the students were protected by the principles underlying the process, participated in reciprocal and interactive teaching and learning, and worked in partnership to create the outcomes of the teaching and learning. In this way, through this authentic context of learning, a student-centred, bicultural approach to teaching and learning unfolded and simultaneously offered a possible pathway for honouring the Treaty in the drama classroom.

TEACHING AND LEARNING FOR DIVERSITY IN THE TECHNOLOGY CLASSROOM

Ko koe ki tēnā
Ko ahau ki tēnei
Kīwai o te kete
You hold that handle of the kete,
I'll hold this handle
And we'll bear the load together

This *whakatauākī* (proverb) supports the partnership principle of the Treaty of Waitangi and provides a metaphor for an inclusive approach to teaching and learning in technology. This approach developed from experiences, encounters and professional development opportunities during the second author's early teaching appointments in a range of communities. An interest in bicultural education began long before the Technology in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1995) and more recently, the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) developed.

Schooling and Motivation

The rapid pace of technological change and growth of knowledge emphasises the need for self-directed learning and students require efficacy beliefs, interests and capabilities for this to happen. Technology education approaches support this. In turn, teacher expectations influence motivation and achievement (Gibson and Ogbu, 1991, as cited in Bandura, 1997). In considering motivation of students from diverse backgrounds, the influence of the peer group and the idea of communities of learners with emphasis on co-operative and collaborative learning can be considered. There needs to be an emphasis on authentic activities (Brophy, 1998) and to support this, teachers can discover and build on existing interests. Students who lose their focus on learning usually do value learning and would like to experience success (Brophy, 1998); however, some may not find it meaningful or worthwhile in a schooling environment incongruent with their own experiences and world view.

Technology education promotes authentic contexts that are most simply defined as the ordinary practices of the culture. School activity can tend to be separated and implicitly framed by one culture. The idea that most school activity exists in a culture of its own is central to understanding some students' difficulties of learning in school. Lave and Wenger (1991) reveal how different schooling is from the activities and culture that give meaning and purpose to what students learn elsewhere. Schools demand a change in behaviour on student arrival at the school gates. Strategies for intuitive reasoning, resolving issues, and negotiating meaning may often be replaced by well-defined problems and formal definitions in schools.

What Can Technology Education Do for Māori Learners?

Learning environments are critical to the success of Māori students. The Māori mode of learning recognises an awareness of the way the environment and other influences affect a student's learning. Some learning strategies fundamental in technology education are advocated by Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richardson (2003) as implicit in *akonga* (Māori pedagogy). These include: a narrative pedagogy which promotes collaboration between teachers and students; co-operative learning providing opportunities for students to achieve common goals; formative assessment enabling students to engage in self-evaluation of having achieved learning intentions, celebrating achievement and enhancing self-esteem; integrated curriculum collaboratively co-constructed by teachers and students based on cultural realities, empowering students to be life-long learners; and a reciprocal partnership based on the concept of *ako*[3] (Bishop, et al., 2003).

Within the Māori context the teacher-student relationship is an intimate one based on high expectations with both the teacher and learner working together on a set task (Pere, 1982). Teachers become the facilitators, as opposed to instructors. The teacher and student can jointly evaluate their on-going progress. The individual is encouraged and expected to evaluate his or her own progress through constantly observing and working alongside other people who have the pertinent expertise.

A series of case studies conducted by the second author (Bondy, 2001, 2002, 2003) support the notion of learning as fundamentally situated in authentic contexts. A technological activity carried out with Year 9 and 10 Māori language students in a Wellington secondary school incorporated traditional Māori concepts in response to an identified genuine need. The activity also enabled students to collaboratively design the desired outcomes. These learning strategies were incorporated within the technological activity and embedded within the framework of the Technology in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1995) document (the English version). The activity was carried out during a week in late November over three consecutive years when senior students were on exam leave. Respective groups of participants each year consisted of an average of ten student teachers and the school students, the majority of whom had Māori ancestry. A contextually responsive, meaningful learning context was situated within a school ritual. The technology brief was to develop *taonga* (special gifts) using natural resources such as *harakeke* (flax) to accompany the traditional awards for the prize giving ceremony. This activity offered a learning opportunity for students of Māori to incorporate a Māori context.

Each year the project ran, up to forty Year 9 and 10 students worked in *Te Reo Māori* teacher-selected mixed groups of six or seven Year 9 and 10 students. Each group had one or two pre-service teachers as their facilitators. The *Te Reo Māori* teacher retold the legend of how Tāne obtained the three baskets of knowledge for his people[4]. Familiarity with this legend aimed to give the students a common beginning context for reflecting on their own knowledge and identities. The student teachers were briefed in the same way. Over four consecutive mornings the students brainstormed, researched, planned, designed, and made gifts to accompany identified awards for the school prize giving.

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[3] Reciprocal teaching and learning (Pere, 1982)
[4] http://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz/kete/about/baskets.html

The processes were digitally recorded as photographs and the students and pre-service teachers also completed evaluations at the end of their projects. The evaluations were structured as statements of the intended, shared learning objectives for the projects, and the respondents agreed or disagreed, using a continuum, as to how well these intended objectives were met. Graphs were made from these responses to give clear overviews of student and pre-service teacher opinions.

Pre-service Teacher Comments

Pre-service teachers commented on the worthwhile nature of their teaching. Seven pre-service teacher responses highlighted the scope of the technological process:

> The process – the casual nature, free atmosphere for the girls, yet they produced well. Students being autonomous.

Two commented on the Māori content:

> Would love to do it again. I wish I knew more *te reo* and about the protocols etc but the students knew heaps.

And seven more commented:

> Got so many ideas about related topics that would link *Te Ao Māori* and technology.

Two pre-service teachers commented on the contextually responsive nature of the activities:

> The activities really based around a need/opportunity with a wide scope. Also the need was real and purposeful for the students.

Two pre-service teachers commented on the increased contact with students:

> Contact – more experience with students.

It was noted by three pre-service teachers that the process encouraged group work:

> Process encouraged group work – group motivation and communication highlighted.

Students' Comments

The students were also given an opportunity to report their success in meeting the learning outcomes relating to their part of the project. Fifteen students reported they learnt new things:

Cause we learnt new things: Learning how to weave, trying to get fibre from flax, we learnt a lot. Doing hands on is something different from what we learn in Māori class.

Two students enjoyed learning from past and present traditions:

It combined old traditions with new ways to present it. You got to see how modern ways of using ancient materials came together.

Three students felt they learnt due to choices:

Freedom to choose what we wanted to do. Let us use our imagination.

Group work was significant for five students:

Getting to know people and sharing ideas. Without all of the ideas we wouldn't have thought of what to do.

Twelve students appreciated the finished product.

I'm gonna make some more. I was proud of what I'd done. It was like a souvenir.

Māori traditions were acknowledged by nine students:

Learnt some traditional ways of the Māori.

These comments appear to indicate that technology education's use of authentic contexts and situated learning to develop technological literacy allows for inclusive learning. Diverse learners had the opportunity to work within their own cultural contexts to develop their technological literacy (Bondy, 2001, 2002, 2003). It appears that in providing students with meaningful, purposeful student-centred learning opportunities that are set within the context of their own worlds of understanding and culture, they are offered opportunities to build confidence to establish their place in the school and wider community.

CONCLUSION /IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS/EDUCATORS

This chapter describes studies from within two curriculum areas where authentic contexts are used to reinforce the idea that situated learning environments support diverse learners. In the cases described, many of the learners were of Māori descent, and the material covered connected, even if in a minor way, to a Māori perspective. These case studies use a bicultural focus employing authentic contexts for the students to collaboratively develop solutions and outcomes in response to a genuine need.

Educators are encouraged to adapt and use these and other examples to suit their own students and curriculum areas. In these two exemplars the authors have acknowledged student ethnicity, interests, prior knowledge and preferred ways of learning. In these classroom contexts the processes were underpinned by the protection, partnership, and participation

principles in order to honour our Treaty. Who students are and what they know was legitimised and understood so students built connections to others through understanding their difference within a learning environment that supported them to take risks in their learning. These contexts suggest pathways into the current New Zealand school curriculum: "Students learn best when they feel accepted, when they enjoy positive relationships with their fellow students and teachers, and when they are able to be active, visible members of the learning community" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 34).

These approaches then are pertinent in curriculum design using the New Zealand Curriculum for English-medium teaching and learning in Years 1-13 (Ministry of Education, 2007), suggesting effective pedagogy where teacher actions promote student learning and fulfil our shared vision for our young people. As stated in the New Zealand school curriculum document, "all cultures will be valued for the contributions they bring" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8) when our young people are provided with approaches to teaching and learning that provide the context for them to recognise each other as full Treaty partners.

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Chapter 7

MAKING THE MOST OF LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE STUDENTS IN SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION: TEACHERS AND STUDENTS SPEAK OUT

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ABSTRACT

English is widely used as the medium of instruction at all levels of education in New Zealand. Multilingual students strive to succeed in classrooms where the language of instruction may be different from their home language. Each specific discipline has its own discourse which students need to master. Evidence presented in this chapter illustrates teaching practices that enhance the learning of linguistically diverse students. Such approaches include: accommodating cultural diversity within the curriculum, and valuing it as a resource while maintaining high expectations of learners. Case studies show how teachers explicitly model subject discourses; provide opportunities for feedback and evaluation; allow information and skills to be revisited in different ways; integrate receptive and productive language and use a student's first language as a resource. Implications for educators of linguistically diverse students are explored.

Keywords: *ESOL, linguistic diversity, discipline specific discourse*

INTRODUCTION

Diversity has multiple dimensions and multiple definitions, including ability and disability, social and economic position, health, and culture. All of these elements of diversity have an impact on how students manage the process of learning. For some multilingual

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students, cultural inclusivity is part of a wider issue that may influence their academic success. This less perceptible but critical factor is linguistic diversity.

Linguistically diverse students include international students who have chosen New Zealand institutions for part of their education, migrants and refugees who now regard New Zealand as their home, and Māori students who have been educated in Māori-medium schools. All of these learners bring a language in addition to English with them to their studies. This chapter looks at how educators might utilise the skills of these learners and assist them to become members of a disciplinary community. It considers the nature of discipline-specific learning and draws on empirical research to explore how educators support linguistically diverse students in their mainstream classes.

This chapter draws on data from two studies by the two authors: Carolyn Tait and Margaret Gleeson. Both studies focussed on the teaching and learning of linguistically diverse students. Tait collected data through semi-structured interviews (N=18) with Chinese students studying at a New Zealand university. These students had previously been educated in Taiwan, mainland China, or Hong Kong. Transcripts of these interviews were coded and analysed using the principles of grounded theory according to Chamaz (2006). Gleeson's exploratory case study investigated the approaches used by New Zealand secondary school (secondary) teachers to assist the linguistically diverse students in their Year 12[1] classes. It used qualitative data gained through interviews with, and observations of, teachers considered to be effective in teaching subject classes that include significant numbers of linguistically diverse students.

In order to understand practices that support linguistically diverse students it is necessary to start by exploring the challenges of discipline specific learning. This chapter will then look at current approaches drawn from Tait's and Gleeson's studies.

BACKGROUND: THE NATURE OF DISCIPLINE-SPECIFIC LANGUAGE LEARNING

Borland and Pearce (2002) argue that there are two key dimensions in western universities that contribute to outcomes for linguistically diverse students. While these authors discuss the importance of formal linguistic development, knowledge representation, and fluency, they identify the discipline-specific discourse competence as the most challenging. Academic discourse competencies require students to display proficiency in using both written and spoken language. Students are also expected to think and reason in a manner that has evolved in European institutions. A western approach often demands the "use of empirical evidence, logical arguments, scepticism, questioning, and criticism, [which] may be incongruent with the values and norms of cultures favouring social consensus, shared responsibility, emotional support, and respect for authority" (Fradd and Lee, 1999, p. 16).

However, neither the teachers' beliefs nor the precise skills valued within a particular discipline may ever be specifically shared with the students. This means that students may find it difficult to distinguish the different subject-specific ways of making meaning. Hyland (2002, p. 389) remarks that "the discourses of the academy do not form an undifferentiated,

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[1] Students in New Zealand Year 12 classes are generally 16-17 years of age.

unitary mass but a variety of subject-specific literacies. Disciplines have different views of knowledge, different research practices, and different ways of seeing the world…"

Students need to be taught what the specific linguistic expectations of each discipline entail in order to successfully manage what Hyland calls (2002, p. 390) the "border-crossings" between disciplines. Hyland offers some general examples of different ways of thinking valued by particular disciplines: "in the humanities and social sciences, for example, analysing and synthesising multiple sources is important, while in science and technology, activity-based skills such as describing procedures, defining objects, and planning solutions are required" (Hyland, 2002, p. 390).

In Gleeson's study, an economics teacher describes how economists focus on reasoning based on cause and effect. He discusses how students can recognise cause and effect processes when they can see these portrayed as flow diagrams or graphs. However, such approaches to thinking in economics are also signalled by grammatical structures such as: "if…., then…." and the timeless present tense, and qualifiers such as "as long as…" and "provided that…" Specific linguistic structures like these, that have a significant impact on meaning, can be overlooked. Differences between disciplines may be compounded for students where common academic terms have unspecified, subject-specific meanings. Laboratory reports, lectures, and oral presentations are used across a number of subject areas but with various expected outcomes. Even at the genre level, terms such as explanation and description will be interpreted differently depending on whether the student is a member of a scientific, economic or literary discourse community.

Educators can make a difference in bridging the gap between their students' existing experiences and knowledge and that of the discipline these students aspire to join (Alton-Lee, 2003; Gibbons, 2002). Effective teaching "takes into account ways of knowing and thinking, language, and discursive registers, made available within the physical, social, cultural, historical, and economic community of practice in which the teaching is embedded" (Anthony and Walshaw, 2007, p. 7).

However, secondary subject teachers may find these linguistic features daunting. Most trained, expecting to be experts within a subject area without necessarily gaining an awareness of the discourse features of their discipline. Taking responsibility for language as well as content is a challenge for some. For example, a religion teacher in Gleeson's study expresses this:

> [Teaching linguistically diverse students] is a huge thing, especially for me because I'm not trained in English, and definitely not trained in ESOL [teaching English for speakers of other languages], it's such a need, in every class that you teach.

At tertiary level, teaching staff may not have received systematic, formal training in teaching in the same way that teachers in secondary school have. They are experts within a discipline. When discussing university lecturers, Fishman and McCarthy make the point that at university, "most teachers across the curriculum know very little about ESOL pupils or the sorts of instructional supports that can benefit them" (2004, p. 145).

The opportunity for linguistically diverse learners to successfully engage in learning the discourse of specific disciplines is equally crucial at tertiary level. Although tertiary institutions have set standards of English proficiency for admission, the types of language required by these tests of general English may not necessarily equip students for the discipline

specific language that they will encounter. One second year Chinese commerce student interviewed by Tait about preparing assignments comments:

> Some [students] … are using more academic words but some people, they just use daily words … that will be a huge difference, and grammar as well.

Students and teachers both recognise the need to address language issues within each discipline so that linguistically diverse students can be full participants in learning communities in both secondary and tertiary level education.

CURRENT PRACTICES SUPPORTING LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE STUDENTS

Gleeson's and Tait's data suggest that educators are seeking ways to support their linguistically diverse learners. It is widely accepted that linguistically diverse learners are more likely to learn when their teachers integrate language and content instruction (Zamel and Spack, 2006). Subject teachers need to accommodate cultural diversity within their curriculum and value it as a resource: maintain high expectations of their learners; explicitly model the discourses of the subject; provide opportunities for feedback and evaluation; allow information and skills to be presented in different contexts and revisited in different ways; integrate opportunities for receptive and productive language; and use a student's first language as a resource (Echevarria, Vogt, and Short, 2008; Tharp, 1989). Jones and Baker (2005) explain that students are likely to experience success when they have regular opportunities to engage in purposeful dialogue with their teacher and groups of peers.

Valuing Cultural Diversity

Research by Loorparg, Tait, Yates, and Meyer (2005) indicates that secondary school teachers feel reasonably confident that they are able to accommodate cultural diversity within their classes. However, teachers' interventions tend to remain at what Banks (2004) refers to as the contributions and additive levels, rather than permeating into the deeper transformational or social action levels that truly acculturate and empower these learners. "Many attempts to manage diversity are at the level of multicultural awareness rather than pedagogical approaches that integrate multicultural concepts and themes to develop diverse cultural ethnic or racial perspectives" (Loorparg et al., 2005, p. 25). More recently, Gleeson's data corroborates this.

Teachers are conscious of the value of eliciting diverse perspectives and contextualising new concepts in ways that will be accessible to learners from different language backgrounds. A teacher of religion mentions how it helps her students' understanding when she builds on their experiences:

> At the moment we're focussing on the Jewish religion, so we're talking about what a synagogue looks like. So we'll say: what is your house like back home, and if you had a church nearby, what did that look like, and then we'll do similarities, and things like that, which seems to work quite well. So, using their own experience is really good.

Just as teachers in secondary schools seek to find ways to integrate student experiences into their classes and build on them, there are examples of this happening at university level. Chang (2006) reports on how his courses are structured so that all students are required to draw on the background of other students who are culturally different from them. By doing this he creates what he calls a "transcultural wisdom bank" (p. 369). Students are required to work in culturally diverse groups where they feel valued because they have unique contributions. Cheney (2004), in a case study, showed that it is possible to move the teaching of intercultural business communication beyond theory, not only by using diverse groups, but also by engaging students in experiential learning, building on their life experiences.

Explicitly Modelling the Discourse of their Discipline

The use of exemplars enables students and teachers to engage in a dialogue about features of a task and how these match grading criteria. The process is helpful for all students but it is particularly useful for linguistically diverse students. These students will benefit when the features of academic discourse are made explicit through examples (Cotterall and Cohen, 2003). This teacher in Gleeson's study talks about how he provides exemplars to model the text structures expected in external tourism assessments:

> I show an example of an excellent piece of work, and I show an example of something that is very close and I ask them to find what is wrong with it … we place them on the school intranet … the boys do say that it's something they really do appreciate because it gives them a visual concept of what's expected.

While this teacher demonstrates an awareness of the benefits of exemplars in terms of text structures, linguistically diverse learners need to engage with all the linguistic features of the task, for example register, syntax, and the use of specialised vocabulary. These students may feel disadvantaged by their previous educational experience if the task requirements are not made transparent through exemplars. An example of the concerns that linguistically diverse students can have when they do not feel privy to all the underlying requirements of a task are contained in the remarks of a final year Bachelor of Commerce and Administration student from mainland China in Tait's study:

> I just want to know what the lecturer thinks, his view on word limits. Sometimes I will email and double check or sometimes I will ask some western people their views.

Models and exemplars have similar properties in that they can enable students to see explicit examples of linguistic features and how they change the effectiveness of the discourse.

Providing Opportunities for Feedback and Evaluation

Feedback enables linguistically diverse students to refine their skill in discourse specific literacy. Without targeted feedback students may not be able to identify what they need to do to improve. This Chinese university student studying commerce from Tait's study struggles to identify what is needed to improve the grades in her essays:

> During one trimester I did four essays and some got high marks, some got low marks, but I don't think this depends on my writing skills. It depends on my views, my points, my statements.

Teachers can structure opportunities for formative feedback among students by using peers (Cotterall and Cohen, 2003). This secondary accounting teacher shows how he adapts feedback procedures in his class to share responsibility with his students and, at the same time, provides effective, contextualised vocabulary teaching of the term "auditor":

> I check the first person who comes in and I thoroughly check their work obviously and then I sign it as this piece of work has been audited. I use the word auditing so that they understand the term, and my ELLs (ESL students) understand the term auditing very well because they will either have their work audited or they will be auditors themselves, so they've learnt that term by doing it pretty much, by being auditors.

When students receive discipline specific linguistic feedback, they gain skills in using the language of a subject area appropriately and use it as leverage for deeper content learning.

Allowing Information and Skills to be Presented in Different Contexts and Revisited in Different Ways

Linguistically diverse learners at all levels benefit from the opportunity to encounter knowledge in different ways during the process of learning (Gibbons, 2002). This process creates conditions that facilitate language learning. When these students have opportunities to use their new language receptively (reading and listening) and productively (speaking and writing), they will be able to gain proficiency in the language of cognitively demanding concepts. An example of this is the amplification of information rather than the simplification of it by supporting listening with reading skills. With large classes at tertiary level, the use of the internet and software where lecture notes are available to students before classes has enabled students to prepare for classes and be less reliant on listening. Listening while trying to take notes during lectures is reported as an area where linguistically diverse learners have difficulty. Chinese students in Tait's study explain that downloading notes from the intranet was helpful in preparing for lectures. This provided a sharp contrast with a second year Chinese student studying for a Bachelor of Commerce and Administration who is not able to be scaffolded with visual linguistic amplification.

> The lecturer just talk, talk, talk and does not give me a chance to take notes. That is a really, really bad thing. Sometimes when I am taking records of one sentence he is already talking about the 4th or 5th point.

This student struggled to make sense of her lecture because the content was presented to her once only.

Working in smaller groups, however, supports students to engage with subject matter many times. The speaking, listening, and thinking that occur in cooperative groups are valuable learning modes often over-looked in academic contexts traditionally focusing on written outputs. Sociocultural theory indicates that learning takes place first externally, at the social level before it is internalized by an individual (Walqui, 2006; Zuengler and Miller, 2006). Information can be revisited a number of times when students are placed in a situation where they are obliged to interact with one another to achieve educational goals. Cooperative learning contexts are especially enabling for linguistically diverse learners because ideally each student gets more turns to contribute to a task and to negotiate meaning in the target language. If linguistically diverse learners are not understood by their peers, they can adjust the way they express ideas in a relatively safe environment.

Learning in a new language can make even confident students feel vulnerable, but working in a pair or small group allows students to explore new ideas in a less public arena. A teacher describes this phenomenon:

> You know, the girl from Tuvalu has said to me, "I'm too shy. I'm too shy to speak when we do a brainstorm as a whole class." But she'll be quite happy to work with a buddy… you know, someone who's a confident English speaker. They seem to be more comfortable coming forth with ideas if it's not in front of everyone.

Cooperative learning encourages students to mediate the information gap between the teacher and their peers. Another teacher manages his class by building on the strengths of certain members of the class and enabling the students to develop independence from him. Some of the able students he mentions are linguistically diverse learners with specific subject expertise:

> I would set them up in little micro groups … and if we were doing an activity [the faster learners] would … lead. They would provide that sort of gap between me and those students …And …they enjoyed that and that helped them think through what they were doing as well because it's one thing being able to write it down and another one trying to explain it to somebody.

This teacher recognises that it benefits both the able and struggling students to revisit the content. He groups students to ensure that each group has at least one subject expert. In contrast, another secondary teacher groups students heterogeneously to ensure that students with strong linguistic skills are matched with students still gaining English proficiency:

> Sometimes I will pair them specifically, because sometimes I do want them to work with someone who's a bit stronger in English, and … sometimes I want them to work with their friend, so they don't feel embarrassed.

These are examples of how teachers group their learners to achieve affective and subject-specific outcomes. These same teachers may be less aware of the considerable cognitive and linguistic benefits that accrue when cooperative practices are used. Interactive groups encourage individual students to hear, speak, read, and write far more frequently than is

possible in a teacher-dominated or independent learning situation (Gibbons, 2002). The tourism teacher in Gleeson's study describes how as linguistically diverse learners gain in confidence, they move from the receptive role of scribe (recording the consensus of the group) and begin to take on more productive roles within the group. These roles expand to reporting the group's findings and independently collating answers using a graphic organiser. Linguistically, his learners are using modelling from one another through the group task to move from a supported oral, receptive mode into a more independent written-productive model.

Integrating Opportunities for Receptive and Productive Language Use

Oral interaction is a valuable way to develop receptive and productive language use. Role play is a current practice that promotes both speaking and listening in the context of a specific discipline. Although the accounting teacher below used role play to clarify accounting concepts, he was also attending to the language needs of his students by providing opportunities to develop their oral language skills before they engaged in a writing task. The students' receptive and productive language is highlighted in several ways. Firstly, the teacher explicitly makes connections between his teenage students' interest in shoes and the curriculum topic - inventory in a small business. He introduces a new concept using a whole class role-play, which enables many members of the class to play significant commercial positions and therefore experience the concept in action. Those who are not actively involved can watch as a transaction unfolds and hear the language that arises from that context. If the teacher's questions reveal that students have not grasped the concept after this role-play, he develops another scenario that involves those particular students:

> I'll say, "You're Tina's Shoes store, this is your shoe store's computer, what are you going to use the computer for?" So then they've got to dream up some reasons and I might knock on the door and be a customer and ask to see if they've got something in stock so they'll look it up on the computer and so they get the idea that this is how a computer might be used in a business.

The accounting teacher has provided a life-like context in which students were able to use the language of accounting or listen to others engage in a meaningful business interaction to prepare for producing this language themselves.

Using First Language

New learners of English need the chance to explore new concepts in their first language in order to engage deeply with a topic (Jones and Baker, 2005). This teacher appreciates that it helps students to learn if they can use their first language, at least in the initial stages of learning in a new language:

> Where possible I provide opportunities for students to sit with people who speak their own language and allow open discussion over topic concepts.

In tertiary study, students from Confucian heritance countries may seek out others from similar language backgrounds to work together when preparing assignments and tests. This preference for collaboration with others who speak the same language has both a cultural and a linguistic benefit. When asked whether her home language was used for taking notes, a Chinese student studying accounting at university responds:

> For some of them (ideas), Chinese will make me to remember easily and quickly. I just write down a few words for it. Sometimes I can understand better in Chinese.

Another Chinese tertiary student points out that when she requires help or further explanation of a topic, she finds it is easier to approach her Chinese friends as they share the same educational experiences.

In fact, linguistically diverse learners may be limited to a more superficial understanding unless they have the opportunity to talk about topics in their strongest language (Ufagafa Lameta-Tufuga, 1994). Multilingual students can draw on their home language as a resource when they are learning in English. The teacher should recognise this as an asset.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

At all levels of education but especially at university, teachers should challenge the idea that "language and knowledge are separate entities" (Zamel, 2004, p. 6). She points out that while language acquisition is not a straightforward, predictable process, the attitudes and skills of faculty who are working with multilingual students are pivotal in ensuring their success. The presence of such students in learning communities is a catalyst for teachers to reflect on their practice.

Zamel and Spack (2006) urge teachers to have high expectations of linguistically diverse students. At the same time they point out that the process of developing the knowledge and skills to function within specific disciplines takes time. Cummins (2000) found that developing general academic language proficiency may take five years or longer. In order to equip teachers to work with the diversity of language learners in classrooms, professional development may be required for subject area teachers to learn about the language of their discipline in depth and to integrate language and content instruction.

CONCLUSION

Teachers as experts in their disciplines are already successful users of their subject-specific discourses. All students in tertiary and secondary education are endeavouring to learn subject-specific language. Linguistically diverse students are not only learning the language of the discipline that they are studying but they have the additional task of learning it through English. When teachers see linguistic diversity as a resource, they are also able to provide support for all learners by using models, structuring opportunities for feedback and evaluation, and by recycling concepts in both receptive and productive modes. When linguistically diverse learners participate in group work and classroom activities that have

been planned with these aspects in mind, they are able to use the discipline specific language purposefully. These practices enable teachers to utilise the skills of these learners and assist them to become full members of a disciplinary community in secondary and higher education.

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Chapter 8

Adolescents' Changing Views of Race: Consequences on their Self-Views and Experiences in Diverse Educational Settings in The USA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this chapter is to explore how adolescents' views of race influence their experiences in racially diverse educational settings. As the United States becomes more racially diverse, questions related to diverse educational settings become increasingly important, particularly because, during adolescence, youth become more aware of racial stereotypes and racism. The chapter will explore the role of cognitive development, school matriculation, and racial socialization in adolescents' changing views within the context of diverse schools. Implications of adolescents' changing views of race on their academic performance, aspirations for the future, and relations with peers in racially diverse schools are also explored. Finally, the chapter includes suggestions for educators who are working in diverse schools.

Keywords: *racial diversity, stereotype consciousness, secondary education*

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INTRODUCTION

The racial[1] diversity of the United States is increasing at an unprecedented rate. The U.S.A. Census Bureau projects that by 2023 children and adolescents of color will comprise the majority (Census Bureau, 2008). This increasing diversity makes it crucial to foster positive interracial behavior and attitudes among youth. In fact, in schools where intergroup relations are positive, racial diversity has been associated with reductions in racial biases (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) and improved academic and occupational outcomes (Kurlaender and Yun, 2002). Unfortunately, adolescents often face challenges in achieving interracial harmony. Children or adolescents commit 29% of racial hate crimes in the U.S.A. (Strom, 2001). In just the last two years, high schools in New York, Louisiana, and Tennessee have been closed due to race-motivated threats of student violence (Staba, 2007; Stewart, 2008).

In this chapter, we explore how adolescents' views of race influence their experiences in diverse educational settings. We focus on adolescence because it is a time of dramatic change in students' social contexts. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the research on adolescents' awareness of racial stereotyping and racism. Building on that literature, we explore factors that increase the salience of race in adolescents' lives. We then investigate how adolescents' changing views of race impact their experiences in racially diverse schools. The chapter ends with suggestions for educators and ideas about future research.

BACKGROUND: VIEWS OF RACE IN ADOLESCENCE

Racial Stereotyping

Racial stereotypes are a perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about a racial group (Hamilton and Trolier, 1986). According to some theoretical and empirical work, adolescents endorse fewer racial stereotypes than children (see Aboud, 1988), but other work suggests endorsement of racial stereotypes increases in adolescence (see Karcher, 2000; Quintana, 1994). Indeed, there appears to be wide individual variation in endorsement of racial stereotypes among adolescents (J.M. Hughes, 2008), and longitudinal work on the issue is warranted before a complete discussion of the impact of stereotype endorsement on adolescents is possible. However, other aspects of racial stereotyping – particularly adolescents' growing awareness of culturally held stereotypes – are well documented and have important implications for adolescents' views of race.

Awareness of others' racial stereotypes – often referred to as stereotype consciousness – develops in late childhood, and by adolescence students in stigmatized racial groups are aware of the dominant culture's negative stereotypes of their group. For example, by age 10, African American and Latino children are aware that their racial ingroup is stereotyped as being academically unsuccessful (McKown and Weinstein, 2003). After age 10, Latino

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[1] We use the term race to describe individuals' membership in groups that are commonly referred to as "White," "African American," "Latino," and so forth. We view this construct not as a biologically created one (see Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi and Piazza, 1994; Graves, 2004; Serre and Paabo, 2004), but as one that is socially constructed. We recognize current debates surrounding the lines between race, ethnicity, nationality, and culture; however, we use race throughout the chapter for the sake of consistency and simplicity.

children consistently refer to stereotyping as a reason someone might not like Mexican Americans (Quintana, 1994; Quintana and Vera, 1999).

Awareness of Racism

Most children are aware of racism by age 10 (Bigler, Arthur, Hughes, and Patterson, 2008; McKown and Weinstein, 2003) and by adolescence recognize that racism involves the exertion of power (Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson, 2003). However, individuals' understanding of racism varies as a function of minority status and personal experiences. African American children between the ages of 6 and 10, for example, have more elaborate understandings of racism than their peers. They understand racism involves discrimination, conflict, and denigration and is more than an outgrowth of ingroup favoritism (McKown, 2004). In high school, African American students perceive more institutional racism and interracial disparities than their White classmates (J.M. Hughes, 2008). Meanwhile, research with university students suggests that White students view racism as interpersonal rather than systemic and as historical rather than current (Bidell, Lee, Bouchie, Ward, and Brass, 1994; Schmidt, 2005). African American adults are aware of these attitudes about racism (e.g., Feagin and Sikes, 1994), and it is likely that as racial minority youth become more aware of racism, they begin to understand the chasm between racial groups' ideas about racism.

Adolescents' increased awareness of societal racism is accompanied by increased perceptions of racism within their own lives. At the group level, African American adolescents report the highest levels of personal experiences with racism (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, and Rowley, 2007; Romero and Roberts, 1998; Simons et al., 2002). While the majority of research has focused on African Americans, other racial groups also experience racial discrimination (Fisher, Wallace, and Fenton, 2000; Szalacha et al., 2003). Interestingly, personal experiences with racism do not necessarily translate into increased awareness of racism in the broader society. For example, about half of White adolescents report personally experiencing racial discrimination (e.g., being called racially insulting names; Fisher et al., 2000), but Whites are often distrustful of others' reports of racism (Kaiser and Miller, 2001). Although additional research is needed concerning adolescents' views of racism, it is clear that perceptions of personal- and societal-level discrimination increase in adolescence and vary across racial groups.

FACTORS RELATED TO CHANGES IN ADOLESCENTS' VIEWS OF RACE

During adolescence most students become more aware of the impact of race on their lives and the lives of those around them. A number of factors are likely related to this increased salience of race, although little research thus far has explicitly discussed potential links. Within this section, we highlight the role of three factors that are likely particularly important for adolescents in racially diverse schools – cognitive development, school matriculation, and racial socialization.

Cognitive Development

Adolescence is a time of significant cognitive growth (Inhelder and Piaget, 1958; Kail, 2007), and these new skills shape the manner in which adolescents think about race (see Aboud, 1988; Bigler and Liben, 1993). In adolescence, students are newly able to think logically about abstract or hypothetical situations (Inhelder and Piaget, 1958). This ability enhances adolescents' perspective-taking ability, as outlined by Selman (1980). Adolescents are newly able to imagine the abstracted, collective perspective of groups of people, and to compare these collective perspectives to each other (e.g., "Do conservatives and liberals feel the same way about the welfare system?"). Thinking about collective group perspectives leads adolescents to emphasize within-group similarity and adherence to group norms (Selman, 1980).

Gains in perspective-taking abilities likely influence adolescents' views of race. Adolescents for the first time can imagine how different racial groups might feel about particular events (e.g., Barack Obama's election to the U.S. Presidency) or behaviors (e.g., dating individuals from other racial groups). This new ability leads adolescents to focus on racial group membership as a way of understanding society (Quintana, 1994) and, as a result, likely increases their awareness of racial stereotypes and racism.

School Matriculation and Diverse Secondary Schools

As students move through the U.S.A. educational system, they experience several key transitions that likely influence their views of race. After being in relatively small neighborhood elementary schools (average size 411 students) from approximately ages 5 to 11, students transition to larger middle schools (average size 612 students); then, around age 14, they transition again to even larger high schools (average size 753 students; Hoffman, 2003).

These transitions create a student body that is not only *larger*, but more *diverse*. This increase in school diversity reflects segregation in U.S.A. communities (see Keating, 1994). Most U.S.A. students attend schools in their own neighborhoods, so the degree of racial diversity in the classroom reflects the diversity (or lack thereof) in the neighborhood. Since U.S.A. neighborhoods tend to be racially segregated, most neighborhood elementary schools are also segregated (Orfield, 2001). However, because middle and high schools include students from multiple neighborhoods, they are on average more racially diverse than elementary schools (Roderick, 1993). For example, in Austin, Texas the dominant racial group comprises 72% of the student body at an average public elementary school but only 58% of the student body at an average public high school (Greatschools.net, 2009).

Ability tracking is also used more frequently in middle and high schools than in elementary schools (Bryk and Thum, 1989). Ability tracks are course sequences within a subject that are differentiated to match a student's prior academic ability and interest. A student who shows early excellence in mathematics may be placed in a more advanced track throughout high school than a student who shows early difficulties in mathematics. African American and Latino students are disproportionately assigned to lower tracks and tend to be relatively absent from the advanced tracks (Lucas, 1999). These trends are so severe, in fact, that ability tracking has been termed second-generation segregation (Mickelson, 2001).

Attending more racially diverse schools likely leads adolescents to pay more attention to racial group differences than they did in childhood. More opportunities to interact with and observe racial outgroup members allow adolescents to better understand others' racial stereotypes and views of racism. In schools with negative intergroup relations, adolescents may also begin to perceive more racial discrimination from their own peers. Finally, academic segregation in the form of ability tracking may serve to bolster cultural stereotypes regarding racial variations in academic ability.

Racial Socialization

By the time children reach adolescence, they have received implicit and explicit messages about race from many sources, including parents, peers, teachers, and the media. The socialization processes families use to prepare their children to confront issues of race in their daily lives are likely particularly influential on adolescents' developing views of race. Racial socialization can be implicit or explicit; messages are generally communicated to youth through family discussions, direct instruction, and parents' interactions with people of their own and other races (Hughes et al., 2006; Murray and Mandara, 2002).

The majority of racial socialization research has focused on African American and, to a lesser extent, Latino families in the U.S.A. (see Hughes et al., 2006). Although reports of the salience of racial socialization vary widely by survey and sampling method, it appears that the majority of African American parents incorporate some form of racial socialization into their parenting practices (Hughes et al., 2006; Thornton, 1997; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allen, 1990). Parents most often emphasize racial pride, cultural socialization, and the importance of egalitarianism. As children enter adolescence, however, African American parents focus more of their messages on preparing children for bias (Hughes, 2003; Hughes and Chen, 1997; Hughes and Johnson, 2001). The little research available on Latino families suggests they are less likely to focus on preparing their children for bias; however, 85% or more of Dominican, Mexican, and Puerto Rican parents in the U.S.A. use cultural socialization practices (Hughes, 2003; Phinney and Chavira, 1995).

Compared to racial minority parents, White parents are often reluctant to discuss race with their children and adolescents (Hamm, 2001; Katz, 2003). This reluctance may stem from a fear that discussions will sensitize children to racial differences (and make them prejudiced) or from a belief that race is no longer relevant (Kofkin, Katz, and Downey, 1995). White children appear to adopt their parents' tendencies to avoid discussions of race. By early adolescence, Whites often avoid mentioning race (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, and Norton, 2008). White families' use of racial socialization strategies – and their children's resulting discomfort with discussing race – may vary as a function of class, neighborhood composition, and parents' previous experiences. However, by adolescence, while most racial minority youth have received countless implicit and explicit messages focusing on race, most White youth have received implicit messages about the importance of ignoring race.

Racial socialization undoubtedly influences adolescents' developing views of race and accounts for some of the individual variation in adolescents' views. In families that explicitly discuss race, adolescents have the opportunity to learn from their parents' experiences and ideas. Families that do not discuss race are also sending clear messages to their children. White adolescents' tendencies to distrust others' reports of racism (e.g., Kaiser and Miller,

2001) may well be related to the messages they receive about the importance of ignoring race. Importantly, research suggests that experiences with racial socialization and perceptions of race influence one another. For example, African American families are more likely to prepare their children for bias when they believe their children have personally encountered racism (Hughes, 2003; Hughes and Chen, 1997; Hughes and Johnson, 2001). Additional research is needed to understand the bidirectional influence of adolescents' views of race and their experiences with racial socialization (and other factors not discussed here, such as ethnic identity and immigration status).

CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGING VIEWS OF RACE AMONG ADOLESCENTS

The increased salience of race influences adolescents' perceptions and experiences in every aspect of their lives. Related to education, these changing views of race have important implications for students' academic performance, aspirations for the future, and interracial peer relations. Within this section of the chapter, we discuss research on the consequences of changing views of race in each domain.

Academic Performance

Adolescents' views of race can have a profound effect on their classroom performance. In particular, awareness of racial stereotypes can influence adolescents' performance through the activation of *stereotype threat*, which refers to the fear of confirming a negative stereotype (Steele, 1997; Steele and Aronson, 1995). Stereotype threat arises when students who are confronted with a difficult task are aware of negative stereotypes about their group in the task's domain. They often become anxious that they will conform to the negative stereotype, and that anxiety leads to poor performance. So, for example, when African Americans are asked to perform a task that will measure ''intellectual abilities'' (Steele, 1997; Steele and Aronson, 1995) or when White male university students are asked to complete a task that will measure their mathematical abilities relative to Asian men (Aronson et al., 1999), they perform worse than they do when the stereotypes are not activated. So, too, do adolescent students under-perform in testing situations when their membership in stigmatized racial groups is made salient to them beforehand (Good, Aronson, and Inzlicht, 2003). Over time, stereotype threat also has the potential to undermine students' identification with the relevant academic domain (e.g., Steele, 1997). Stereotype threat may be particularly salient in racially diverse school settings, where students are more sensitive to group stereotypes and the race of their classmates.

Perceptions of racism also influence academic performance and views of education. For example, perceptions of racial discrimination from peers and teachers predict devaluing of school (Eccles, Wong, and Peck, 2006; Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts, and Fulmore, 1994) and lower academic self-efficacy (Broman, Mavaddat, and Hsu, 2000; Constantine, Wallace, and Kindaichi, 2005; Eccles et al., 2006). However, individual factors moderate the relation between perceptions of racism and academic outcomes. For example, African

American youth who receive racial socialization messages emphasizing group affiliation, pride, and awareness of social inequality have higher school achievement (Bowman and Howard, 1985). It may be that when students are prepared to confront discrimination, perceiving discrimination actually makes them more committed to succeed and use education as a tool to fight racial discrimination (Comer, 1988; Eccles et al., 2006; Suizzo, Robinson, and Pahlke, 2008).

Occupational Aspirations

During adolescence, individuals begin to consider issues of identity and weigh the adoption of adult roles (Erikson, 1956). Occupational aspirations held during adolescence predict occupational attainment years later (e.g., Marjoribanks, 1991). Existing theoretical models propose that adolescents aspire to professions they feel they could enjoy and perform well (Bandura, 1995; Eccles et al., 1983). Adolescents' occupational goals may also reflect their perceptions of the occupational roles members of their racial ingroup typically hold (Bigler, Averhart, and Liben, 2003; Gottfredson, 1981; Hughes and Bigler, 2008). Additionally, perceptions of discrimination may influence occupational goals; adolescents who expect to experience discrimination in a given occupational setting may shift their occupational goals to settings where they perceive less discrimination (see Hughes and Bigler, 2008). Thus, racial stereotype awareness and perceptions of discrimination may shape adolescents' occupational goals.

Intergroup Relations

Interactions between racial groups can be marked by tension and miscommunications in adolescence. In extreme cases, miscommunications deteriorate into race-based hate and violence, as described at the beginning of this chapter. Well before that point is reached, however, intergroup tensions can cause difficulties in the academic environment, including reduced interracial interactions and heightened stereotypes. These difficulties are likely to be particularly salient during adolescence because of increasing awareness of others' racial stereotypes and the complexities of racism.

Research on adolescents' awareness of racial issues has not been extensive. However, based on research findings from university-aged students and adults, we expect to see race-group differences in the ways racial awareness manifests itself for adolescents in intergroup contexts. Whites tend to become anxious during interracial interactions, in part because they have limited previous experience with outgroup peers (Plant and Devine, 2003) and in part because they do not want to be perceived as racist (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp, 1997). This anxiety leads Whites to behave in ways that, ironically, appear racially biased (see Goff, Steele, and Davies, 2008). Racial minorities also tend to become anxious during interracial interactions, but their anxieties center on concerns about Whites' racial biases (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, and Hodson, 2002; Shelton, 2000). Racial minorities' vigilance during interactions leads them, for example, to pay attention to possible nonverbal racial bias cues of which Whites might not be aware (Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner,

2002). Interracial anxieties experienced by individuals of all racial backgrounds may lead to decreased interracial interactions and increased interracial tensions.

Importantly, positive interracial interactions can lead to reductions in racial biases (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) and in anxieties about future interactions (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, and Tropp, 2008). Racially diverse schools have the potential to provide students with opportunities to develop their interaction skills and become better prepared to thrive in an increasingly diverse society. For example, Killen, Crystal, and Ruck (2007) reported that children and adolescents in racially diverse schools were more likely to denounce race-based exclusion than students in racially homogenous schools. Interacting with members of other racial groups may foster the desire for racial fairness among children of all racial backgrounds. Thus, although adolescents' greater awareness of racism and stereotyping may lead them to experience anxiety during interracial interactions, such interactions provide important opportunities to develop interracial sensitivity and understanding.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Teachers in racially diverse schools can help adolescents navigate issues related to race in the classroom while also improving achievement and intergroup relations. Within this section, we highlight three strategies educators can use to help adolescents – teacher self-awareness, pedagogical diversification, and classroom discussions of race and racism. We then discuss the importance of using the strategies in combination. We conclude with a discussion of some emerging areas of research and suggestions for future work.

Teacher Self-Awareness

Educators who are willing to reflect on how their own race-related behaviors and beliefs are perceived by students to have the potential to improve student outcomes in racially diverse schools. Consider, for example, how students felt in the middle school classrooms observed by Casteel (2000). In these classrooms, White students were praised more often than African American students. Teachers were also more likely to repeat questions and provide clues when White students incorrectly answered a question. More research is needed to understand students' perceptions and reactions to race-related patterns in the classroom (see Rosenbloom and Way, 2004). However, given adolescents' heightened awareness of issues of race, it is likely that African American students noticed their teachers' tendencies and concluded their teachers were racist. By considering how students may perceive their behaviors, educators can work to improve students' sense of belonging in the classroom, reduce perceptions of discrimination or intergroup tensions and, consequently, improve academic achievement.

Pedagogical Diversification

Many USA high school curricula now include non-Western (or non-White) course material. Curricular diversification demonstrates to adolescents from all racial backgrounds that White people are not the only important contributors to society. Conveying this message in a classroom setting may reduce perceptions of educational racism among students of color and may provide all students with greater appreciation for the multicultural foundations of modern society (Louie, 2005; Sleeter, 1996). In fact, multicultural curricula have long been promoted as improving students' racial attitudes (e.g., Derman-Sparks and Brunson-Phillips, 1997). Although empirical evidence supporting this line of thought is limited, it is important to teach beyond the traditional Western-White perspective simply because doing so pays overdue honor to the achievements of non-Western cultures.

Specific pedagogical strategies can also reduce experiences of stereotype threat in the classroom. One such strategy is cooperative learning, which originally was adopted to improve interracial relations in diverse classrooms, but also reduces stereotype threat and improves academic achievement (Aronson and Patnoe, 1997). Additionally, interventions that encourage students to see intelligence as malleable also may minimize stereotype threat and improve student achievement (e.g., Aronson, 2004; Good et al., 2003).

Classroom Discussions of Race and Racism

Educators often wrestle with the decision of whether to acknowledge racial discrimination in conversations with students (see Hughes and Bigler, 2007). Pollock (2004) elegantly documented one high school's struggles with this issue, illustrating that many educators are reluctant to discuss race explicitly for fear of being perceived as biased by students. There is some evidence that discussing racism explicitly with elementary school-aged children in racially homogenous settings fosters positive outcomes (Hughes, Bigler and Levy, 2007). However, this evidence cannot speak to how adolescents, who are likely more sensitive to race than elementary-aged children, might respond to similar classroom discussions. Anecdotal evidence is widely available, however, to support the idea that teachers who sincerely and sensitively acknowledge issues related to race – including more challenging topics like ongoing discrimination – are more comfortable in racially diverse classrooms and foster improved interracial relations and lower student perceptions of racism (Hall, 2006; Pollock, 2004).

Multifaceted Approach

The strategies of self-awareness, adoption of culturally diverse curricula, and classroom discussions of race and racism are interrelated and must be used in combination to affect the greatest benefits. For example, teachers who are aware of their own racial perceptions and beliefs, and who strive to treat students equitably in the classroom, will be able to adopt culturally diverse curricula and classroom discussions of racism more effectively. As educators know, adolescents are notoriously resistant to and sceptical about politically correct, but glib, messages concerning cultural diversity (e.g., Ogbu, 2004). Thus, it is

important for educators who adopt culturally diverse curricula to embrace the material with true interest. The same is likely true for discussions of racism; educators who are aware of their racial beliefs may be especially well prepared to engage students in a discussion of race-related beliefs. Additionally, culturally diverse curricula are greatly enhanced by discussions of the racism faced by those members of stigmatized racial groups who have made important contributions to society. We recommend that educators strive to adopt not one but all three of these strategies in their classrooms.

Future Trends

Further empirical work on many of the issues discussed here would greatly benefit our understanding of adolescents' experiences with racial diversity. Future work should bring together the various factors discussed above so researchers and educators can better understand the multifaceted nature of adolescents' experiences related to race. Each factor is surrounded by a wide body of literature, but for the most part these bodies have remained separate. For example, it remains unclear how racial socialization experiences at home affect adolescents' perceptions of their educational environments.

The link between cognitive developments in adolescence and perceptions of societal and interpersonal discrimination is another avenue future research should explore. Finally, although scholars have called for increased discussions of race and racism in the classroom (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 1994; Steele, 1997), little empirical work is available on how lessons influence adolescents' academic outcomes and views of race. Additional classroom-based research is needed in order to better understand how teachers can affect change in racially diverse classrooms.

CONCLUSION

As the United States of America becomes more racially diverse, the issue of how to maximize student achievement within racially heterogeneous educational settings becomes increasingly important. In this chapter we have highlighted some of the most important issues related to how racial views change with adolescence, and how those changes impact students' experiences in racially diverse schools. Cognitive and social changes of adolescence are likely to increase adolescents' awareness of race and interracial tensions.

These changes may have negative consequences for adolescents' educational and social experiences, but racially diverse educational settings simultaneously have great potential to foster adolescents' intercultural sensitivity. Thus, in this chapter we also discussed research-based pedagogical methods to foster positive interracial experiences for adolescent students. Further study of the linkages between cognitive development, racial socialization, and other school environment factors should increase our understanding of this important area of educational research.

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Chapter 9

TEACHING INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES IN THE 21ST CENTURY CLASSROOM: AN EXPLORATION OF QUALITY PEDAGOGY IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

Teachers across Australia are now required to include Indigenous perspectives in their teaching for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous children. Most teachers know little or nothing about Indigenous people and so they present a pedagogy that fantasises about the lives of Indigenous people before the British invasion rather than confronting the historical and political controversies of the present. Non-Indigenous children learn to think about Indigenous people in the past tense, while many teachers overlook the myriad resources available that narrate and explicate the contemporary lives of Indigenous people for children. I suggest in this chapter that teachers in Australia have a powerful role to play in how the future relationship develops between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and this future will depend on whether teachers are prepared to reassess their own place in history. The impetus for this was created recently through the Australian Prime Minister's apology to the Stolen Generations.

Keywords: *Indigenous, non-Indigenous, language*

BACKGROUND

Primary teachers across Australia are now required to include Indigenous perspectives in the classroom for non-Indigenous as well as Indigenous children. In New South Wales, however, the dominant practice is to draw upon old books and materials to present

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worksheets on traditional Indigenous societies. Boomerangs, stone tools, didgeridoos, spears, corroboree dancing, and stories about the dreamtime constitute the backbone of concrete resources propping-up classroom pedagogies in the area (Harrison, 2008; New South Wales Department of Education and Training and New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Incorporated, 2004; New South Wales Department of Education and Training Curriculum Support, 2008). These images of the *traditional* are reinforced by school texts which present an Aborigine standing on the rock with spear (for example, Gabrovec and Bourke, 2001). Captain Cook is still considered among many students and some teachers as the one who "discovered" Australia in 1770.

Talking about past tradition has become the dominant discourse about Indigenous people in Australian classrooms. Students learn to talk about Indigenous people using verbs such as *was*, *were* and *lived*:

> The Aboriginal Australians lived on this land for thousands of years. They did not build permanent homes, they did not build roads or create dams.
> Instead they lived in harmony with the land, moving from place to place according to the season and the food available to them.
> Their shelter was simple and made from natural resources. It could be easily constructed and just as easily destroyed. Land was not cleared for the shelter, it was simply built where there was enough space.
> When the Aboriginal Australians wanted to get from place to place, they walked. Over time narrow pathways formed tracks for them to walk along. The paths also formed the boundaries between different groups.
> If water was needed, the Aboriginal Australian people would seek out water. They would perhaps set up camp near a water supply. This also provided them with a food supply as the animals came to the waterhole to drink.
> Natural resources were used carefully and the area was not destroyed as they relied on the area for their survival. Animals were hunted and plants gathered to eat or for medicine. Nothing was wasted. (taken from unit of work, Sydney primary school Year 4)

This unit of work, designed for primary students, imagines Indigenous people as wandering freely across the country, and in perpetual harmony with the land (see Ninnes, 2004, for an analysis of the discursive formations developed in the New South Wales Science syllabus). Through these eulogies, students learn to read, talk, write, and therefore to think *about* Indigenous Australia in the past tense. While these studies and perspectives talk about the past, scant attention is given in schools to the contemporary lived relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, or to what this relationship might look like in the future albeit in a nation with a highly conflicted and damaged past (Cowlishaw, 2006).

The purpose of this chapter then is to explore ways in which schools might focus on the lived relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians as well as learning about traditional Indigenous life prior to British settlement. The key aim in requiring schools in Australia to include Indigenous positions is directed at coming to terms with the damaged relationship in the present as well as the shared history that has developed over the previous 220 years.

'CLOSING THE GAP'

Closing the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people has become the policy mantra for Australian Federal and state governments:

> There are just over half a million Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia today. There is an unacceptable gap in living standards, life expectancy and education, health and employment outcomes between them and non-Indigenous Australians. Action must be taken now to start closing the gap.
>
> … Preventable diseases are common and many residents are illiterate and innumerate. An epidemic of alcohol and other substance abuse, violence and anti-social behaviour is destroying lives in many remote communities. (Australian Government, 2008, p. 1)

The policy then details how the Federal government will close the gap between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and other Australians in life-expectancy, mortality rates, and in literacy and numeracy achievement between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and other students within a decade, and halve the gap in employment outcomes, and attainment of Year 12, the final year at secondary school (Australian Government, 2008).

Indigenous people are positioned in two ways through the policy. Firstly, the government argues that intervention is required and justified because of the "disease," "abuse," "violence," "suffering," and so forth that exists in both isolated and urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. These communities are set within a context of deprivation and loss, thereby maintaining Indigenous people in an unequal power relation to "other Australians." Secondly, Indigenous people are compared with non-Indigenous people with the reassurance that the indicators of life and education for Indigenous people must be raised to a non-Indigenous standard. Only the final target (to provide all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander four year olds in remote communities with access to a quality preschool programme within five years) avoids positioning Indigenous people in a disempowered relation to "other Australians."

Whilst the policy is designed to improve outcomes, it simultaneously places Indigenous people in the condescending hands of the government, just as the policies of assimilation and integration had done before[1]. The message that Indigenous people need to be "supervised" is a pervasive historical discourse of deficit and loss in Australia, and one which produces an epistemological context for a homogenised *them,* symbolised in the common expressions, *I feel sorry for them.* As Judith Butler (1997, p. 27) has said, they are "put in place" through a language that disempowers and disrespects. This is why it is important for teachers to begin talking with their students about contemporary living relationships, and then at a later stage to teach about how Indigenous people once lived and the effects of British colonisation on Indigenous societies.

A major task for teachers is to avoid linking Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to loss and deficiency in the minds of their students. Beginning a lesson about loss of

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[1] The current Federal government intervention in Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory of Australia highlights the fact that governments in Australia "have abandoned any pretence of Aboriginal self-determination while the de facto policy remains the same as it always was – more intervention" (Cowlishaw, 2006, p. 432).

language and land, or low life expectancy, alcohol abuse, and poor educational outcomes (all of which are not in dispute) will not assist students to reflect on the nature of their historical power relation to Indigenous people. Conversely, a recognition of the need to do something about this unequal historical relation provided the context for the Australian Prime Minister's apology to the Stolen Generations in February 2008 (Prime Minister's address to the nation, Tuesday 12 February 2008).

DAMAGED RELATIONSHIPS

Prime Minister Rudd's televised apology to the Stolen Generations soon after he came to office was watched live by many school children, and class discussions about the historical need to bring Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia together followed this. One year later, Professor Mick Dodson, the Australian of the Year, co-chairman of Reconciliation Australia, and the director of the National Centre for Indigenous Studies at the Australian National University, remarked on the impact of the Prime Minister's apology:

> The apology has allowed the healing to start. It was an essential gesture that lays the foundation for us to achieve real improvements in the everyday lives of Indigenous Australians, in turn benefiting all Australians.
> My strong sense is that the majority of Australians feel better knowing that the apology has been made. They were moved by the occasion and are showing heightened motivation now to work for positive outcomes in health, employment, education and all the other interrelated aspects of closing the life-expectancy gap (Dodson 2009, p. 1).

There is little doubt that Kevin Rudd's apology has promoted a national discussion regarding the future relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, a dialogue first prompted by Mick Dodson's brother, Patrick Dodson, who remarked in Melbourne in 2007: "Australia is destined for new political leadership [after 11 years of conservative government] and with it a sense that it is time for a serious national dialogue over the position of Indigenous people in Australia's future" (Dodson, 2007). Moreover, if we place these events and their associated (idealistic) observations in the context of historical relations in Australia, we are provided with a much stronger rationale for the need to act on the nature of the damaged relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. The underbelly of this relationship is carefully explicated in a long term ethnographic study by Gillian Cowlishaw (2006).

Cowlishaw (2006, p. 430) explored the "antagonistic and ideological discourses" in the rural town of Bourke, New South Wales, to question how the town's interracial moral rivalries and suspicions could be reconciled. In a town where about one third of the 3500 population identify as Aboriginal, the lived relationship had developed into one of rivalry and competition, and at times "poisonous hostility," and this was despite the majority of Bourke people having Black and White forebears (Cowlishaw, 2006, p. 430). White people complained about the "Black privilege and its misuse: they're getting all the money. They're getting this, they're getting that," whereas the Murris (Aboriginal people) complained of dispossession, exclusion, routine contempt, and suspicion. While the community was necessarily a site of difference and dispute, there was little attempt on behalf of residents to

negotiate the "cultures of complaint," both accusing the other of being "the problem" (Lea, Kowal, and Cowlishaw, 2006). Cowlishaw (2006, p. 432) adds that despite all the analysis of Indigenous issues from a range of ideological positions, "it seems that the majority of Australians have neither seen nor heard Indigenous people and are quite unfamiliar with their social worlds." While "some superb work has gone into researching and rethinking Australia's history and current relationships with Indigenous people," Cowlishaw (2006, p. 441) takes the position that we now need to attend to "social relations in the present." What are the implications of this proposition for teachers?

This question was highlighted for me recently when I visited a school in Sydney. The school has adopted a whole school philosophy of restorative pedagogy where it assumes that students will not learn to treat others in a reasonable and fair manner if the school imposes (its authority through) a series of competitive rewards and punishments on the students. The focus of the pedagogy is on developing and maintaining healthy and strong relationships with children rather than doing things to or for them (Doppler, 2006). This primary school has addressed the epistemological foundations of its everyday practices in order to make a difference to the social relations in contemporary Australian society. This means that the school does not impose a system of rewards and punishments for good and bad behaviour, rather it relies upon dialogue to heal the damaged relationships that inevitably arise through bringing over 600 children together into one place. In statistical terms, this means less fighting and bullying among students, along with significantly improved outcomes in numeracy and literacy in state-wide testing regimes (Doppler, 2006).

Australian government policy on education has much to learn from this school in terms of its attempts to renegotiate relationships outside the unequal power relations of the past. Restorative pedagogy at this school does not establish a standard for others to attain, or a deficit to be overcome as does the *Closing the Gap* policy. It is neither punitive, or accusative of the other (child) being the problem, rather it focuses on developing healthy and decent relationships while eschewing the rivalry and competition that are the hallmark of current education policy and practice in this country.

PRE-SERVICE TEACHER TRAINING

Recent research in eastern Australia into the quality of teaching in primary and secondary schools report on the need to develop the *intellectual engagement* of teachers (Hayes, Mills, Christie, and Lingard, 2006; New South Wales Department of Education and Training, 2003). Yet teachers are reluctant to embrace models of proposed change and improvement because there is a sense of distrust within the teaching profession in Australia. This distrust stems not from the recommendations contained in these reports, rather it has more to do with the people who produce them, people who have been out of the classroom for many years and are seen to have "lost touch." As a consequence, the desire to change attitudes and teaching practices has turned to the training of pre-service teachers (see Craven, 1996, 1999; Harrison, 2008).

Compulsory courses in Indigenous education have been introduced across Australia for pre-service teachers. These initially focussed on the political rehabilitation of the student through awareness of state Indigenous education policy. Only the Department of Education in Western Australia recognised the need to deliver quality pedagogy in order to bring

Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians together, and it has subsequently produced some helpful projects directed at developing the teachers' knowledge and understanding of Indigenous languages and cultures (for example, Konigsberg and Collard, 2000, 2002). Other isolated projects have focused on curriculum development, mainly in secondary schools (New South Wales Department of Education and Training and New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Incorporated, 2004; New South Wales Board of Studies, 2008).

In recent years, however, the focus of education has moved away from developing a political and epistemological awareness among teachers, and towards producing a programme that can genuinely reach out to touch non-Indigenous student teachers in the context of the competitive social and racial discourses that inscribe us all. Nevertheless, such recognition is often limited by student teachers who unwittingly think that talk about language is of secondary significance to the real work of learning how to teach the content (Harrison, 2005).

I have suggested above that the discourses engaged by the teacher in the classroom can help to govern the future relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. We can say this in another way: It is how the teacher speaks (about his or her relationship to Indigenous Australia) that is just as important as what the teacher talks and teaches *about,* including the strategies used by the teacher to teach the content. Language is not the tool of the teacher, rather it *is* the pedagogy: the teaching, the learning and its effects.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS

There is a clear need for teachers to be conscious of how they construct Indigenous people though their classroom discourse. This includes balancing representations of Indigenous people between past and contemporary cultures in classroom activities and language. Teachers can encourage their students to reflect on popular language use, such as:

  i) Use of terms in classroom texts: *traditional*, *modern*, *ancient*, *humpy* (*humpy* is often used and applied as a derogatory term to describe a small shelter made from tree branches, by some Indigenous people).
 ii) Statements such as "the Jenolan caves were 'discovered' in 1894…" or "Australia is so young…" (compared with Europe); or "Australia has such a short history."
iii) Use of past tense. Using the past tense not only positions Indigenous people in the past, it also denies the existence of Indigenous people living today. It is not the place of school children to judge the identity rights of others, although the curriculum in Australia does encourage such classroom debate.

Teachers could be thinking about the nature of the power relationship that they inevitably establish between their students and Indigenous people in Australia through their language. Just as it is time for a serious national dialogue over the position of Indigenous people in Australia's future (see Dodson, 2009) it is also time for a serious dialogue over the position of Indigenous Australia in our classrooms.

I have highlighted a need to situate contemporary images of Indigenous people in the classroom through the use of contemporary readers, as well as through teachers' discourse.

There are some richly illustrated resources available for teachers, for example the Indij Readers Series (http://www.indijreaders.com.au/) which positions Indigenous people in a wide diversity of roles, locations, and identities. There is a need for teachers to make Indigenous Australia a significant and ongoing reference point in the classroom. To do nothing through fear of making a mistake or because of a perceived lack of knowledge is to exclude Indigenous people from the lives of children in the classroom. It wipes Indigenous people out of the history of Australia. On the other hand, to position Indigenous people in a deficit discourse is to reproduce the disempowerment, along with the condescension and contempt that accompanies it.

The inclusion of Indigenous voices in school programmes is one of the most successful means of bringing the lived lives of students into contact with the everyday lives Indigenous people, especially in the light of Cowlishaw's (2006) observation above that most Australians have never seen or met an Indigenous person (also see New South Wales Department of Education and Training and New South Wales Aboriginal Education Consultative Group Incorporated, 2004). When students are able to engage with Indigenous people through such programmes, a side of life is revealed to many students that cannot be gleaned from texts about either the past or the present. And while Indigenous community involvement in schools underwrites the effectiveness of these programmes, it should be recognised that it can take many years to develop the appropriate contacts, and to find out who to talk to and what to ask for. This is a difficult task for beginning teachers and so the need for a whole school approach to teaching Indigenous perspectives is crucial in terms of showing them how to involve their community.

A whole school programme with strong and ongoing Indigenous perspectives needs to be conceptualised in terms of its structure, timing, philosophy, teacher professional development, and resourcing. The inner-suburban school in Sydney referred to earlier in this chapter has developed a strong philosophy built on restorative practices. Indigenous perspectives are developed in the context of its philosophy and delivered across the Kindergarten to Year 6 (5-11 years of age) programme by teachers for all students. Recognition of the traditional owners and language of the area is integral to the curriculum, and a sequence of learning has been developed across the stages. The school has promoted enduring links with its community to incorporate local cultural knowledge in the programme (Doppler, 2006). Most importantly, the school, its teachers and students are not only learning *about* Indigenous people, they are engaged in serious dialogue over the place of Indigenous people in their own lives and relationships.

CONCLUSION

If we were to imagine ourselves standing on the sweeping lawns of Parliament House in Canberra, Australia, as were thousands of Australians who listened to the Prime Minister's moving apology to the Stolen Generations soon after he took office, how could we imagine the future for Indigenous *and* non-Indigenous Australians? I have taken the position in this chapter that a lived relationship must be negotiated in terms of our future together, while being careful not to disinherit the history that comes before us.

In the context of the classroom, teachers could be asking their students to talk about their own future with Indigenous Australia, and how they are going to interact with Indigenous people. What should our future together look like in this country given what has happened in the past? In contemplating what this future might look like, Mick Dodson's observations on the importance of the apology to the Stolen Generations in Australia demonstrate the need for schools to get kids talking about how they will get along with others and what sort of future they see for themselves and others in this nation. The reason for studying contemporary everyday relations is to focus the pedagogy on Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in 21st century Australia while also providing students with an opportunity to understand their forebears outside the projections of them as murderers and perpetrators of repugnant policies, or as brave explorers of a new and uninhabited land. The difficult task here for teachers is make the message more sophisticated yet less didactic if their pedagogy is to be seen as anything other than moralistic education.

In the end, the non-Indigenous child's ability to empathise with Indigenous children outside the deficit discourses that have often pervaded Australian classrooms in the past ultimately becomes a question of faith. As students progress through the school, they will decide, each one of them, in one way or another, whether to reach out to Indigenous Australians, and concomitantly whether to recognise something of themselves in others, or to remain forever alienated from those with whom they live.

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Chapter 10

DELVING INTO RACISM: RAISING CRITICAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HIDDEN, LESS VISIBLE ASPECTS OF OUR SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

In recent years there has been a call to celebrate diversity in education, whilst reducing disparities in learning outcomes between diverse student groups (Cochran-Smith, 2004). In Aotearoa New Zealand, significant educational disparities exist between the indigenous Māori and non-Māori students. Despite attempts to close this gap, differences in outcomes can be attributable to individual and institutional racism that maintains an inequitable status quo (Walker, 1991). The present chapter examines the racism that emerged within a New Zealand government-initiated action research pilot project that sought to improve practice and outcomes for Māori students (Hynds, 2007). Evidence indicated that racism, fuelled by stereotypes and deficit thinking, disrupted reform within two schools that were involved. Study results revealed that racism was largely ignored within the context of improvement and that school leaders were uncertain about how to deal with it. Implications from this research are discussed along with recommendations for school-based reforms which seek to improve practice and outcomes for marginalised students.

Keywords: *racism, culturally responsive pedagogy, barriers to change*

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INTRODUCTION

The issue of underachievement and disparity in educational outcomes between indigenous and non-indigenous groups is not unique to New Zealand (Shields, Bishop, and Mazawi, 2005). The current structure of schooling across the western world has developed out of decades of educational policies designed to assimilate indigenous students into the dominant culture by eliminating language and culture differences (Smith, 1999). Colonisation is viewed as a process which ignores and/or denies the status of indigenous people and maintains a colonial discourse as the "other." Colonial histories across North America, Australia and New Zealand, for example, have left indigenous peoples with an intergenerational legacy, including educational failure and unequal employment patterns. Decades of reporting research findings about the failure of Māori children in mainstream schools have contributed to teachers' patterned responses to Māori children (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richards, 2003). Jenkins argued, over ten years ago, that the pattern of disparity has become so commonplace, "society has come to accept it as quite normal for Māori to fail" (1994, p. 150). Raising the achievement of Māori students in the general stream of education continues to be problematic due to the low expectations of teachers towards Māori students' learning (Bishop et al., 2003). Therefore historical attempts to address cultural diversity have been inadequate due to epistemological racism, "racism that is embedded in the fundamental practices of the dominant culture" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p. 12).

Despite various attempts to address disparity in achievement patterns, underachievement of Māori students remains an issue (OECD, 2001, 2002). The Ministry of Education responded by funding school-based interventions designed to close the gap. Subsequently, the first phase of an action research pilot school programme was implemented in voluntary schools across the country. The aim was to improve teaching practice and outcomes for Māori students based on understandings derived from collaborative partnerships[1] between Māori and non-Māori within the broader school communities. Each school was supported by an in-school facilitator, to:

- collect base-line data on Māori student achievement and identify students' learning needs;
- develop appropriate interventions (and professional development programmes for teachers) to address the most significant of these;
- implement the interventions;
- observe and record changes in Māori student outcomes; and
- assess the impact the programme had on Māori student outcomes and family (*whānau*)-school relationships.

The evaluation of the first phase, conducted in 2003, indicated the first signs of progress towards reframing the mainstream school experience for Māori students within several schools (Tuuta, Bradnam, Hynds, Higgins, and Broughton, 2004). However,

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[1] Partnership work between Māori and non-Māori has particular significance in New Zealand and usually refers to the partnership principle in the Treaty of Waitangi. This treaty was signed in 1840, and formed an agreement between Māori and the British Crown about governance of the country.

recommendations made in the Evaluation Report stated that further research was needed on partnership processes between Māori and non-Māori in schools. I wanted to find out more about the process of developing and sustaining these relationships across time and so my own research study, which is the focus of this chapter, posed the following questions: What are the beliefs, values and experiences that precede the collaborative activities when Māori and non-Māori teachers work together on a school reform project? What influences the practice and acceptance of teachers' collaborative partnership work?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Although considerable research has documented the inequalities of the mainstream schooling system to meet the needs of indigenous children and young people, there remains a need for research to inform change and transformation (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). This study draws on narratives of the experiences of teachers, students, and community people in two schools (one elementary and one high school) who participated in the first phase of the government-funded action research initiative.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with 77 participants to track personal experiences of teachers' collaborative partnerships and perceptions of change over time. Seventeen teachers (7 Māori and 10 non-Māori) were interviewed twice over the course of 12 months (2003 – 2004). Parents/caregivers (10 Māori and 20 non-Māori) and their children (15 Māori and 15 non-Māori) were then interviewed towards the end of 2004.

Inductive analysis ensured that codes, themes, and patterns emerged from the collected evidence (Janesick, 2000). Co-construction of meaning developed through member checks[2] and debriefing procedures with participant groups. To protect the anonymity of participants I have changed their names, and at times position and gender.

MY INITIAL UNDERSTANDINGS: TEACHER ENTHUSIASM FOR INCLUSIVENESS

At the start I was confident that teachers were excited about the prospect of more inclusive learning environments within their schools. I have spoken about these results in other publications, for example see Hynds (2008). In 2003, 15 out of 17 teachers (6 Māori and 9 non-Māori) reported that a new excitement for change had developed out of teachers' shared engagement in new and inclusive learning environments facilitated during the first phase of the programme. Participants explained that psychologically safe spaces had enabled diverse participants to speak about their own experiences and interpretations of mainstream schooling. Professional development sessions were held in the local *marae* (meeting houses) where teachers, community elders, families and students told, and listened to, personal stories

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[2] As key patterns emerged from analysis, participant groups were asked to comment on the validity of results through a process of on-going member checks and debriefing procedures. The process of conducting member checks with culturally diverse participants developed into a process of mutual story-telling, "… where participants are engaging in a discourse where meanings are contextually grounded and shift as discourse develops and is shaped by speakers" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p. 127).

about classroom, teaching, and school experiences. These conversations enabled teachers to learn from others about effective pedagogies, as well as barriers to change, if the goal was to support Māori students learning and progress in classrooms. Collective interactions appeared to result in reciprocal learning that reflected both the ways that relationships between participants were developing, and also the purpose underlying the communal activities.

However, although I expected that teachers' collaborative partnership would be sustained in each of the two schools, over time I saw that anticipated change and transformation was not actually occurring across either school community. Over time I became conscious of undercurrents and submerged tensions, which my analysis brought to the surface. These included the hidden, unexamined, and submerged values, beliefs, and personal prejudices that teachers bring into their work and, in this context, their collective reform work.

EXAMINING THE UNEXAMINED

After the first set of teacher interviews were analysed I conducted the second set of teacher interviews one year later (2004). Participants now talked about teachers undertaking new roles and responsibilities, such as working with peers and other specialist support teachers in reciprocal and structured ways. Teachers described working in new teams, across syndicates and departments, to examine Māori students' work, engagement and achievement data, and plan new approaches to teaching.

Thirteen out of 17 teachers (5 Māori and 8 non-Māori) now explained that they were observing colleagues teaching. Opening up classrooms to teaching peers was considered an important part of the improvement process. These teachers indicated that their engagement was influenced by feelings of trust and professional respect for their colleague and they gave every indication that such attitudes were straightforward and visible. There was a commonsense approach to such work which strongly emphasised the importance of trust, respect, and collective safety as teachers engaged in new and potentially 'risky' activities:

> There has got to be trust when you work with colleagues really closely … that we can freely talk about my shortcomings or the shortcomings of the method that I had chosen that day and why it didn't work for certain students and there has to be quite a bit of trust … to broach that. (Andrew, non-Māori teacher, 2004)

> So to be critically supportive involves a colleague looking at what I do and examining ways in which it can be done better, but at the same time it doesn't belittle my whole methodology and that's why that trust thing comes in. If I am working with somebody that I can trust, that is generally supportive of the thrust of what I am trying to do, then we can happily criticise or tweak the bits that need to be tweaked. So I think it actually again comes down to trust. I always come back to that. (James, non-Māori teacher, 2004)

These reform activities (such as in-class observation and peer feedback) appeared straightforward and highly visible within each of the teacher's schools. However, I soon discovered other, less visible beliefs, attitudes, and activities that also influenced the acceptance and practice of teachers' collective reform work.

Over time I learned about horrendous interactions, emphasising teachers' racist beliefs and personal prejudices. A particular stereotype related to 'lazy' and 'greedy' Māori. These constructions of Māori were at odds with my own observations, which showed that the majority of Māori teachers were giving up their own time after school to support non-Māori colleagues in *Te Reo* (Māori language) classes and/or attending extra and additional *whānau hui* (family–school meetings) to encourage their non-Māori colleagues. One Māori teacher described how she was shocked and upset by a colleague's comments in the staffroom, and while she wanted to confront her colleague, she had felt unable to do so:

> We were talking in the staffroom, I can't exactly remember what the topic was, but we were talking about equal rights and the Treaty and bits and pieces and there was something in the paper about Māori, ….but the comment she made was, 'Oh, that's just typical … they want everything!', and… it just blew me away … . (Maree, Māori teacher, 2004)

Messages within participant stories emphasised a lack of respect amongst some for Māori teachers' views, as well as a lack of openness and honesty about personal attitudes:

> I ….have seen teachers …. being basically racist and that troubles me…. at that school ... there was a general consensus among some of the non-Māori teachers that the Māori teachers didn't work as hard, like they were really laid back, and…. these teachers hoped the Māori teachers would come up to everyone else's standard, not the other way around. (Mrs Shelly, parent/caregiver of non-Māori child, 2004)

> … Umm, just the way that some teachers come across, whether they sound like they are giving Māori teachers …the respect and listening to what they have to say … at the end of the day, it's the attitude that just says it all, and you can see if they don't care. … . sometimes I … just sit in the staffroom and have a general chit-chat with … teachers and I find who is interested and who is not in …. things Māori, then some up and leave, and you're left with the feeling that they don't want to know … . I feel some [teachers] don't feel comfortable voicing their opinion to people … . They would rather wait and go around the corner and say, 'God, check them out. Da. Da. Da. Da.' But they're not there saying it to the person. (Ms Lynn, parent/caregiver of Māori child, 2004)

It appeared to me that these stereotypes (beliefs) influenced the acceptance of teachers' collaborative partnership work and its place within each school's culture. They were indeed both an indication of deep-seated prejudice within the school and wider community, and a controlling device to maintain the (inequitable) status quo. Existing as they did, they remained unexamined and unacknowledged within the context of teachers' reform work:

> If it gets them Māoris good marks then, yeah, then it's good [non-Māori and Māori teachers working together], better than having all these Māori people sitting on the dole … sitting on the dole and taking up all our taxes … instead of buying us new stuff … and making our country all flash … . (Sonia, Yr 11 non-Māori student, 2004)

> … the teachers, the Māori teachers and the non-Māori teachers at the school have accepted more stuff than they should have … I think it's not good if there's too much of a Māori influence in the school …, there's more theft in the area, …. I mean, you might have a Māori woman who has five or six kids from different fathers and they're all in or out of jail.

And the kids are living with their grandparents and they're swapped around and they don't have good role models. (Ms Robins, parent/caregiver of non-Māori child, 2004)

I found that it was mostly Māori students, parents/caregivers and teachers who were alert to the presence of such stereotypes and racist practices within the school. These participants could see the impact of such beliefs (low expectations) which could negatively influence Māori students' identities as academic achievers:

> Like …. with this whole thing about the underachievement of Māori and they've emphasised it so much it's like this huge thing. It's like, 'Oh, Māoris are underachievers, we need to work and work and work on this'. And like my father said, 'It's actually down-grading for Māori, to have this emphasised so much, it's a real negative stereotype'. Like my kids are average-to-above average in school. When we talk about Māori underachievement, what are we actually talking about? (Mrs Tumu, parent/caregiver of Māori child, 2004)

> Well, most of the Māoris just say non-Māori, they're brainy, if you're Māori, you're dumb, and you're going to end up working in the bush kind of thing, yeah … …. a lot of Māori students don't know where they're going and that's why they just drop out of school. (Marama, Yr 11 Māori student, 2004)

Messages from participant stories emerged as warning signs, indicating the presence of deficit thinking and marginalising practices. I started to see that the schools' cultures, which were ostensibly collaborative, and therefore inclusive of all sorts of groups and differences, were in fact beset with prejudices that could only erode any connectedness created by collaborative work. Cultural diversity was at most tolerable, possibly only when it was scarcely noticed or superficially accepted: there was nothing in the collaborative process, even after a year or more, which made difference safe and acceptable.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The contradictory nature of participant stories (between the first and second interviews and across diverse stakeholder groups) enabled me to dig deeper into meanings embedded within participant stories, highlighting less conscious participant beliefs, values, assumptions and experiences which needed to be brought into the light and collectively and critically explored in contexts of trust and mutual respect.

According to McLaren, we "inhabit a world rife with contradictions and asymmetries of power and privilege" (2003, p. 69). McLaren argues that political contradictions exist in schooling practices that seek to promote shared decision-making practices whilst actually functioning to limit some participants' access to information and/or to deprive them of such responsibilities. W. Penetito (personal communication, April 1-10, 2009) has added to such arguments by stating that questions about race, racism, and racist practices in schools can enable participants (students, teachers, and *whānau*/parents/caregivers) to search out contradictions in educational practice. Such activities enable school community members to locate ways that historical power relations have shaped schooling practice, cultural identity, thought processes and legitimate knowledge in Aotearoa New Zealand. The mainstream schooling system within this country has been developed through colonising processes (Smith, 1999) and

perpetuates stereotypes, deficit thinking, and images of Māori children and young people that are destructive (Shields, et al., 2005). Racism has been defined as both a doctrine and a social reality (Dummett, 1973), deeply rooted in history, society, and unequal power relationships (Hill, 2009). Dummett (1973) argued that as a doctrine, racism works to classify, divide, and marginalise people into groups (dominant and subordinate). As a social reality, racism is embedded within society and is maintained by social institutions (such as schools) which perpetuate inequalities between groups (Dummett, 1973). The acceptance of stereotypes about minority groups contributes to the production of racism (both as a doctrine and as a social reality) as the inferiority of subordinate or marginalised groups is therefore viewed as normal (Hill, 2009).

An important part of the development of culturally responsive pedagogy requires teachers to encourage their students to raise critical questions about racist practices (both individual and institutional) and to investigate marginalising practices, and power relations both within the school community and outside in society (Banks, 2006; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Shields, et al., 2005; Sleeter and Delgado-Bernal, 2004). Cochran-Smith (2004) echoes such points by arguing that we need to raise critical questions about current practice and make such inquiries discussable in schools:

> Part of this means helping students name and deal with individual instances of prejudice as well as structural and institutional inequities by making these practices 'discussible' in school. This also means challenging some of the practices and assumptions that are taken for granted. (p. 77)

Kincheloe (2003) states that we are constrained by assumptions and habits built up from the past, from historical traditions of authority and power, and because of this critical reflection, discomfort, and a desire to act must sit with uncertainty and a restless sense of inquiry. Critical consciousness only develops through a critical examination of contradictory schooling practices for diverse groups that moves "the discourse of multiculturalism away from the study of race as only a black and non-white conundrum to a new locale where it involves the enigma of whiteness as well" (Kincheloe, 2003, p. 203). In this context, teachers, students and other community members understand political forces that shape constructions of "human needs and desire" and develop heightened awareness of expressions of "racism, sexism and homophobia" (Kincheloe, 2003, p. 203).

Whilst this is the work of change, Johnston and Bush have also maintained that teachers and principals are often "reluctant" to lead "messy and uncertain" conversations around issues of difference (2005, p. 294). Certainly during interviews and member checks, some participants appeared reluctant and unprepared to examine issues of prejudice and racism openly:

> It's like opening a can of worms … why would you want to go there? (Verna, non-Māori teacher, 2005)

> It's hard to have these sort of discussions in schools, because they are often emotionally charged. (Principal 2, non-Māori, 2004)

Although such work is clearly challenging, questions about "what counts" as racism and other marginalising practices must be viewed as a natural part of any school improvement process. And yet there is little within the professional development literature to prepare teachers, school managers and school reform agents for such work (Cochran-Smith, 2004). This requires a safe learning environment, facilitated through on-going dialogue and collective, critical inquiry with all members of the school community (teachers, students, parents/caregivers).

CONCLUSION

W. Penetito (personal communication, April 1-10, 2009) warns that racism and racist practices (individual and institutional) continue to remain invisible to some (often teachers and school managers from the dominant or majority group). Therefore, conversations and rethinking of current mainstream teaching practice for Māori children and young people must involve collaborative work and participatory learning between teachers, schools and local *whānau*, *hapū,* and *iwi* (extended family, sub-tribes, and tribes). It is the knowledge of these local communities that will enable teachers to examine how particular groups have been advantaged or marginalised in mainstream schooling practices, because groups of students' prior experiences and cultural capital are most likely to be represented and valued within the existing curricula (Shields and Sayani, 2005). Both the content and process of community dialogue must address such issues if schools are to truly embrace difference and develop culturally responsive and inclusive practice that enables diverse groups of children and young people to achieve (Shields, 1999; Shields and Sayani, 2005). It is only then that racism and other forms of marginalising practice can be fully explored and understood. This is the work of change. This is the work we must be prepared to sustain, if we are to truly transform our schools so that all our children achieve.

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Chapter 11

DEVELOPMENTAL AND PHYSICAL DISABILITIES

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ABSTRACT

Developmental and physical disabilities represent a significant and increasingly prevalent source of diversity in educational settings. Consequently, it is important for educators to gain a basic understanding of the learning and behavioral characteristics associated with the various types of developmental and physical disabilities. This chapter describes the most common types of developmental and physical disabilities that affect school-aged children and highlights their associated learning and behavioral characteristics. The specific disability categories described are: (a) attention-deficit, hyperactivity disorder, (b) autism spectrum disorder, (c) cerebral palsy, (d) intellectual disability, (e) learning disabilities, and (f) multiple disabilities. This general overview is intended to increase understanding of the educational needs of children with these types of developmental and physical disabilities.

Keywords: *developmental disability, physical disability, learning and behavioral characteristics*

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INTRODUCTION

Developmental and physical disabilities represent a significant and increasingly prevalent source of diversity in educational settings. Consequently, it is important for educators to gain a basic understanding of the learning and behavioral characteristics associated with the most common types of developmental and physical disabilities that affect school-aged children. The aims of this chapter are to (a) define and describe common types of developmental and physical disabilities, and (b) highlight the associated learning and behavioral characteristics. Information of this type may enable educators to better address the educational needs of children with developmental and physical disabilities.

BACKGROUND

Three major trends suggest that educators will increasingly need to be cognizant of the diverse and varied needs of children with developmental and physical disabilities. First, medical and health advances have increased survival rates for children with developmental and physical disabilities (Batshaw, Pellegrino, and Roizen, 2007). Consequently many more children with developmental and physical disabilities are entering school with the expectation that they will receive an appropriate education. Second, increasing emphasis is being placed on providing an appropriate and effective education to all children, regardless of the type or degree of disability. This policy of zero exclusion (Turnbull and Turnbull, 2006) means that educators will require training on providing education to children with a range of disabilities. The third major trend is the growing movement towards inclusive education, meaning that all children should be educated in their least restrictive environment (LRE). In many countries the LRE principle has been interpreted to mean that all children should receive the majority of their educational experience in the regular educational classroom environment, rather than in a separate classroom or school (Friend and Bursuck, 2002).

Providing an appropriate and effective education to the increasing number of children with developmental and physical disabilities in the LRE will require educators to gain specialist knowledge and skills. More specifically, teachers will need to gain an understanding of the learning and behavioral characteristics associated with developmental and physical disabilities. In addition, teachers should have an understanding of the educational implications of their learning and behavioral characteristics. By describing the major learning and behavioral characteristics of common types of developmental and physical disabilities in this chapter, it is anticipated that teachers will gain a basic understanding of these disorders and an appreciation of their educational implications.

ATTENTION-DEFICIT HYPERACTIVITY DISORDER

Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) refers to the persistent display of inattention and/or hyperactivity-impulsivity. Examples include: (a) not listening when spoken to, (b) difficulty completing or organizing tasks, (c) fidgeting or squirming when seated, and (d) difficulty working or playing quietly. These behaviors must be severe when compared to

those of other children of the same age. ADHD usually becomes apparent around seven years of age (American Psychological Association, 2000).

ADHD is diagnosed in 2 to 18% of all school-age children (Barkley, 1990). Information regarding prevalence rates by race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status is limited. Many children with ADHD also have additional diagnoses, such as learning disabilities or conduct disorder. The etiology of ADHD is unknown, but may be related to genetic and environmental factors (e.g., preterm delivery and maternal smoking during pregnancy) (Rowland, Lesesne, and Abramowitz, 2002).

The inattentiveness inherent in children with ADHD directly influences their academic performance. Inattentiveness often leads to careless mistakes and incomplete or messy work. Children with ADHD often struggle to pay attention to teacher delivered instructions, may appear as though their mind is elsewhere, or as if they simply are not listening. These children will often begin one task, move to another task, and then to another, but never complete any one assignment. When required to remain on a specific task for an extended period of time these children are likely to express frustration and protest even to the point of engaging in problem behavior (American Psychological Association, 2000).

ADHD complicates teaching and classroom management. Educational assessment is necessary to identify specific behaviors that interfere with learning and social adjustment (Barkley, 1990). As part of this, it is often useful to identify the variables that interfere with the child's learning and maintain his/her problem behavior. Intervention for children with ADHD focuses on improving attentiveness and reducing problem behaviors. While many children with ADHD receive stimulant medication to improve their attentiveness, research suggests that a combination of medication plus behavioral intervention is a more effective approach (MTA Cooperative Group, 1999).

Despite the challenges presented by children with ADHD, a confident and competent educator can promote learning while at the same time effectively managing the child's problem behavior.

Some important considerations for educators include:

1. Improvements in academic performance and classroom behavior should be expected.
2. Carefully arrange the classroom to minimize distractions.
3. Reinforce (reward) appropriate behaviors and ensure inappropriate behaviors are not reinforced.
4. Directly teach task-related skills that the child needs to succeed academically (e.g., organizational skills).

AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDER

Autism spectrum disorder (ASD) is an umbrella term that covers five more specific diagnoses: (a) autistic disorder, (b) Asperger syndrome, (c) childhood disintegrative disorder, (d) Rett syndrome, and (e) pervasive developmental disorders not otherwise specified (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). Children with ASD present with a triad of symptoms, specifically: (a) qualitative impairment in the ability to relate socially to others, (b) significant deficits in speech, language, and communication development, and (c) aberrant

and ritualistic behaviors, such as extreme tantrums, repetitive/stereotyped movements, and an obsessive insistence on sameness. Many children with ASD also show unusual responses to sensory stimuli, such as reacting with tantrums to everyday noises or common tactile experiences. ASD has been estimated to occur in approximately 1 in every 150 school-aged children and is four times more common in boys than in girls (Sturmey and Fitzer, 2007). ASD appears to be a class of neurological disorders with genetic bases.

Lovaas (2003) identified the major behavioral deficits and excesses associated with ASD. In terms of deficits, children with ASD have considerable difficulty in the following areas: (a) learning, (b) communication, (c) attention, (d) emotional expression and control, (e) toy play, (f) peer interactions, (g) imitation, (h) self-care skills, (i) social skills, and (j) intellectual ability. About 50% of children with autistic disorder score in the mentally retarded range on standardized IQ tests. In terms of excessive behaviors, ASD is associated with (a) extreme tantrums, (b) aggressive acts, (c) self-injury, (d) stereotyped movements (e.g., flapping hands and twirling objects), and (e) ritualistic behaviors, such as insisting on eating the same foods everyday. Generally, the nature and extent of these behavioral deficits and excesses are more severe for children with autistic disorder compared to Asperger syndrome or PPD–NOS, suggesting that the latter diagnoses may represent milder variations of autistic disorder. Childhood disintegrative disorder and Rett syndrome are different from other disorders under the ASD umbrella in that both are progressive disorders that fall under the ASD umbrella, whereas autistic disorder, Asperger syndrome and PPD–NOS are not obviously progressive in nature.

Children with ASD present with learning and behavioral characteristics that makes teaching difficult. Many children with ASD are so inattentive that they are often thought to be deaf or blind. Excessive behavior, such as self-injury, extreme tantrums, and frequent stereotyped movements, can cause serious injury and certainly interfere with teaching efforts. Given their numerous deficits and excesses, children with ASD require a comprehensive educational program focused on teaching new skills and replacing excess behavior with more appropriate alternatives. Teaching new skills often requires a highly structured and deliberate teaching approach following a behavioral model. Replacing excess behavior follows a two-step approach in which the purpose of the behavior is first identified using functional assessment methodologies. The next step is to replace the child's excess behavior by teaching him or her new and more appropriate behavior that will serve the same function or purpose as the excess behavior (Sigafoos, Arthur, and O'Reilly, 2003).

Some important considerations for educators include:

1. Children with ASD benefit from intensive and structured teaching programs focused on teaching new skills and replacing excess behavior with more appropriate behavior.
2. The most effective educational interventions are based on principles of applied behavior analysis (Sturmey and Fitzer, 2007).
3. Educators will be more successful in teaching children with ASD when they have the competencies to design and implement structured and intensive interventions based on the principles of applied behavior analysis.

CEREBRAL PALSY

Cerebral Palsy (CP) is an umbrella term that is used to describe an impairment of motor function, muscle control, and co-ordination. CP results from injury to the brain that occurs prior to, during, or in the first few years after birth. The severity of physical impairment varies depending on the location and extent of the injury. Although CP is not progressive it is a condition that persists through the life span. CP is often associated with vision impairment, hearing impairment, intellectual disability, and seizure disorders.

CP is usually classified in terms of six major types (see Table 1) and in terms of which limb(s) of the body is (are) affected (Rosenbaum, 2003). Hemiplegia refers to a unilateral impairment of arm and leg on one side of the body. In Diplegia, the motor impairment primarily affects the legs, although there may be some relatively limited involvement of arms. Triplegia is the term used when three limbs are affected. This is usually manifest as an impairment of both legs and one arm. Finally, quadriplegia is used when all four limbs are affected.

Table 1. Six major types of CP

Type	Area Affected	Description
Spasticity	Cerebral cortex	Weakness of the muscles, disorders of movement, disturbance of growth and development. Postural deformities develop due to the unequal pull of the muscles.
Athetosis	Basal ganglia	Loss of directional control. Constant involuntary movement that interferes with executing voluntary movement.
Ataxia	Cerebellum	Loss of balance, poor co-ordination, head movement, intention tremor. Unsteady gait.
Tremor and Rigidity	Extra pyramidal tract	Tremor is associated with involuntary vibrating movements. These often occur when a deliberate movement is attempted. Rigidity is associated with postural tone and is the result of resistance of agonist and antagonist muscles.
Mixed Type	Several sections of the brain	Many children with CP have a mixed type including both spastic and athetoid type movements. The child's tone may be variable, but spastic or athetosis may not be dominant, or varying degrees of ataxia may be seen.

A child with mild CP generally has minor problems of mobility, but may experience considerable difficulty with fine motor manipulative movements. A child with moderate CP may have to use mobility aids, such as calipers and walking sticks, and often has major difficulties in executing fine motor movements for functional activities, such as writing. A child with severe CP is often immobile and typically has very little fine motor control.

Some important considerations for educators include:

1. Adopting alternative movement patterns and using assistive technology can enhance academic performance and adaptive functioning.
2. The classroom should be arranged to minimize physical barriers.
3. The child should be allowed ample opportunities to practice the alternative movement patterns that are needed to compensate for his/her impaired motor ability.

INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY

Intellectual disability (or mental retardation) is defined as significantly sub-average intellectual functioning concurrent with deficits in adaptive behavior functioning, both of which are first identified in the developmental period prior to reaching 18 years of age (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). Significantly sub-average intellectual functioning means that the child's IQ score falls two or more standard deviations below the mean on a standardized and individually administered intelligence test (i.e., usually an IQ of 70-75 or less). Adaptive behavior functioning refers to the extent to which the individual copes with the demands of everyday living. A diagnosis of intellectual disability (ID) requires deficits in adaptive behavior functioning "in at least two of the following skill areas: communication, self-care, home living, social/interpersonal skills, use of community resources, self-direction, functional academic skills, work, leisure, health and safety" (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 41). Assessment of adaptive behavior functioning in school-aged children must take into account the child's age, socio-cultural background, and the environments (e.g., home, school, community) in which the child is expected to function.

It is often useful to classify ID in terms of its severity (i.e., mild, moderate, severe, or profound). Mild ID is associated with IQ scores of 50-55 to approximately 70. These cases are usually not identified until the child enters school and begins to fail academically. Moderate ID is associated with IQ scores that range from 34-40 to 50-55. Moderate ID is associated with more obvious adaptive behavior deficits and is usually recognized during early childhood. Severe to profound ID is associated with IQ scores of 20-25 to 35-40 and below 20 or 25, respectively. Most of these children will be identified in infancy owing to significant developmental delay. Many children with severe to profound ID have additional problems (e.g., epilepsy, physical disability, hearing impairment).

Children with ID do not learn as easily or as quickly as their typically developing peers. In particular, as noted in a review by Sigafoos, O'Reilly, and Lancioni (in press), these children seem to have considerable difficulty in gaining knowledge of the world via more symbolic or social learning processes, such as incidental learning, verbal instruction, modeling, and observational learning. Some of this difficulty stems from attending to irrelevant aspects of the environment and over reliance on adult cues, phenomena known as stimulus over-selectivity and outer-directedness, respectively. Impairments of symbolic learning potentially indicate the need for more direct and systematic instruction to promote learning (Duker, Didden, and Sigafoos, 2004).

Some important considerations for educators include:

1. Improvements in academic performance and adaptive functioning can be enhanced by direct and systematic instruction.

2. Instruction should be individualized to match the child's learning and behavioral profile, which is often revealed through standardized intelligence testing.
3. The child should be allowed ample time to process instructions and complete academic work.
4. With effective instruction, children with ID can be expected to make significant gains in academic achievement and adaptive behavior functioning.

LEARNING DISABILITIES

Learning disabilities can be diagnosed by either noting a substantial discrepancy between intellectual ability and achievement or by noting failure to respond to effective instructional practices. Specifically, achievement lags behind what one would ordinarily expect given the child's intellectual ability and the child fails to make progress in response to seemingly appropriate interventions. A learning disability may occur in one or more of the following areas: (a) oral expression, (b) listening comprehension, (c) written expression, (d) basic reading skills, (e) reading comprehension, (f) mathematics calculation, and (g) mathematics reasoning (U.S. Department of Education, 2006).

It is important to note that children with learning disabilities represent a diverse population with unique needs. For example, some children may present with learning difficulties in reading and spelling, while others may have trouble solving math problems. Additionally, individuals with learning disabilities may present variability within their own abilities. For example, a child may excel in mathematical computations, but be two grade levels behind in reading comprehension.

Educational assessment for children with learning disabilities focuses on at least two areas. The first involves identifying the precise type of learning difficulties that the child is experiencing. The second area focuses on monitoring the child's academic progress. These two areas of assessment can provide information to assist a teacher in planning and implementing effective instruction.

Because children with learning disabilities can present with a varied profile of academic achievement, it is critical to assess multiple areas of functioning in order to determine where their specific deficits lie. Four domains are typically assessed in the classroom: (a) language, (b) mathematic skills, (c) cognition and (d) social skills (Hallahan and Kauffman, 2000).

Some important considerations for educators include:

1. Improvements in academic performance often require effective intervention based on a direct instructional model (Williams, 2003).
2. Improvements can be seen in a variety of areas from reading comprehension, to mathematical problem solving skills, to improvements in social interactions.
3. Many children with learning disabilities are able to perform at the same level as their non-disabled peers following effective instruction.
4. Such educational gains may allow children with learning disabilities to participate in more instruction in the general education classroom.

MULTIPLE DISABILITIES

As the term suggests, children with multiple disabilities have more than one disability that affects their educational needs—such as mental retardation and blindness or mental retardation and an orthopedic impairment. The combined effects of these disabilities cause severe learning problems and present the teacher with unique educational challenges.

Children with multiple disabilities may experience levels of impairment that are moderate to profound and require intensive educational and related services (e.g., physical therapy, tube-feeding). The Physical and Health Disabilities Performance Model can indicate areas where the child with multiple disabilities may experience challenges and how those challenges might interact (Heller, 2009). For example, children with multiple disabilities may experience sensory loss, communication impairments, and health problems. The severity of the disability, paired with the functional effects, psychosocial factors, and environmental factors, will determine the level of educational intervention that a child will need. Due to the idiosyncratic nature of the disabilities and their possible interactions, it is imperative that educational programming for children with multiple disabilities be developed on an individual basis and with the full participation of the child with multiple disabilities, their family, and any specialists who may be able to provide support to the educational program, such as general educators, speech-language pathologists, physical therapists, occupational therapists, and behavioral therapists.

There are numerous assessment strategies that can be used to determine curricular goals, including ecological assessments, task analyses with discrepancy analyses, functional behavior assessments, and environmental assessments, among others. These approaches can provide the teacher with information about the child's performance. They can also represent a practical opportunity for incorporating progress monitoring into daily activities without having to develop additional assessment materials. Each approach is individualized to the child and takes into consideration environmental factors, as well as personal and family preferences.

There are a number of domains that will be important educational priorities for children with multiple disabilities. These include: (a) communication, (b) self-care, (c) daily living skills, (d) social skills, and (e) motor skills. Children with multiple disabilities will require intensive educational intervention to progress in these domains. The key to the implementation of any educational program for individuals with multiple disabilities is that it must be handled as a collaborative team, using information provided by the child, the family, various professionals (e.g., special education teacher, behavior analyst, speech-language pathologist, and rehabilitation psychologist).

Some important considerations for educators include:

1. With an appropriate educational intervention, children with multiple disabilities can reach some level of daily skills and activity independence and experience a high quality of life.
2. When working with children who have multiple disabilities, the key is to work with the individual, as no two children will be alike.
3. With a well-designed intervention, children with multiple disabilities can be taught a variety of skills to a wide range of proficiency.

Conclusion

As more children with developmental and physical disabilities are included in regular classrooms, it will be increasingly necessary for educators to gain familiarity with the learning and behavioral characteristics of these children. By describing the most common types of developmental and physical disabilities, and highlighting the associated learning and behavioral characteristics of these disorders, this chapter has hopefully enabled educators to better understand the needs of such children. While all children need to be seen as individuals, information on the general learning and behavioral characteristics associated with the most common types of developmental and physical disabilities may be useful for planning appropriate educational assessments and interventions.

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Chapter 12

INCLUSIVE PHYSICAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

This chapter addresses the issue of physical education for students with disabilities. It firstly examines research on the experiences of students with disabilities in physical education and on the perceptions of physical education teachers. Issues around physical education curriculum and pedagogy are considered, particularly in relation to the impact that choices made in these areas can have on students. The chapter concludes with a section on practical applications for teachers and learners. This section includes an examination of two major pedagogical approaches to the teaching of physical education, Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility (TPSR) and Sport Education (SE). The chapter concludes with a discussion on the three major principles to be used when adapting activities in physical education for students with disabilities.

Keywords: *physical education, teaching, adapted physical education*

INTRODUCTION

James (pseudonym) had been born without arms and with one leg shorter than the other. He was fourteen years of age when he arrived, mid term, to join my physical education class. On the day he arrived the students were working on a trampoline and James asked if he could join in. I was concerned that his lack of ability (he had no arms and one short leg after all) would embarrass him in front of his new classmates. He persuaded me that he would be fine and so I began to carefully talk him through a basic seat drop back to standing. As I started to talk him through this activity he ignored me completely and proceeded to complete forward and backward somersaults with consummate ease.

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This one moment firmly established James's reputation with his classmates while making me very aware of my complete misjudgement of his potential. As I reflected on what had occurred I realised that I had made no attempt to find out James's capabilities, rather I had simply assumed limitations based on my perception of his physical disabilities. This is perhaps the classic mistake made by many teachers, and while in this case James's personality did not allow me to restrict his learning, this is not always the case in physical education.

There has been some research interest in finding out what experiences students with disabilities have in physical education but there appears to be a reluctance by researchers to engage with students directly. Coates and Vickerman (2008) examined seven prominent international journals in an attempt to gain an understanding of the degree to which the voices of students with special educational needs in physical education had been heard. Their research looked at publications over a ten year period and found only seven articles in which the researcher had engaged directly with students with disabilities and reported on their beliefs about, and their experiences in, physical education. Their review of these seven articles concluded that students with special educational needs "gained enjoyment, as well as social learning and physical benefits from taking part in integrated and inclusive sporting activities" (p. 171). The studies also identified, however, that the students' experiences were often restricted and limited by the behaviour of teachers and/or other students, and that when badly managed by teachers, students' feelings of difference were increased, leading to feelings of being excluded. Goodwin and Watkinson (2000) reported that students considered that they had good and bad days in physical education. Good days in physical education occurred when "they had skilfully participated in the activities, when they had a sense of belonging amongst their peers, and when they were able to share in the benefits of the activities" (p. 154). Bad days, in contrast, "tended to be caused by feelings of social isolation, restricted participation and when the child had their competence questioned" (p. 154).

Tripp, Rizzo, and Webbert (2007), in writing about students with disabilities in physical education, used the expression "functional exclusion" (FE) to describe what often occurs during physical education. Functional exclusion was considered to have occurred when "physical educators include a student with a disability in the physical education class, but the student does not meaningfully participate in an instructional programme with his or her peers" (p. 32). There are many ways in which the teacher can initiate FE, for example asking students to keep score, to look after the other students' valuables, or to work independently with teacher aides away from their classmates. While the teacher can be a prime factor in FE, students may also find themselves excluded through the behaviours of their classmates. Fitzgerald (2005) interviewed five students with disabilities and found that the students were very aware that the actions of their peers influenced the degree to which they could legitimately participate. They also identified that on many occasions the other students did not want them in class. In one interview two boys recalled a basketball lesson:

> When we played basketball last week remember [Andy looks over to James] no one passed us the ball [James acknowledges this with a nod]. What can you do if they won't pass? No one would pass me the ball. (Andy) (p. 51)

Later in the interview James expanded on the frustration of being excluded by his peers:

> You can shout and shout for it. Shouting loud, you can shout like loud and you still won't
> … You know I get fed up of shouting and it's just the same. I don't get what it is. (p. 51)

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

The degree to which students are included within physical education is fundamentally dependent on how philosophically committed the teacher is towards ensuring inclusion happens. Tripp, et al. (2007) described inclusion as:

> First it is an attitude, a value, and a belief system, not just an action or set of actions …
> Inclusion is about embracing all students, making a commitment to do whatever it takes to
> create meaningful opportunities for learning and to provide a community of learning where all
> students have an inalienable right to belong. (p. 32)

Where there is a commitment to inclusion, the effectiveness with which that commitment is implemented in practice can be strongly influenced by the teacher's levels of confidence and knowledge. It appears that many physical education teachers lack confidence and feel unprepared to teach students with disabilities in physical education (Sherrill, 1993). This lack of confidence exists despite the reality that all teachers will have a diverse group of learners within their classes, including students who are identified as having a recognised disability. The quantity and quality of the preparation of pre-service teachers to teach students with disabilities appears to vary among providers. Vickerman (2007) surveyed seven pre-service training providers of physical education in England in an attempt to establish the level of preparedness of their students to teach children with special educational needs. He found that "while inclusive PE is supported wholeheartedly there is an inconsistency in the amount of time spent addressing this issue and the nature of curriculum content" (p. 1).

CURRICULUM

In any discussion around the inclusion of students with disabilities in physical education, a fundamental tension needs to be acknowledged. This tension concerns the hegemonic discourse that dominates physical education, and the exclusionary influence that this discourse has on many students with disabilities. Fitzgerald (2005) described this discourse as one that values "a mesomorphic idea, masculinity and high levels of motoric competence" (p. 41). The high status achieved for those who meet these ideals serves to reinforce the disadvantages that students with disabilities are already experiencing in other areas of their live. Fitzgerald and Jobling (2004) commented that:

> Participation in physical education … serves to reinforce dominant discourses of
> disability that emphasise lack and inability. Some would not be surprised by this situation and
> have argued that the very foundations of physical education are based on the ableist notions

and [are] at odds with those who do not neatly fit into this restricted understanding of physicality. (p.77)

The tensions between inclusion in physical education and the discourses that do not easily promote inclusive practice have been discussed by a number of writers (Fitzgerald, 2005; Sherrill, 1993). Tripp et al. (2007) go as far as to consider that:

> Changing the physical education culture in order to create an inclusive environment for all students involves rethinking taken-for-granted ideas about how physical education is organized, how students are grouped, how resources are utilized, how decisions are made, and what constitutes appropriate or meaningful physical education. (p. 36)

PEDAGOGY

Historically, a major influence on physical education has been its close relationship with the military. In many countries, structured physical activity was introduced into schools with the intention of ensuring that boys would be fit enough to serve in the military if required. The emphasis on physical training, particularly when implemented by instructors straight from the military, ensured that teacher-directed, command-style instruction was established as the pedagogical norm in many countries. Metzler (2000) described "the physical education method" in the USA as involving:

> A direct and formal approach that called for teachers to closely follow accepted procedures and which gave students a limited role in the operation of classes. Essentially, the teacher gave direction and the students followed them. Most activities regardless of context and grade level were instructed by this singular approach. (p. xxiii)

The reality is that the physical education method and its variants have generally not served the interests of diverse learners, including students with disabilities, well. A number of common practices derived from this discourse are particularly detrimental to these students. While the selection of teams by student captains is hopefully long since consigned to historical practice, the use of elimination games, the emphasis on highly competitive team sports and games, and the spotlighting of physical performances continue to be seen in physical education today. All have the potential to generate negative experiences in physical education for students, including those with disabilities.

While the way we choose to teach has an impact on how we meet the needs of diverse learners, we also need to be aware that the choice of content area can impact on students' experiences. Morley, Bailey, Tan, and Cooke (2005) found that teachers considered activities that contained team play offered greater difficulties when attempting to include students with disabilities. Fitzgerald and Jobling (2004) suggested students would find it easier to participate fully in fitness and skills rather than competitive sports and games, and Smith (2004) highlighted games and athletics as activity areas that disabled students were likely to experience to a lesser extent. While accepting that sport and competitive team activities can offer greater challenges, these activities supply a high level of enjoyment for many students, including many students with disabilities. It is important that students with disabilities are not simply excluded from these areas of the curriculum because of the difficulties involved with

including them. While there can be challenges, an understanding of the principles of adaptation, when combined with a creative approach, can lead to many successful experiences for all students. The section on applications for teachers at the conclusion of this chapter includes examples of positive inclusion that have occurred in competitive sport contexts in school physical education programmes.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS AND LEARNERS

While being cognisant of the broader issues raised earlier in this chapter, it is still important that practical ways of including students with disabilities be available for teachers of physical education. This section firstly examines two well established pedagogical approaches to the teaching of physical education: *Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility* (TPSR), and *Sport Education* (SE). Both of these models, when implemented correctly, have great potential for the successful inclusion of a diverse range of students. The discussion on these models is followed by an exploration of the major principles of adapting activities in physical education. This exploration includes a number of examples of successful adaptations that have been implemented in school practice.

Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility

The TPSR model has been developed with the explicit intention of teaching students to become more personally and socially responsible through physical education and sport (Hellison, 2003b; Hellison and Martinek, 2006). Integral to TPSR are five goals, which are often described as levels of responsibility. The five goals/levels are identified as respect, participation and effort, self-direction, caring for others, and transfer [of learning] outside the gym. As a means towards achieving these goals TPSR has a five stage teaching structure. The first stage, counselling time, involves teachers spending time with individuals within their classes in order to develop positive relationships. The second stage, an awareness talk, describes an activity at the start of each lesson whereby time is spent to refocus the students on the goals of TPSR. The third stage, activity time, relates to the physical activity part of the lesson, the time which addresses teaching and learning around the physical education curriculum. During this time it is important that the pedagogical approaches selected are appropriate for achieving the goals of TPSR. Towards the end of the lesson a group meeting occurs where the students, as a group, have the opportunity to discuss events that have occurred in class. The lesson concludes with reflection time, a time when individual students are asked to reflect on their own behaviour in relation to the goals of TPSR.

TPSR has the strong potential to support the inclusion of students with disabilities into physical education by establishing a culture of support for all students. The major goal of caring for others offers a prime opportunity for the class to be aware of and sensitive to the need to fully involve all students within the classroom. The use of TPSR as a pedagogical approach with students with disabilities is an area of increasing interest among teachers. There has also been some research interest which has identified a number of positive outcomes when children with disabilities are involved with sports underpinned by the TPSR

model. In one study that explored the impact of TPSR on a martial arts programme for students with diplegic cerebral palsy (Wright, White, and Gaebler-Spira, 2004), students were encouraged to take on various responsibilities. These included asking students to lead warm-up activities, and to practise and then lead the class in practising individual skills. Despite the range of disabilities and the relative youth of some students (four to thirteen years of age), the researchers reported that these opportunities were received positively and that "all [students] eagerly took on the leadership role" (p.75). While this is of necessity a brief overview of TPSR, readers wishing to obtain a deeper understanding will find valuable information in a number of Hellison's publications (e.g., Hellison, 2003a, 2003b).

Sport Education

A second pedagogical approach, which is well established within physical education practice, is Sport Education (Siedentop, 1994). Sport Education attempts to parallel the experiences of participating in a sports team throughout a session within a physical education program. Students are selected into a team in which they remain for an extended period of time. During this time students follow a standard sport season which includes participating in practices, pre-season games, and a scheduled competition which concludes with a culminating event involving the allocation of prizes and the celebration of team and individual successes. Throughout the season students take the roles of coaches, managers, team players, first aid person, serve as duty teams, and organise draws and publicity. It is the elements of a long-term affiliation to a team and being given meaningful responsibilities that have contributed to Sports Education's success. It is these elements that can also act as powerful influences towards the successful inclusion of students with disabilities. For a team to be successful, members need to be supportive of each other and to gain the maximum benefit from each individual member, including those with disabilities. The responsibility for the team success is with the student coaches, managers, and members of the team, and as such they have a strong incentive to be as inclusive as possible. In order to increase the chances of this being a positive experience for all it may be necessary to make minor adaptations to the rules to ensure that the student with the disability is not considered a liability. The example given later in this chapter, of a minor rule change for a visually impaired student within a touch rugby Sport Education unit, demonstrates this clearly.

PRINCIPLES OF ADAPTATION

Adaptation in physical education should be based around the needs of the individual student and on what they are capable of achieving. It is important that decisions are made as part of a cooperative process that involves both the teacher and the student(s). As a first step towards making these decisions it is important to have a full understanding of what the student can do. The process of developing this understanding must involve discussion, observation, and in some cases testing of the student. This process should be done in a manner that respects the students and does not place them in a situation that can lead to teasing or ridicule.

The process of deciding on making adaptations within the classroom should be underpinned by three basic principles.

Adapt Activities as Little as Possible

In many cases this means that there is no need for adaptation at all. As illustrated in the example of James at the start of this chapter, it is sometimes best to simply make no changes. Where adaptations do need to be made, it is important to work on the principle that less is best. An example of a minor adaptation to the rules occurred in a Sport Education touch rugby unit I taught in a secondary school programme. In touch rugby if the ball is dropped by a player, then possession is given to the other side. This results in a major disadvantage to the team dropping the ball. Within the class was a physically very able student (Bill) who was visually impaired and had trouble at times successfully catching the ball. The rules were simply changed for the end of unit tournament so that if he dropped the ball it was considered a touch and his side maintained possession. For all other players the rules remained as usual. This was readily accepted by all, had no impact on the games, and Ben was able to become fully involved. In the same tournament was another boy (John) who had muscular dystrophy. He used an electric wheelchair via a hand control and had limited movement of his upper body. The major adaptation was that John could carry the ball on his tray and if it fell off, it was also considered a touch and his team did not lose possession. The only other change concerned when he was substituted from the field. In touch rugby there are running subs which happen continuously. The player leaving the field runs to the sideline and when they reach it the new player is allowed to take the field. Because the wheelchair moved quite slowly to get to the sideline, the team was disadvantaged during subbing. As a result the rule was changed so that John simply raised his hand and at that point a sub could run on. John was then considered to be subbed and left the field as quickly as possible. These simple changes allowed him to contribute fully and experience being a team member with all its joys and disappointments.

Do not Allow the Adaptations to Change the Intended Outcomes for the Activity

It is important that whatever the intended outcomes you have established for your class or program that these are not lost by your attempts to include students with disabilities. In the Sport Education touch rugby mentioned in the previous section, the adaptations made to the rules had no impact on the range of outcomes that would be normally expected. To change the outcomes substantially is unfair on all students who are entitled to quality learning experiences.

Do not Allow the Adaptations to Negatively Impact on the Experiences of other Students in the Class

If the intention is to gain the greatest degree of integration possible you will be doing the student with a disability no favour if, as a result of your adaptations, the rest of the class become frustrated and feel like they are missing out in physical education. This relates to the second point above: you need to know what you wish the students to gain from their participation. An illustration of this could involve the modification of volleyball so that all players play on their knees with a lowered net. If this activity is concerned with allowing students to experience the realities of disability and of developing empathy for students with disabilities, this could form the basis of an educative experience. If, however, this was a volleyball unit adapted to allow a student with a disability to play successfully with their peers, then there are dangers in this approach. The feelings of fellow students may quickly turn to frustration if they believe they are "missing out" because of the student with the disability. This would be particularly so if the modified activity was to continue over a period of time. In effect the activity has the strong potential to be counter-productive with the potential for the student to be ostracised and rejected by his/her classmates.

The intention of making adaptations is to allow students with disabilities to participate with the class as normally as possible. In reality there are an almost unlimited number of ways in which adaptations can be made. Brightly covered equipment can be introduced for students with visual difficulties, students can be encouraged towards certain positions in team games more suitable to their abilities, the distance that a student with locomotion difficulties has to run can be modified, on an outdoor education experience a child in a wheelchair can complete a shorter tramp before meeting up with the rest of the class when they have their shared meal by the stream. Every situation and every student is different, and in many cases the only real limitations are in the creativity of the teacher and/or students and the level of commitment to the process.

CONCLUSION

In many ways the experiences of students with disabilities act as a useful lens in which to examine physical education in relation to the outcomes for all students, independent of their abilities. This examination raises important issues around the relevance of physical education, the pedagogical approaches we use in our teaching, and the largely unchallenged assumptions that underpin the subject. While the inclusion of students with disabilities can lead to considerations around the "big picture" there is also a pragmatic need to be able to meet the educational needs of all students at a classroom level. Meeting these very real needs is a challenge, but it is a challenge that can be met by following the fundamental principles around adapting activities when necessary, the selection of pedagogical approaches that make inclusion easier, and a commitment to doing whatever is needed to make it work. It may not be easy but then very little that is worthwhile is.

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Chapter 13

Social Inequalities and Parent Involvement in Children's Education in the Early Years of School

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Abstract

Strengthening cooperation between schools and parents is critical to improving learning outcomes for children. The chapter focuses on parental engagement in their children's education in the early years of school. It considers issues of social and cultural capital as important to whether, or not, parents are involved in their children's schooling. Analyses of data from a national representative sample of children and their families who participated in Growing up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children are presented. Results indicated that higher family socio-economic position was associated with higher levels of parental involvement and higher expectations about children's future level of education.

Keywords: *parent involvement, academic achievement, socio-economic status*

Introduction

Family involvement in the education of their children at home and school supports better learning outcomes for children. Across a range of research studies in different national and cultural contexts, higher levels of parental involvement are associated with children's higher achievement and engagement with school (Henderson and Mapp, 2002; Jeynes, 2005; Pomerantz, Moorman, and Litwack, 2007; Reynolds and Clements, 2005). While research

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indicates that there are important links between parenting and children's academic and behavioural competence at school, less is known about the mechanisms by which this occurs. Taylor, Clayton, and Rowley (2004) termed these processes through which parental involvement influences children's learning outcomes as "academic socialisation" (p. 163). Academic socialisation encompasses the variety of parental beliefs, expectations, and behaviours that influence children's school-related development.

BACKGROUND

Parental involvement with, or on behalf of, children at home or at school encompasses such dimensions as school choice (because parents select the educational institutions that their children will attend): participation in school governance and decision-making; involvement in teaching and learning activities in the classroom and at home; conversations with their children on school-related matters; and communications between home and school (Dimock, O'Donoghue, and Robb, 1996). Thus, parent involvement encompasses a broad range of behaviours from participation in school-related activities and events, volunteering in the classroom, helping children with school-related activities at home, as well as talking with other parents about school issues and being a part of the social network of the school or neighbourhood. These latter activities provide connections with others who have a similar role in relation to their children's schooling. Through these actions, parents convey to their children that learning and education are to be valued.

VARIATIONS IN PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT BY SOCIAL ADDRESS AND PERSONAL BELIEFS

The level of involvement that parents have with their children about learning and engagement with school varies considerably in relation to families' socio-economic circumstances (Boethel, 2003). While many parents with lower incomes may value their children's education highly, they are less likely to be involved and may actually resist involvement (Drummond and Stipek, 2004). These parents are more likely to have fewer years of school, negative school experiences, or lack the confidence to be involved. Differences between parents and teachers by ethnic or cultural background also inhibit the extent of parental involvement (Desimone, 1999). Teachers are less likely to know the parents of children who are culturally different from their own background and are more likely to believe that these parents are less interested in their children's schooling (Epstein and Dauber, 1991). Children in families who have fewer socio-economic resources or who are from a different ethnic and cultural background than the mainstream culture would benefit most from parental involvement (Lee and Bowen, 2006). However, these parents are more likely to find it difficult to become and remain involved.

Parents who have completed school and hold post-secondary educational qualifications are more likely, as a consequence, to have a higher socio-economic position, as well as a depth of knowledge of educational systems. Schools represent and produce middle-class values and forms of communication (Lareau and Weininger, 2003). Teachers are more likely

to communicate effectively with these parents from middle-class backgrounds, with whom they are likely to share similar values and beliefs, while teachers are less likely to communicate with parents who have different cultural and social frames of reference. Schools are biased to represent and to promote more middle-class values and this places many parents at a disadvantage. Thus, these parents are subtly placed in a position which makes them less likely to participate in their children's education.

Greater understanding of the beliefs and expectations that underpin parents' decisions about how they will be involved in their children's schooling is needed. "Parents' own working models of school, a combination of recollections of their own school experiences and their attitudes, values, and beliefs about school, influence parenting involvement" (Taylor et al., 2004, p. 164). Negative feelings about schools, but not necessarily about the value of education, may prevent parents from making connections with their children's schools. Parents' personal self efficacy about their ability to help their children succeed at school is important. Parents who believe that they have the knowledge and skills to help their children be successful are more likely to be involved (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT THROUGH A LENS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

Parents and their children come to the school context with different sets of social resources that may or may not be valued in that context (Coleman, 1988, 1991; Lareau, 1987). In the school setting, middle-class parents are more likely to possess valued cultural knowledge and they also possess "a sense of entitlement" (Lareau and Horvat, 1999, p. 42). As these parents establish relationships with a school and its teachers, they gain valuable information about the school's culture, policies and practices. They meet other parents who provide information and insights about the school that inform their own efforts to engage with the school. Through their cultural and social resources, these parents learn the evaluative standards of the school and observe and engage in the role expected of them (Lareau and Weininger, 2003).

Families with greater social and cultural capital tend to be more involved at school because these families are more comfortable with teachers and schools and are more likely to have supportive social networks. These parents can "construct their relationships with the school with more comfort and trust" (Lareau and Horvat, 1999, p. 44). Bourdieu (1977) argued that students with greater levels of valued social and cultural capital fare better at school than students with less valued social and cultural capital. While all individuals have social and cultural capital to invest in a given context, not all social or cultural capital has the same value or individuals may not have the same capacity to activate this capital within specific settings (Lareau and Horvat, 1999). Lareau and Weininger (2003) noted that individuals can use their cultural capital (knowledge, skills, and competencies) to strategic advantage when they come into contact with the institutionalised standards and expectations held by schools and teachers. These skills are transmissible across generations and children can learn these skills from their parents to gain educational advantage.

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AND TEACHERS TO ENGAGE PARENTS

Regardless of parental beliefs about whether, or not, one can be effective in supporting children's learning at school, encouragement and opportunities need to be provided by teachers and schools in order for parents to make choices on their level of involvement (Feuerstein, 2001). Some schools are better than others in their abilities to engage parents (Kerbow and Bernhardt, 1993). Teachers need to be skilled in knowing how to involve parents and the school needs leadership that values and supports high levels of parental participation. When regular invitations are made to parents to be involved, then the school conveys to parents that their contributions are welcomed and valued (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

The school as a system can show respect for parental concerns and suggestions. Invitations from teachers to participate in the classroom build trust that is the basis for creating a partnership around children's learning at home and at school. A school that presents as open, trusting, and inviting is conducive to building strong relationships among children and their families, as well as the school setting (Taylor et al., 2004). A school climate that is inviting is evidenced by both tangible and intangible qualities that can enhance families' and children's engagement.

AUSTRALIAN RESEARCH FINDINGS ABOUT PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S SCHOOLING

The analyses presented in this chapter on the nature and level of parental involvement draw on data from *Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children* (LSAC). It is the largest research study ever conducted in Australia that explores the lives of children over time. It involves a nationally representative sample of children from across the Australian states and territories. LSAC is following two cohorts of approximately 5000 children: an infant cohort (birth to 1 year at Wave 1) and a kindergarten cohort (4-5 years at Wave 1). The research study employs a cross-sequential survey design with data collected biennially from each of the two cohorts (see Gray and Smart, 2008).

In this chapter, data collected in 2006 for the kindergarten cohort (children born between March 1999 and February 2000) are analysed. In 2006, these children were six to seven years of age and in Year 1 and Year 2 of school. The mean age of these children was 6.8 years. Descriptive information on the children and the families is presented in Table 1. The analyses use parent interview data, typically from the study child's mother, and data from the child's teacher who completed a mailed teacher questionnaire. The analyses reported use the data for the 3,374 children whose teachers completed and returned the teacher questionnaire. Children in the cohort who did not have teacher data did not differ significantly from the children included in these analyses by age, sex, whether the child spoke a language other than English at home, or had Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander status, family type (most children came from two-parent families), or according to level of mothers' education.

Table 1. Sample characteristics (N = 3374)

Mean Age of children	6.8 years (SD 2.6)
Sex	
Male	49%
Female	51%
School Year Level	
Year 1	68%
Year 2	32%
Child has CALD Status (child spoke a language other than English at home)	15%
Child has ATSI Status (child is Aboriginal or Torres Strait islander)	3.6%
Family Type	
Two-parent family	88%
Single parent	12%
Mother's Education	
Did not complete Secondary School	16%
Completed Secondary School	20%
Post-secondary qualification	64%

Across the analyses reported in this chapter the socio-economic position of families is a key variable. A measure of family socio-economic position (SEP) was derived using LSAC data (Blakemore, Gibbings, and Strazdins, 2006). Analyses indicate that this summary measure is a useful tool to differentiate the experiences of children and families. The measure combines information on three elements of a family's socio-economic position (household income, parental education, and occupational prestige). Higher income allows families to access resources that are important to children's learning and wellbeing (Lynch and Kaplan, 2000), while higher levels of parental education offer benefits that are different from those provided by income (Feinstein and Sabates, 2006). Occupational prestige is based on the status ascribed to different occupations. It has been argued that occupation-based measures provide the most reliable and valid indication of overall socio-economic position (Singh-Manoux, Clarke, and Marmot, 2002). Although family income, parental education, and occupational prestige can be considered separately, these indicators are interrelated and reflect broader social and economic processes (Willms, 2003). This measure of SEP developed by Blakemore et al. (2006) provides a means through which children's experiences can be understood through the socio-demographic circumstances of their families. For these analyses, families' SEP was categorised into three groups: low (base 25% of families on the derived continuous variable); medium (50% of the families in the middle of the range); and high (25% of families with the highest values on the derived continuous variable). This categorisation is used in the following analyses to test for differences in parental expectations and involvement in children's education.

Parental Expectations about their Child's Educational Future

In the LSAC parent interview, parents responded to a single question that asked about their expectations about the level of education that they expected their child to achieve. Categories for responses were: leave before finishing secondary school; complete secondary school; complete a trade or vocational training course; go to university and complete a degree; and obtain a post-graduate qualification at a university. Responses to this question have been reported in other studies (e.g., Feuerstein, 2001; Lee and Bowen, 2006; Sy, Rowley, and Schulenberg, 2007). Most parents (99%) expected that their child would complete their secondary schooling and 41% of parents expected that their children would obtain some form of post-secondary qualification (e.g., post-graduate qualification, university degree, or vocational course). These findings reflect a valuing of the importance of their children's education.

Differences by SEP on parental responses on expectations for the level of education that their child would achieve were explored statistically using Chi-square. There were statistically significant differences between groups [χ^2 (8, 3288) = 3.77, p < 0.000]. Parents with higher SEP were more likely to expect that their children would obtain higher qualifications in post-secondary schooling than parents from the low SEP group.

Parents' Perceptions of the Responsiveness of the School to their Needs

Parents responded to five questions on a scale rating the responsiveness of schools to their needs (i.e., lets you know about progress in the programme or class; helps you understand what children at child's age are like; makes you aware of chances to be involved and take part in the school; gives you information and advice about how to help at home; gives you information on any community services to help you or your family; understands the needs of families from a non-English speaking or indigenous background). Parents rated these items on a 4-point scale (very well; well; just okay; not done at all). Most parents thought that schools were doing well or very well in making them aware of chances to be involved and take part in school activities (87%), as well as letting them know about their child's progress in the class (77%).

Differences in the mean item score (possible range of 1 to 4) was examined for SEP groups (low, medium, and high) using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The test of differences between SEP groups almost reached significance [F (2, 3271) = 2.94, p = 0.053]. Essentially, as reflected by the mean item score for SEP groups [$M_{(low)}$ = 2.12; $M_{(medium)}$ = 2.04; $M_{(high)}$ = 2.04], there were not strong differences between groups in how responsive parents perceived schools were to their needs.

Teachers' Perceptions of How Involved Parents were in their Children's Education

Teachers responded to a question that asked for their global judgement on the question: "In your opinion, how involved are this child's parents in her/his learning and education?"

Teachers rated this item on a 3-point scale (very involved; somewhat involved; not involved). Teachers reported that 60% of parents were very involved in their children's education and that 37% of parents were somewhat involved.

Difference by SEP on teachers' perceptions of level of parent involvement was explored statistically using Chi-square. There were statistically significant differences between the SEP groups $[\chi^2 (4, 3130) = 1.50, p < 0.000]$. Parents with higher SEP were more likely to be perceived by teachers as more involved in their child's education.

Parents' Reported Level of Contact with their Child's School

A scale with five items was used to assess parents' contact with their child's school. A number of activities in which parents may have participated at their child's school were identified to which parents could give a yes/no response. These items asked whether the parents had contacted their child's teacher; visited the child's classroom; talked to parents of other children at the school; attended a school event in which the child participated; or volunteered in the classroom or helped with a class excursion. Engagement in three or more activities was indicated by 76% of parents. Parents were most likely to have talked with other parents at the school (92%) or visited the child's classroom (87%), and least likely to have volunteered in the classroom or helped with a class excursion (48%).

Differences between SEP groups for the number of involvement activities in which parents had engaged with the school (possible range of 0 to 5) were examined for SEP groups (low, medium, and high) using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The test of differences between SEP groups was highly significant $[F (2, 3371) = 54.00, p < 0.000]$. Mean item score for the SEP groups were $M_{(low)} = 3.43$; $M_{(medium)} = 3.83$; $M_{(high)} = 4.01$, indicating the trend that higher SEP reflected higher contact with the school.

Teachers' Report of Parental Level of Contact with the School

A scale with seven items was used to assess parents' contact with their child's school programme, as reported by teachers. Teachers were asked if parents had participated in any of these seven activities. The response option was yes/no. These items asked whether the parents had: spoken to, visited or written to the teacher; visited the child's class; attended a school event in which the child participated; volunteered in their child's class or helped with a class excursion; helped elsewhere in the school, such as in the library or computer room; attended a meeting of the parent–school committee; and assisted with fund-raising. Teachers reported that 57% of parents had engaged in four or more activities. By teacher report, parents were most likely to have been in direct contact with the teacher (95%). They were least likely to have helped elsewhere in the school aside from participation in the child's classroom (16%).

Differences between SEP groups for the total number of involvement of activities in which parents had engaged with the school (possible range of 0 to 7) were examined for SEP groups (low, medium, and high) using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The test of differences between SEP groups was highly significant $[F (2, 3371) = 89.98, p < 0.000]$. Post-hoc comparisons indicated significant differences between and across groups reflected by the mean item scores $[M_{(low)} = 3.28$; $M_{(medium)} = 4.01$; $M_{(high)} = 4.54]$. As reflected by the means

presented, teachers perceived that parents from higher SEP groups were likely to engage in more activities with the school.

SUMMARY

Large scale research studies, such as *Growing Up in Australia*, provide educational researchers with extensive opportunity to study educational processes and outcomes. In this chapter, the analyses of LSAC data explored parental expectations for their child's education and their involvement in their children's education. The analyses placed an emphasis on the social and cultural capital of families as measured by families' socio-economic position that combined household income, parental education, and parental occupational prestige. All parents held expectations that their child would complete secondary school and viewed schools as responsive to family needs. However, these parental expectations for the level of their child's future education were differentiated by the socio-economic position of families.

Parents with a higher socio-economic position had higher expectations for their child's future education. This trend in the data on the importance of socio-economic position to understanding parent involvement were also evident in the level of parent involvement in their child's education perceived by teachers, as well as in the level of actual contact that parents had with the school as reported by parents and teachers.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

In this chapter, we have considered parental involvement through ideas of social and cultural theories that are relevant to understanding children's academic socialisation. The knowledge, skills, and competence that parents can bring to bear on supporting children's learning at home and school has a basis in the norms, values, and the access to institutional resources that parents possess through their social and cultural capital (Dika and Singh, 2002). Lareau and Weininger (2003) suggested that schools' requests for parent involvement are never neutral. Requests and invitations are likely to be framed in ways that are more accessible to families with the requisite social and cultural capital. Lareau and Weininger have noted that, "As a result of their location in the stratification system, students and their parents enter the educational system with dispositional skills and knowledge that differentially facilitate or impede their ability to conform to institutionalised expectations" (p. 588). Schools must rethink the ways that they can make parents feel more confident and comfortable with involvement, and provide the activities and resources that parents require to feel empowered. Strengthening and expanding the involvement of parents in their children's education is an important means through which schools can reduce educational inequalities for children.

Reynolds and Clements (2005) propose that school programmes that place a strong focus on parent involvement have the potential to yield stronger and more longer-lasting benefits for children's educational outcomes than other efforts that consume larger amounts of public educational spending (e.g., to reduce class sizes). Change in school practices require investment in the professional development of teachers to enhance their capacities to work

with families. Offering involvement activities without a strong commitment to real engagement with families that can forge strong family-school partnerships is unlikely to yield increased parental participation, especially for those families that are most alienated by traditional schooling practices (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Lee and Bowen, 2006). It is important to recognise that parents' educational attitudes and behaviours are important influences on children's educational outcomes. According to Pianta and Walsh (1996), child-family systems and the school system operate together to shape children's learning outcomes and their engagement with education.

CONCLUSION

The findings reported in this chapter reflect previous research findings in other national contexts but have previously been untested in the Australian context. Over the last twenty years, there has been increasing recognition of the role that parental involvement in schooling plays in their children's school success (see reviews by Henderson and Mapp, 2002; Jeynes, 2005). While the analyses reported here did not report on the predictive value of parental involvement to children's learning outcomes, preliminary analyses reported by Berthelsen and Walker (2008) found that higher levels of parent involvement in children's education was more predictive of children's learning competencies for language and literacy, mathematical thinking, and approaches to learning. By tracking the level and nature of parental involvement across time in *Growing Up in Australia,* it will be possible to establish the impact of parental involvement and engagement on children's learning outcomes across the school years.

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Chapter 14

IN AND OUT OF THE CLOSET: SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY GAY- AND LESBIAN-HEADED FAMILIES IN THEIR INTERACTIONS WITH THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN NEW ZEALAND[1]

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ABSTRACT

This chapter examines successes and challenges experienced by gay and lesbian headed families in New Zealand in relation to the education services their children attend. Successes identified by the parents included: educational services which validated and affirmed gay and lesbian headed families, having visible gay and/or lesbian teachers, and knowing that other gay and lesbian headed families had experienced inclusion in the setting that they were planning to send their children to. Some of the challenges reported in the study included parents experiencing and/or anticipating homophobia in their interactions within educational institutions. Heteronormative[2] assumptions and curricular activities by teachers were noted by participants. The phenomenon of 'shifting closets' was identified. From our findings we determined that teachers and educational policy-makers need to develop socially just and inclusive pedagogies and teaching practices so that gay and lesbian headed families are affirmed and accepted. The chapter includes suggestions for policy development and teacher practice.

Keywords: g*ay and lesbian, education, families*

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[*] lisa.terreni@vuw.ac.nz
[2] Heteronormativity is the concept that heterosexuality is an institutionalised norm, and a superior and privileged standard. For a discussion of heteronormativity and its effects in early childhood education, see Gunn (2008).

INTRODUCTION

Families headed by lesbians and gay men have gained increased acknowledgement within New Zealand society in recent years. The support of new and progressive legislation, most significantly the *Civil Union Act 2004* and the *Care of Children Act 2004*, has been an important contributing factor[3]. As this legislation becomes embedded in New Zealand society, the visibility and presence of families headed by lesbian and gay parents will continue to grow across the public domain. To add to new knowledge about families in which lesbians and gay men parent dependent children in contemporary New Zealand society, we undertook a collaborative, qualitative research project with funding from the New Zealand Families Commission (Gunn and Surtees, in press). The research project was designed to investigate the multiple ways lesbians and gay men create and maintain their families. The study explored the successes, challenges and issues these families encountered in their daily lives.

The successes and difficulties that the families in our research expressed about educational settings in New Zealand are discussed in this chapter. Many parents in our study had positive experiences with schools and early childhood education (ECE) centres where they felt affirmed and validated, and where they felt their children would be "safe" (Clay, 2004). Nonetheless, some of the challenges and issues the study uncovered showed that some parents had experienced, and consequently anticipated, homophobia. The phenomenon of "shifting closets" (i.e., as children grow older and more sensitive about their parents' sexuality, "out" parents sometimes find the need to go "back into the closet" for their children's sake) was also identified as a challenge. These aspects of our study showed the complex realities of same-gender parented families' lives as they interacted and negotiated their experiences with education settings.

From the discussion of successes and challenges identified by the gay and lesbian parents in the study, we have suggested a range of pro-active strategies. These should assist teachers and educational policy-makers, across educational settings, to develop and practise socially just and inclusive pedagogies.

RESEARCH METHODS

As already noted, the research project this chapter is based on explored the ways lesbians and gay men create and maintain family in New Zealand (Gunn and Surtees, in press). The project employed a qualitative research design in which rich data enabled in-depth study (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998; Patton, 2002). Ethical approval for the research was obtained from the principal researchers' institution. Informed, written consent for participation in the project was obtained from participants and participants were guaranteed anonymity. Security provisions ensured all records and data remained confidential to the researchers. Pseudonyms were used in the final report and associated publications.

Snowball sampling of participants for the project proved a particularly useful technique for accessing a traditionally difficult-to-reach population. This method enabled us to identify

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[3] Other significant legislation includes: the Relationships (Statutory References) Act 2005, the Human Assisted Reproductive Technology (HART) Act 2004, and the Status of Children Amendment Act 2004.

potential participants who were then asked to recommend others (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2000; Neuman, 1997). In this case, the sampling strategy secured the involvement of 19 gay and lesbian headed families. The majority of families that participated were lesbian-led; three of the families included gay men as parents. Across the families there were 36 children, 33 of whom were aged under 18 years and living at home.

An open-ended, semi-structured interview was used for data gathering. Parents in the study were interviewed once. Twenty interviews were undertaken in which 33 parents from the 19 families were involved, as couples or individually. The semi-structured interview schedule enabled the participants to reflect freely on particular interests pertinent to their families. All interviews were subject to content analysis using, in the first instance, the research questions as broad coding guides. Text relating to the main research questions was extracted from each of the interviews. Using qualitative data analysis software (QSR NUD*IST Vivo [nVivo], 2008), the text extracts were coded as project nodes (or categories). This process organised the data and showed how families were created; what life looked like within them; and the successes, challenges and issues they faced.

Based on a comparative analysis of the interviews, the researchers were able to identify and explore sequential themes, and pose contextually relevant questions. This allowed for deeper understandings of the findings, and created opportunities for the research team to engage in flexible and reflective processes (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998; Gillham, 2000; Opie, 2003; Patton, 2002).

While we sought to maintain the integrity of participants' voices, interpretative analysis, filtered as it is through subjective experience, makes the world visible in different ways to different observers (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Our representation of the project data in the following section of this chapter is, then, simply one of many.

SUCCESSES AND ACHIEVEMENTS: ASPECTS OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM THAT WORKED WELL FOR THE FAMILIES

Two key interview questions used in the study were:

– Can you tell me about a typical week in your family's life? and,
– How have education agencies responded to your family?

These questions elicited a range of responses from parents[4] in relation to their experiences (and those of their children) of ECE settings and schools. Parents' responses identified what was working or had worked successfully for them as well as what had been challenging about engaging with the educational services their children attended.

Successful involvement with ECE services was mentioned frequently[5] by participants. Several parents reflected very positively about the ECE services. For example, Nerida and Belinda said:

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[4] Of the 20 interviews conducted with the families, 3 interviews did not specifically discuss school or early childhood education services.

[5] ECE was mentioned in 14 of the 20 interviews and the range of ECE services mentioned included: home-based care (education and care provided in a home context), Playcentre (parent-led), kindergarten (teacher-led),

They were great...very positive and inclusive…The manager and the people there at the time were just very open to diversity. Very inclusive and you know, Bonny even came home with pictures of... Mummy [Nerida], Daddy, Bonny, doggy and Belinda.

Celia and Ginny also highlighted positive ECE experiences stating:

Both their early childhood teachers were great. And the kids were in settings [where] we had really strong relationships with the teachers so, that was all very affirming and ... affirming of who we were as a family.

In these two instances the parents had openly discussed their family formation with their children's teachers. Skattebol and Ferfolja (2007, p. 13) suggest "the presence of a young child may compel parents to 'come out'[6] of the relative safety of their homes and gay and lesbian communities" and that "disclosure in educational environments promises to relieve many of the stresses involved in parent-care negotiations". Disclosure about the parents' sexual identities as part of the information sharing about their families with the ECE staff had been successfully navigated and had led to the families' sense of inclusion.

Other parents noted that positive affirmation and acceptance of their family structure made them more willing to be involved in the curriculum, extra-curricular activities, and management of an ECE centre or school. For example, Anneke was enthusiastic about her position as the property and maintenance officer at her daughter's Playcentre, and felt good about the successful contribution she could make in this role.

The importance of recognition and affirmation of their family by an ECE centre was demonstrated to Cate and Heather when their daughter Penny, aged two years, on her second day at a new centre came home with two Mother's Day cards. Cate and Heather commented:

[They] had obviously asked her what she calls her parents because one of them has "Mummy" and one of them has "Mum" [on the respective cards].

Cate and Heather viewed the cards as an example of staff actively supporting and accepting their family structure, and making a positive connection with them (Surtees, 2006).

Moana also related stories about the celebration of Mother's and Father's Days at her daughter Tania's *Puna Reo* (a Māori language immersion centre), seeing humour in the following scenarios and recognising that staff wanted to do 'the right thing'. During the first year at her *Puna Reo* Tania had made a Father's Day card. A little perplexed but amused, Moana wasn't sure whether she or her ex-partner (Sue) should be the recipient. However, the following year *kaiako* (teachers) knew more about the family structure and were concerned about card-making for Mother's Day, particularly as they did not have photographs of both mothers for different cards. The situation was resolved successfully through discussion, reaffirming Moana's faith in the service. She stated:

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crèche (sessional or part-time care), full-time child care, and *Kohanga/Puna Reo* (Māori language immersion centres).

[6] To 'come out of the closet' is an expression used in reference to coming out of an imaginary closet through disclosure of sexual identity. The 'closet' denotes a performance initiated by silence whereby information about one's sexuality may be withheld (Sedgwick, 1990).

> …the issues of homophobia obviously exist across cultures and they certainly exist in Māori culture but knowing they [the *Puna Reo*] had a sound *Kaupapa* Māori[7] told me they would also be open and accepting of different families, of lesbian families in particular…

She felt the centre's philosophy extended to a broader concept of *whānau* (family) that encompassed the complexities of Tania's family structure. However, Moana also noted that there was more than one lesbian headed family currently attending the centre. She knew that children of lesbian parents had successfully participated there in the past and this also reassured her that the Puna would accept her own whānau.

Choosing 'safe' ECE centres and schools (Clay, 2004) was identified as being important for many of the parents. Two factors were identified by the parents that helped them decide whether the school or ECE centre was suitable. Firstly, the attendance of children from other lesbian and gay headed families at ECE centres and schools was often an indicator of whether the school or ECE centre would meet their needs. Secondly, the parents also wanted positive, successful lesbian and gay role models for their children, and visible gay or lesbian teachers were seen as a means of providing this. In one third of the interviews, parents noted that there was a gay teacher/ teachers in the education setting their child/children attended, albeit in several cases this included teachers who were seen to be 'in the closet'. One gay father mentioned that the presence of a gay teacher would be likely to influence his and his children's mothers' choice of school in the future.

Apparent in a number of interviews was an explicit desire by parents that their children would grow up tolerant and accepting of diversity. In a longitudinal national study of lesbian mothers in the United States of America, Gartrell et al. (1996, p. 278) noted that "anticipating potential discrimination toward their children because of their own lesbianism, many participants stressed the importance of educating the children about prejudice." Schools and ECE centres which catered for diverse social and ethnic communities were often seen by parents in our study as institutions that were likely to foster these values.

CHALLENGES AND CONCERNS: ASPECTS OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM THAT DID NOT WORK WELL FOR THE FAMILIES

Parents identified a range of challenges they faced in relation to their children's educational settings. Homophobia (in both its actual and its anticipated form) was identified as one of the main concerns. Anticipated homophobia from children's teachers in both early childhood services and schools often led the parents to develop strategies or compensatory responses designed, foremost, to preserve their children's emotional and/or physical safety.

Parents' strategies regularly involved someone (usually one of the parents) facing risks of a sort in order to minimise the prejudice that could cause emotional harm to their children. For instance, some parents purposefully 'outed' themselves when they were introduced to teachers. This ensured that there could be no misunderstandings or incorrect assumptions made about a family's structure and the relationships within it, using this every time they met a new teacher or whenever their child changed class. Pia, for example, stated that she

> …forced [herself] really to go out there and put [her and her partner's family] out there!

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[7] Having knowledge of things Māori and an understanding of the appropriate ways of operating in a Māori context.

Other parents became involved in the organisation of the centre or classroom and actively portrayed their family positively to avoid the possibility of it being judged negatively.

For the majority of parents though, anticipated homophobia meant that they carefully managed the level of information sharing and type of involvement they were willing to have with the school or centre. For example, having non-biological parents stay away from school or choosing to have the biological parent's same-gender partner not attend parent-teacher interviews were two practices regularly reported.

Some parents considered advising their children not to talk about their family in the school setting. A fear harboured by many of the parents was that their children might be bullied. Kirk, a gay man who was parenting two daughters with a lesbian couple, wondered about whether he should advise his children to be careful about disclosing to other children and teachers about their parents. He commented that he might "…have to kind of tell them, look maybe don't tell them that you have two mothers." Kirk acknowledged, however, that if he took this approach he risked teaching his children that there was "something weird" about their family.

Other parents talked about making commitments to their children to do whatever was necessary to keep them safe from anticipated homophobia at school. Cindy explained that she and her partner Candice had always said to their children that they would do whatever was comfortable for them declaring, for example, that they would even "…wear the dresses!" In another instance Celia, one of Erica's mothers, attended school with her on the day Erica wanted to tell her classmates what she'd found out about her donor. Celia explained:

> …I suggested [to Erica] that I just went in and let the teacher know that she wanted to [share information about the donor father]. I was just being respectful to the teacher and the teacher was absolutely fine about that…I wanted to make sure she [Erica] was safe…

Many examples of parents' and children's experiences of homophobia were reported in the study, drawing attention to the fact that New Zealand schools, like schools in many other countries, are sites for homophobic bullying and discrimination (Brown, 2000; Casper, Schultz and Wickens, 1992; Henrickson, 2005; Hillier, Turner and Mitchell, 2005; Laird, 1993; Millbank, 2002). Parents talked about both generalised homophobia and homophobia directed specifically at them. For instance, attending a function at school with their oldest child, Celia and Ginny were shocked to find that children giving speeches at school assembly were openly using the term 'gay' in a derogatory manner. Cindy and Candice had the experience of a teacher attributing their son's difficulties at secondary school (he received education support and lived with ADD) to the fact that his mother was a lesbian.

Heteronormative responses from teachers were identified by parents in the study as a challenge and concern. Often heteronormative responses related to how teachers and other parents perceived gay and lesbian parents' relationships with their children, sometimes revealing how little attention teachers actually paid to how families were formed and who was important in them. For example Sacha and Kari developed a perception that the non-biological parent received less of a welcome from teachers than the biological parent when they were selecting an appropriate early childhood centre for their son. Sacha had experienced direct questioning from teachers as to the nature of her relationship with the child, recalling she had been asked "And who are you? Grandmother or something?" Another mother, Sandra, described how at her son's kindergarten she was sure that many of the parents were

working hard to figure out her and April's relationships with their children. She said, "I've heard one of them say…Oh they're sisters". Sandra also identified that some school documents are sites where heteronormativity can reside and commented:

> …enrolment forms… always assume that you have a Mum and a Dad… I know that maybe it just seems trivial but it's not. It actually means a lot to us.

The third major challenge experienced by the lesbian and gay parents in this study is what we have identified as the issue of 'shifting closets'. Parents frequently made decisions about whether or not or how best to disclose their same-gender relationships. We found that a desire to be 'out of the closet', and to publicly maintain visibility as a same-gender parented family sometimes diminished as children got older and moved through primary school, intermediate school and secondary school. This tension, between parents' desire for the closet to be firmly opened, and the child's desire for increased privacy and anonymity appeared to be a particularly complex phenomenon for parents to negotiate. Recalling the embarrassment their daughter Saffron faced whenever anything about same-sex sexuality came up at school, Cindy and Candice drew attention to the impact on children when parents decided to be out. They had observed that this sometimes made children vulnerable, noting, from their own experience, that at Saffron's secondary school "if somebody said something about a gay person everyone in the class would turn around and look at Saffron". For other parents in this study, the decision to be "out" when their children were older rested firmly with the children and how safe they felt in disclosing or drawing attention to their parents' sexualities.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Some of the families in our research identified that they had experienced successful interactions with the educational services their children attended. These successes included: interactions with educational services which actively validated and affirmed gay and lesbian headed families, having visible gay and/or lesbian teachers working in their early childhood centre or school, knowing that other gay and lesbian headed families had experienced inclusion in the educational setting where they were planning to send their children. Nonetheless, several families reported facing difficulties and challenges with educational services. These included: families experiencing and/or anticipating homophobia in their interactions within educational institutions, having to deal with heteronormative assumptions by teachers, and the provision of curricular activities that excluded their children. In response to these findings the remainder of this chapter discusses the implications our findings have for teachers. We also suggest ways in which teachers can develop socially just and inclusive pedagogy and practices.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS: DEVELOPING SOCIALLY JUST AND INCLUSIVE PEDAGOGIES AND PRACTICES

Evidence from our study shows that despite educational discourse on issues of equity and inclusion (Gunn, 2008; Ministry of Education, 1996, 2007), gay and lesbian parents found that homophobic and heteronormative practices existed in many of the schools their children attended, often creating concerns for their children's safety. This gives rise to an urgent need for teachers and educational policy-makers to carefully consider and implement strategies that will develop effective, socially just, and inclusive pedagogies and practices that support children and parents from gay and lesbian headed families (Clay, 2004). Using what has been learned from this study and drawing on relevant literature, we have made recommendations about how teachers and policy makers might build effective relationships with gay and lesbian headed families, and about how they might create educational institutions as sites of welcome for same-gender parented children.

Creating meaningful relationships with families so that gay and lesbian parents and their children experience a sense of well-being in the educational environment is paramount for teachers (Gunn, 2008). This will assist in making families feel welcome, affirmed and valued, and help them develop a sense of belonging and trust (Clay, 2004; Ministry of Education, 1996). It is likely, as was seen in our study, that a strong sense of inclusion will increase the involvement of families in the educational service/s their children attend.

Teachers should be aware of the often complex realities of gay and lesbian families. The issue of "shifting closets" that we identified earlier in the chapter is not only challenging for parents but also for teachers, particularly those who may employ inclusive practices. This situation requires sensitive negotiation on the part of parents and teachers alike.

It is imperative that strategies for actively countering homophobic attitudes/behaviours in schools and ECE centres demonstrate that appropriate policies and practices are in place in the classroom or centre (Gunn, 2005). This may help prevent homophobic bullying of children and reduce the anticipated homophobia that many parents in our study experienced. It is important to recognise homophobia may manifest in behaviours exhibited by other teachers as well as parents and students. Teachers can actively support children by teaching them some helpful strategies to deal with homophobia and/or other discriminatory practices if they encounter them (Gunn et al., 2004).

Teachers need to regularly critique and/or review their teaching and attitudes in relation to adopting socially just and inclusive pedagogies and practices (Davis, Gunn, Purdue and Smith, 2007), and if necessary undertake professional development to assist with this process (Surtees, 2005, 2006, 2008; Surtees and Gunn, in review).

By being conscious not to make heteronormative assumptions about the families they work with and ensuring that curriculum activities are not shaped by heteronormativity, teachers can demonstrate they are being responsive to the needs of gay and lesbian headed families. The making of Mother's and Father's Day cards described by one of the mothers in our study is an example of a curriculum activity where this can easily occur. Schools and ECE centres can ensure that administrative and curriculum documents and forms cater for diverse family structures (Gunn, 2002, 2003). This not only reassures parents that their family structure is formally recognised but can also provide the teachers with useful information about different family structures.

Teachers should aspire to be positive role models for children and demonstrate a commitment to equity, justice, and social inclusion. This can involve providing curriculum teaching resources that help to construct positive images of gay and lesbian headed families. Children having images and texts that positively identified families like theirs "as sites of celebration" rather than one of deficit (Robinson and Jones-Diaz, 2006, p.172) would support gay and lesbian families. Equally, teachers need to use the resource material pro-actively in their teaching programmes with children (Skatterbol and Ferfolja, 2007). Children's literature that includes positive representations of same-gender parented families is a valuable resource (Gunn, 2006).

CONCLUSION

As we identified at the beginning of this chapter, the visibility and presence of lesbian and gay parents and their children continues to grow. As the participants in this study demonstrated, educational discourse, pedagogy and practice that supports equity, inclusion and diversity must include consideration of the needs and aspirations of lesbian and gay headed families in New Zealand.

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Chapter 15

DIVERSE SITES FOR THE USE AND THE LEARNING OF LITERACY: SAMOAN CHILDREN IN NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT

Most discussion of the acquisition of literacy involves the school and family. This interpretation omits the out-of-school sites that contribute to children's learning. This chapter describes the uses and practices of literacy in different sites in the lives of fourteen 11- and 12-year old Samoan children living in New Zealand. The children were socialised into cultural practices associated with the church and the maintenance of literacy in the Samoan language as well as into uses associated with popular culture. For the children there was both overlapping and conflict of values between their sites of literacy practice.

Key words: *Samoan school children, New Zealand, situated literacy*

INTRODUCTION

One of the most common forms of diversity encountered by teachers is cultural diversity. Whether or not cultural diversity is viewed as a problem depends upon whether, as judged by formal academic assessment such as international tests, the children of any identifiable ethnic group do not perform as well as mainstream children. Formal test results, however, tend to show Samoan children lagging behind in literacy. This difference is generally in school-type literacy rather than literacy used in everyday life. In this chapter the focus is on fourteen Samoan children[1] and their sources for becoming literate in both English and Samoan.

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BACKGROUND

Today the school has the major responsibility for teaching literacy but it was not always so. If it is considered useful, desirable or prestigious to read and write, people will find ways to learn and this will occur in settings outside the school (Barton and Hamilton, 1998; Graff, 1987; Laqueur, 1976). The American historian Lawrence Cremin (1977, p. 102) used the term 'educative setting'. We are calling such settings 'sites' in line with the concept of situated literacy. According to Cremin, there are many sites that educate and these are related to one another in "configurations of education" (Cremin, 1976, p. 30). The same idea can be applied to sites where literacy is used. A site may be an institution such as the school, the family or the church; a geographical location such as the neighbourhood; artefacts such as newspapers, or the products and processes of popular culture. Not only can institutions such as family and church mediate the children's learning of literacy, but they perform a mediating role in relation to the other sites and also to society at large (Cremin, 1976). We argue that the breadth of ways of becoming literate should make us wary of judging the literacy of individuals solely by their performance on school type tasks and tests.

Literacy depends upon a system of writing. Alphabetic writing permeates New Zealand society and is used for all kinds of purposes from legal documents to writing on bus tickets. Novels are designed to be read, religious texts are often memorised, written instructions are designed to be followed by action, and graffiti are meant to offend authority. Street (1984) makes a distinction between autonomous and what he terms ideological literacy. The latter concentrates on the specific social practices of reading and writing and the culturally embedded nature of these. However, many representations of literacy assume it is a neutral technology that can be detached from specific social contexts. Street describes the skills taught in schools as autonomous forms of literacy. Examples of ideological literacy, on the other hand, are found in everyday life for a range of purposes such as writing letters, doing business, participating in a blog, reading traffic directions, and selling goods and services. While all children of school age experience literacy of an autonomous kind, ideological literacy varies according to one's social and cultural contexts. These ideological uses incorporate the values of those who use them and may differ from one site to another.

It is not only school teachers who help us to understand a written system but also parents, siblings, and friends. In view of the variety of ways of becoming literate, and literacy's multiple uses, there is value in finding out how different cultural groups achieve literacy, their particular uses for literacy, and the sites which are important for their becoming literate. Such knowledge may also suggest that an evaluation based solely on autonomous literacy may neglect to take into account the diverse settings where literacy is used.

EXPLORING THE SITES

A study by Dickie (2008) explored the experience of literacy outside the school of 11- and 12-year-old Samoan children attending an inner-city school in New Zealand. The study explored sites and uses of literacy, and offers a perspective on literacy use in the Samoan and

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[1] The majority identified as Samoan although some reported other Pasifika backgrounds as well. All names of participants are pseudonyms.

papalagi[2] worlds. While some sites such as the local neighbourhood were shared with people of different cultures, others, such as the family and the church, were not.

The children in the study were given disposable cameras and were trained as junior ethnographers. They were asked to record examples of the use of literacy, reading or writing, in sites such as their homes or neighbourhood. The photographs provided an insider's view of the sites and uses of literacy which would not otherwise be visible to an outsider.

In consultation with the school and a Samoan colleague the children were given names from the Samoan Bible and permission was sought from the children for their photos to be published. Photo elicitation interviews were held with self-chosen pairs of children so that the researcher was working with them to generate the data. In the pilot study, for example, one girl provided a photograph of her grandmother sitting on her bed writing in a notebook and with five opened books in front of her. The young photographer explained,

> One book is the Samoan Bible. One is a prayer book and another is an English Bible. My Nana writes notes after her prayer meeting. She reads through different things, and writes important things. Sometimes she talks to us about it or she will read it over again.

The sites in which the photographers found examples of the use of literacy were the family, the church, and the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood included shops, street signs and notices. An additional site which emerged from the photographs was popular culture. It can be considered as an independent site or a body of knowledge and practice which spreads across the sites of home, playground and neighbourhood.

The overlapping of values occurred most strongly between family and church, and a prominent feature was the use of Samoan language in both oral and written form.

The Family Site

The family is an important educative site for literacy (Cairney, 2003; Heath, 1983; McNaughton, 1995; Taylor, 1983) and it emerged as significant for the children in this study. Cremin (1976) writes that every family has a curriculum which it teaches deliberately and systematically while mediating the learning of its members, and he explains that families not only teach in their own right but they screen and interpret the teachings of other institutions. There were mutually supportive values and pedagogies between family and church, and family and school. Figure 1 illustrates the overlapping literacy uses, curriculum, and values. The photos show that the family site extended beyond the children's own homes to those of relatives and friends, but it was not restricted to homes. It existed wherever the family members happened to be.

The Samoan family was reported as teaching and maintaining Christian beliefs, supporting and replicating the church and Sunday school pedagogy. For a number of the children in the study these practices were in the Samoan language. Both English and Samoan Bibles were read as part of family and individual worship, and family prayers in Samoan or in English. The children read to prepare for the Sunday school examination sometimes in English and sometimes in Samoan; they learnt songs for church; they often wrote in a church

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[2] *Papalagi* is defined in the Samoan dictionary as European, white man (Milner, 1993).

activity book, read the church newspaper and newsletter, and stories from the Bible. Samoan was maintained as a written language in both the Samoan Bible and Samoan newspapers (see Figure 2).

The interviews revealed some intergenerational teaching of language. When the children were asked to explain the photos, Eseta said, "My grandparents always speak with me in Samoan and I don't understand, so that's why they're teaching me so that I understand." Another participant called Paulo explained how he helped his father by translating the television news for him: "Because of at home. Like my dad always used to get me to explain the news to him in Samoan because he doesn't usually understand English. I'd be talking in Samoan to him." In the family site older siblings helped younger children with school type literacy especially the homework set by the school.

There was also literacy for entertainment in computer games, music, books, and magazines. Children wrote in diaries to remind themselves of upcoming events, notes as reminders such as "take sun hat", and to find information in sources such as the Internet, recipe books and newspapers. The photographs taken in homes showed many kinds of artefacts involving literacy. Figure 3 shows a scrabble set on the desk of a mother while a one-year-old child points to an illustration in a book which is being read to him by his sister Repeka.

One of Elisapeta's photos taken in the living room of her home shows her older sister looking at a book cover and in the background are two bookshelves. Elisapeta said her family had several other bookshelves including those for her cousin who has "her books from uni" and "my mum and dad have a desk and they have most of their books there." Her photo also shows her younger brother reading an award from school which is displayed on the windowsill along with Elisapeta's sports trophies.

The Church Site

Twelve of the fourteen children attended Sunday school. The children's families attended church frequently and placed strong value on their children's attendance at Sunday school. The church and the Sunday school were powerful mediators of children's literacy practices in both their style of teaching and type of written expression such as answers to questions "about the Bible and Jesus." In discussion, the children described examples of reading and writing that are similar to teaching in a school setting. At Sunday school children wrote stories, did cloze exercises where they used contextual clues to fill in missing words, summarised texts, and answered exam questions. In Cremin's (1976) terms family and church worked together in a configuration with the church providing a curriculum and the family providing practice and encouragement.

The Bible was used both to teach the Christian doctrine and to maintain the Samoan language. Two practices that were described by many of the children were reading passages

Family ◄——————————————————————————————► Church

Maintenance of the Samoan language through speaking, reading and writing

Reading the English and Samoan Bibles for study and worship

Reading prayers in Samoan and English

Learning memory verses/*tauloto* from the Bible to recite to an audience

Reading the Bible aloud accurately and clearly to an audience

Reading and writing in the Religious Education activity book

(in English)

——► School ◄——

Family ◄——————————————————————————————► Church

Learning songs for church

Reading to prepare for Sunday school exams

Reading the church newspaper and church newsletter

Supporting Sunday school homework

Family ◄——————————————————————————————► School

Students act as 'teacher' to nurture school-type reading skills with younger children

Supporting school literacy (for example through homework)

Family ◄——————————————————————————————► Neighbourhood

Literacy for entertainment and pleasure including comics and music

Reading and writing the words of popular songs

Reading and writing to help organise students' lives

Finding and using information

——► School ◄——

Figure 1. Configuration of family with other sites.

Figure 2. Eseta reads a Samoan language newspaper with her grandfather as teacher (permission granted by student for use of photo).

Figure 3. Repeka sharing a picture book with her one-year-old brother (permission granted by student for use of photo).

of the Bible to memorise and recite (known as *tauloto* or memory verses) and accurately reading the Bible aloud. The values and pedagogy of these practices were supported strongly by the children's families.

Neighbourhood Sites

The term "neighbourhood" is used to describe the physical environment of the community in which the children attended school and where the majority lived. Photos were taken in libraries, the streets and shops. There was literacy used for finding and purchasing goods and services, literacy for navigating one's way in the neighbourhood, and support for school type literacy in the community libraries. The local library was described by the children as a place to do their homework while waiting for parents to return from work, and described by the librarians as a place to socialize and play computer games. Also it was in the neighbourhood that the children often encountered popular culture.

LITERACY RELATED TO POPULAR CULTURE

Mahiri (2000) describes popular culture as being "…for pleasure, identification, and a sense of personal power" (p. 382). Popular culture emerged as a significant source of literacy for the children in the study. It was also the form which most interested the children and which elicited the most discussion.

The less conventional literacies which are described as popular culture (Biddulph, Biddulph and Biddulph, 2003; Luke, 1997; Mahiri, 2000; Marsh and Millard, 2000, 2006; Morrell, 2002) can be found in more than one physical site. In the neighbourhood they included the books, magazines and DVDs the children obtained from the local library, the computer games to play or buy, music CDs, and the fashion labels identifying the clothes to purchase.

Children's identification with particular types of popular culture such as song lyrics and violent computer games can result in conflict with institutions such as family, church, and school. Although some of the children were aware of the differences in values between the institutions they did not appear to be troubled by this.

Music

Music forms part of children's popular culture (Luke, 1997; Mahiri, 2000; Marsh and Millard, 2000; Morrell, 2002). Several children spoke of music as an example of their out-of-school literacy practice. They recognized singers and knew the words of the songs. This involved reading the words on the CD covers and reading the words of songs from the Internet. A common practice was listening to the words of popular songs and writing them down. Both boys and girls reported doing this. Those who named singers showed a preference for African American hip-hop/rap artists. The children's choice of artists illustrates how popular culture transcends cultural and ethnic diversity.

The girls' selection of music contrasts with that of Paulo and Tavita, each of whom took a photo of a wall poster of the African American rap star 50 Cent. They each said they liked

listening to him on the radio. 50 Cent is well known as a "gangsta rap" singer, gangsta rap being in the genre of hip-hop music and reflecting the violence of American inner city living. Tavita said, "50 Cent talks about how he grew up. His dad left him and his mum and he grew up with his mum and his mum suffered. He was rapping about how he was a bad boy." The children were asked if the singer was now trying to be good and Tavita replied "Yes. He is trying to express what he was doing to his mum." The boys explained that they liked his message and felt that he was trying to be better in a Christian type of way.

In Paulo's photo there are two posters side by side. In one 50 Cent is wearing three chains with crosses around his neck. The impression gained from the posters is one of aggression but the symbols of Christianity appealed to one of the boys. When the boys were asked what they liked about the poster, Tavita replied "The cross." Paulo read out the words, "Parental advisory explicit lyrics" and explained "It's got bad lyrics." He was able to read this rather technically written warning. When asked if he would listen to something like that there was a long pause and when asked if he would be allowed to listen to it at home, Paulo replied "Yep. If my mum thinks it's not good enough she will stop it. If it's got foul language or something." The teachers in the school said they would not allow children to play certain music which contained swearing or sexual content.

Fashion Labels

A literacy use which seems simple and obvious but which is of great interest to young people is that of clothing labels. Clothing and sports accessories form part of children's popular culture (Marsh and Millard, 2000) and several children selected brand name fashion labels as descriptions of their out-of-school literacy use. Some described going to shops in the city where they looked at, and purchased, clothes. The children showed much interest in fashion connected to American sports teams and sports stars. They knew which labels were "cool". While the girls described a range of fashion clothing, the boys mainly described sporting brands, particularly shoes. Comments from eight students revealed how they valued the shoes known as "Chucks". Isaako showed the shoes he was wearing and pointed out the round label on the ankle which had *Converse* and *Allstars* written on it and *Chuck Taylor* written as a signature.

Books and Magazines

Eseta and Sara produced photos which showed girls' magazines. Maria gave her first choice of reading materials as *Dolly* while Apekaila gave her second as *Girl.* Eseta explained that she was reading a *Dolly* magazine and she liked the latest fashion and the fun quizzes. Four girls in the study described their favourite magazines chosen for their coolness and sophistication. Some of the magazines contain glossy pages of glamorous fashion.

Computer Games

All seven boys and four of the girls said they used Playstation, with several boys but no girls describing it as a favourite spare time activity. Users of the games had to follow the instructions of the menu including reading the visual symbols, signs and images of the games. They read books of instructions for games, as well as DVDs and magazines associated with the games. Ioane, who was reticent about other matters, was enthusiastic about computer games and said that his cousins taught him how to play. The children's siblings, cousins and friends acted as teachers, but instruction was provided in the computer games themselves, and when players got stuck they could refer to 'cheats' which are written instructions that are used to attain higher levels in the game. Boys and girls downloaded cheats from the Internet or got them from books which had been purchased. Tavita's photo showed his sister reading a Playstation 2 cheat book. He explained that his sister was playing a soccer game and she was reading the cheat to find out how to win it by bringing in new, stronger characters.

Paulo wrote about one of his photographs, "My brother reading cheats to a PS2 game. Unlocking weapons, unlimited health and loads more." This entry illustrates his knowledge of the specialized vocabulary associated with the games. A score may appear on the screen to indicate the "health" of a player who has been shot and prompts may appear on the screen to indicate an opportunity to pick up more health or ammunition.

Conflict with other Institutions

The most common conflicts of value occurred between popular culture and the family, church, and school. The interviews with the children revealed that there was conflict between the violence in some of the computer games and what family and church deemed suitable behaviour both in relation to content and amount of time spent playing. Both Paulo and Tavita said that Playstation was their first choice for their spare time activity and agreed that fighting, shooting, and sports games were best. This interest in violence was an interesting contrast to the way they had presented themselves as Christians. Each boy presented a photo of Bible reading and Paulo explained how he prayed every day. Ioane described his favourite game as Halo 2 where, "You have to shoot monsters and they are dead and if you throw bombs they die."

However, Isaako said that his favourite game was racing cars but "I don't like games that have violence and swearing. It can damage the child's brain." One of Mareko's photos was of a Playstation game disk of a game named *Takedown*. He explained enthusiastically, "It's like a race but you have to crash heaps of cars." Mareko said his grandmother "doesn't like me playing shooting games."

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS

The employment of a situated literacy framework guided our search for the children's own experience of literacy and their recognition of its uses in various sites. There is no doubt that some sites support the school while others are independent of it. Heath (1983) and

Zinsser (1985) have both pointed to the different ways of teaching in the setting of a fundamentalist church and in the setting of the school. We think that where such differences exist there is no need to deny the legitimacy of the church's methods but it might be helpful to understand the differences and, if appropriate, to find ways to use them in schools.

At one level the information we collected allows us to recognize support for literacy outside the school. The local library not only provided space, computers, and materials for homework, but it clearly had complementary values and pedagogy supporting the school. The family had at least two sets of practices for literacy. One supported the school, the other supported religious teaching and values and opportunity to maintain literacy in Samoan. That the latter kind of literacy may not match the literacy of the school does not deny the fact that it is indeed literacy. Similarly, popular culture provides uses of literacy involving the reading of notices, instructions for computer games, magazines and logos on clothing, and writing down the words of popular songs.

Teachers need to be aware that children's capability in literacies such as these may extend beyond what is measured by formal school testing and they provide opportunities to connect children's own interests and practices to school programmes. Teachers also need to be aware of possible conflicts of values between sites.

The use of cameras was very successful in providing access to the children's understanding of literacy and its uses. Teachers are encouraged to get to know the background of the children they teach, and photographs taken by the children themselves are a non-intrusive way of coming to know how our children's experiences of literacy in various sites all offer opportunities for literacy uses, literacy learning, and literacy values. The technique needs careful instructions so that the young photographers do not end up just taking pictures of their friends but that again is an opportunity to ensure that literacy is understood as a cultural practice.

The enthusiasm aroused by popular culture suggests that teachers could make good use of exploring this topic with their young students and connecting their knowledge of popular culture and its literacies to school programmes. For example, children could be encouraged to write the words of songs, explore poetic forms, write instructions for playing a game, and explain the role of logos on shoes and clothing. Teachers may be interested in the range of theories which focus on popular literacies in Larson and Marsh (2005) and Marsh and Millard (2006).

We originally asked ourselves whether it is sufficient or fair to judge literacy solely as a school type skill. The evidence of the range of uses in both English and Samoan revealed in the study suggests that the children possessed literacy skills which exist beyond the school.

Street's (1984) ideological model stresses the significance of social processes in the construction of meaning, and is therefore concerned with all the social institutions through which this takes place, not just the traditional educational ones such as the school. It can be questioned whether the school assessment tasks in literacy adequately reflect the children's understandings of literacy. As an example, the traditional Samoan literacy practices of the pastors' schools with their emphasis on oral reading and memorisation (Thomas, 1984) survive in New Zealand and these skills are seen by their communities as particular strengths. However, they will not necessarily be recognised as strengths by schools. In considering the apparent underachievement in literacy of Samoan children in New Zealand it can be asked whose knowledge is represented.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have taken a view of literacy which is broader than that of autonomous or school literacy. We have used the theoretical framework and the findings from a research study to suggest implications for the practice of teachers. Some of the literacy experiences recorded by the children in the study are unique to Samoan communities but some are shared with others in New Zealand and elsewhere. Not only are learners diverse. We have shown that the out-of-school sites where literacy is used, observed, learnt and valued by Samoan children in New Zealand are equally diverse.

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Chapter 16

LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND EQUITY IN NEW ZEALAND SCHOOLS: "I MAKE MORE SENSE IN MĀORI"

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ABSTRACT

This chapter reports on a small exploratory study describing the experiences of four students who had recently transitioned from schooling in a context where *Te Reo* Māori[1] was the language of instruction to learning in an English-medium school. The chapter briefly describes the movement for Māori-medium schooling in Aotearoa, New Zealand and outlines the rationale and methodology of the study. It identifies, through the voices of the four students, challenges and language demands they faced in making this change. The chapter considers the implications of these findings for educators and policy makers if such students are to be better supported in future.

Keywords: *language acquisition, bilingual education, Māori language*

INTRODUCTION

Many students in English-speaking countries arrive at secondary schools with differing levels of fluency in languages other than English. For many, English is not the language of

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[1] *Te Reo* Māori - one of the official languages of New Zealand, and the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand.

the home, and it may not have been the first language of instruction in the primary or elementary school. The educational needs of students with other language backgrounds are widely recognised in the literature (Cummins, 2000). Cummins seminal research argues that while students may develop social fluency in English in about two years, it takes up to seven years for such fluency to develop in the academic English required for secondary schools. In New Zealand, additional support for students from other language backgrounds for learning in English is provided through government funding targeted at English language learners who have recently migrated to New Zealand.

Students interviewed for this study represent a cohort which has been educated at pre-school and primary school level in *Te Reo* Māori. They are currently not identified as needing additional language support, and their identity as students with a language background other than English is currently either invisible or not officially acknowledged. The recently released *Ka Hikitia* document recognises the issue but only as a matter for investigation not action (Ministry of Education, 2008a). The chapter reports on some of the experiences of four students entering English language instruction after being educated in *Te Reo* Māori. The students describe some of the language demands they faced in making this transition. This small exploratory study raises questions about issues of equity in an educational system that promotes biculturalism and the founding principles of the Treaty of Waitangi[2] in its official documentation (Ministry of Education, 2008b).

BACKGROUND

Kura Māori[3]

Total immersion instruction in *Te Reo* Māori is a recent development in the history of New Zealand education, starting in the early 1980s as a the result of initiatives taken by Māori for Māori, in acts of self-determination. The initial impetus for such education arose from a desire to revitalise and sustain the Māori language, a language identified by researchers as in danger of dying (Benton, 1991), particularly as many of its fluent but elderly first language speakers passed on.

The impetus to save the language saw the establishment of the first Māori University – *Te Wānanga o Raukawa* in 1981, and a vision developed for education in *Te Reo* Māori from pre-school to university. The *Kōhanga Reo* movement[4], a grass-roots initiative, opened the first *Kōhanga* in 1982 and *Kura Kaupapa* Māori[5] followed. Along with the tertiary *Wānanga*[6] these were officially recognised as part of the New Zealand education system by the Education Amendment Act of 1989 (Māori Language Commission, 2004).

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[2] Treaty of Waitangi – (Māori: *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*) is New Zealand's founding document first signed on February 6, 1840, by representatives of the British Crown, and various Māori chiefs. The Treaty established a British governor in New Zealand, recognised Māori ownership of their lands and other properties, and gave Māori the rights of British subjects. The English and Māori language versions of the Treaty differ significantly, and are a source of on-going debate.

[3] *Kura* Māori – schooling where the pre-dominant language of instruction is Te Reo Māori.

[4] *Kōhanga Reo* movement – a movement which supported community led groups to develop Māori language and learning centres for pre-schoolers.

[5] *Kura Kaupapa* Māori – Māori primary and secondary schools using Te Reo Māori as the language of instruction.

[6] *Wānanga* – centres of higher learning, tertiary level.

While there is now official recognition for this parallel system of schools, their inception and continued existence has required an enormous investment in time and money from the communities that support them, and access to them has required a strong commitment from *whānau*[7].

While saving the language itself has been a matter of some urgency it is not just the language that has been at stake but, perhaps more importantly, language as the vessel for cultural world-view (Brown, 2006). During and after the Second World War, Māori drifted to urban areas, leaving traditional home bases. The impact of this drift was to leave Māori with a sense of disengagement from *tūrangawaewae*,[8] *whānau*, *tino rangitiratanga*,[9] and culture (Hill, 2004). The *Kōhanga*, *Kura*, and *Wānanga* have offered a sense of collective commitment and a base for *whānau* systems of operation. Yet each setting contains its own diversity of philosophical underpinning and methods of operation (Durie, 2001; Penetito et al., 2001).

There is also diversity in the language proficiency and competence of students within the *Kura*, both because of the language they bring from their home backgrounds and the policies of the particular *Kura* attended. Rau (2001) identifies five levels of Māori language competence ranging from native speakers of Māori to second language learners with low competence.

Rationale for the Study

The exploratory study this chapter reports arose from anecdotal reports of students moving from Māori language instruction in *Kura* into mainstream English-medium schools and demonstrating language difficulties similar to those of students from other language backgrounds. Even though *Te Reo* Māori may be spoken in the home and school, students who have attended *Kura* grow up in a predominately English-speaking environment so it is likely they will have adequate social fluency in English. This could mask gaps in the vocabulary and semantic structures of academic English that begin to be of importance in secondary school (May, Hill, and Tiakiwai, 2004). As a result, teachers or senior school administrators may not realise these students may require additional academic language support in order to succeed as they attempt to adapt to the different academic culture of the mainstream secondary school and work in a language that is often unfamiliar to them.

The study was a preliminary step towards discovering if the anecdotal reports had any substance. Although this is a small sample, findings suggest that the transition between the two languages is a significant challenge for students who move from *Kura* to mainstream education. It also reveals that students have low expectations that their language backgrounds will be recognised in any significant way within the mainstream system.

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[7] *Whānau* - families in the wider sense.
[8] *Turangawaewae* - place of ancestral belonging.
[9] *tino rangitiratanga* - right to rule your own destiny, self-determination.

The Interview Process

Only a small proportion of New Zealand secondary schools contain bilingual units that teach in both English and *Te Reo* Māori. The four students, two girls and two boys, who agreed to participate in this study, had recently moved to schools where *Te Reo* Māori was a language option with the same subject status within the school as foreign languages. Their main link with *Te Reo* Māori within the school was with the Māori language teacher as a subject teacher for approximately four hours a week.

The students (with the additional consent of family and school) were interviewed primarily in English, by a speaker of Māori, accompanied by a non-Māori interviewer who made notes. Students were asked about their perceptions of their fluency in *Te Reo* Māori, their current opportunities to speak *Te Reo* Māori, and any difficulties they had found in using English language in English, Science, and other subjects. They were also asked which language, English or *Te Reo*, was easier for them to work in and why.

The notes were discussed and points clarified before the end of the interviews. The interviews were also digitally recorded and fully transcribed, and students were subsequently shown a transcript and invited to make any further clarifications. The researchers coded the transcripts and generated themes from the data. Significant findings are reported below.

FINDINGS

Speaking Te Reo Māori

All the students interviewed expressed pride in their ability to speak *Te Reo* Māori. This was also apparent through body language as they spoke about it. One described herself as "lucky." "I feel good because I know another language." Another spoke of appreciating *Te Reo* Māori more now that he was in "an English school" because he isn't able to speak it as much as he could before. Accompanying this pride was a tangible feeling of regret at not being able to speak *Te Reo* Māori very often during the day. One said, "Oh it's just weird not speaking Māori all the time…Yeah because it's been like talking Māori for the whole day." Another had similar feelings,

> Well, at my old school all my friends talked Māori to me at lunchtime and stuff but here all of them just speak English because they don't know how to speak Māori … so yeah that was kind of different for me and we just talk back to them in English, … it's probably strange to me.

Asked directly if she missed speaking in *Te Reo* Māori her reply was "Yeah I'd rather speak *Te Reo* Māori instead of English." She thought it would be "really cool" if there was more Māori spoken around her: "I would actually like it because then I would be able to speak it whenever I want to."

The four students had varied opportunities to speak *Te Reo* Māori away from school. One was able to speak *Te Reo* when she went to collect younger siblings who were still in Māori immersion, and also saw her former teacher, a family friend, socially. She spoke in *Te Reo* Māori with friends from her old school in the weekends, and was able to speak *Te Reo* at

home with her mother and sisters. She was clearly comfortable in *Te Reo* as a first language to the extent that her mother reported her "sleep-talking" in *Te Reo* Māori. The other three students seemed to have fewer opportunities to speak their language now, one with his mother sometimes, one with a younger brother in the holidays ("so we don't like forget some of the basic words and stuff"), and his mother who was herself in the process of learning *Te Reo* Māori, and the final student with her grandmother and younger brother and sister, and sometimes old friends from the Kura.

Instruction in *Te Reo* Māori in the *Kura* has obviously been a strong source of language knowledge for all of these students and possibly the main source for at least two of them. Three had had continuous schooling in *Te Reo* Māori from pre-school. One described himself as having moved between the systems at earlier stages of his schooling. He described being able to keep both language systems operating together but also described himself as less secure in his knowledge of *Te Reo* Māori. This small group therefore reflected some of the diversity in language background and knowledge that Rau (2001) describes.

Thinking in Te Reo Māori and English

As they described the things that made working in English hard for them, these students provided some insights into the thought processes of students working from one language to another that are relevant to students from other language backgrounds. One of the students found it more natural to think and respond in *Te Reo* Māori, something she was working against. She described the process of working from thinking in *Te Reo* Māori to thinking in English for speaking, reading, and writing. When she first started in the mainstream school, "I could speak English but just some of my words I got muddled up with in English… I'd say bringed or something… my mum would have to correct me, yeah." She described the process of being used to responding naturally in one language and having to reach for the other:

> …when I was at my old school I knew when to speak Māori back but here I sort of just speak English back because I'm used to it now…It feels like if they want me to speak in Māori and sometimes I just speak in English. I'm just used to it.

One of the differences in languages she had to wrestle with was word order. "Because you know Māori how it's reversed so I like think of it backwards sometimes, it's really complicated…I'm thinking in Māori then I remember that I'm in English and turn it all around." When she was reading in English she also had to work against an anticipated different word order:

> Well heaps of words they just like go all over the place but I just don't get them so I just try to rearrange them to a sentence that I do get. And sometimes I translate them into Māori so I understand it better.

She also described the problem of getting started when she had to write without an initial prompt in subject English. Although she thought after about three terms in her new school that she was thinking more in English than she used to, the process of "thinking about what I have to write" was still hard for her:

Because I look at a blank piece of paper … for ages until one thought just pops into my head, yes…and then it's okay. Yeah because once I get started I'm pretty good. … In Māori I can do sentence starters real easy but in English not that well.

Perceptions of Themselves as Learners

These students saw their skills as better in *Te Reo* Māori than English. Another student said of writing, "I make more sense in Māori." In this case working in English had altered her perception of herself as a learner. When asked if she was a good learner her answer was confident, "In Māori, yep." But for learning in English the answer was different, "a little bit." When asked what language she was thinking in when she was writing she said, "a little bit in Māori, but yeah in English." But when the interviewer asked what her first thoughts would be if she was asked to describe the bush (forest) setting outside she replied, "Well *ngāhere*[10] was my first thought."

One of the boys grew up speaking "just Māori basically". After eighteen months he saw the English language as predominating for him in the school setting. But his *Te Reo* knowledge easily returned. "Yeah I'm strong in English more than Māori but if I still keep talking a couple of times I will get used to it…it will be easier for me." The other student, who had previously shifted between Māori and English immersion contexts, described keeping both systems in his head. He described Physical Education (PE) as a subject where no confusion between languages arose – "it's easier to think in PE for English than for Māori. Yeah, because you don't really learn PE in Māori."

Difficulties with Academic Language

All the students described the problem of academic vocabulary or "big words" particularly in relation to science. One said, "It's hard, it's big, big words. Yeah, too many words, big words." She described what she did when the teacher was talking: "I don't know … I just look at them but I don't even know what they're saying." Asked if she would ask the teacher for help, she said even when the teacher used simplified language she still didn't always understand. "Oh, he'll explain it to me and when I don't get it …Like I say I do but I don't…I just don't get it, they keep saying the same thing over and over and I just won't get it." Her frustration was palpable. Describing written questions she said, "… if I understand the question then I can answer it, yeah answer it good." Words in social studies were not such an obstacle because she had heard them in other parts of her life, "in the news…"

Another student described the "big words" as "words that I don't get that I've never seen before. Like everyone else in my class has seen them, heaps of times." One of the boys saw the problem of the "big words" in terms of pronunciation, "with Māori you pronounce the word how you see it but in English it's something else." So when he described getting lost in long descriptions and explanations in science, he saw the problem as "some words are hard to pronounce in science."

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[10] ngahere – forest.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS

The Challenge of Students from other Language Backgrounds

This small snapshot of perceptions of language demands for students moving from Māori immersion educational settings to mainstream instruction in English in New Zealand has two facets, one common to many students coming from other language backgrounds and one unique to the New Zealand context.

Classroom teachers often lack the knowledge and experience to recognise and understand the difficulties presented by classroom instruction for students who come from other language backgrounds. When asked how their teachers could support their learning better, the students in this study identified the following strategies as useful: giving more help, explaining things more, giving more detail, starting with smaller words, and using examples. They suggested teachers should ask directly if students needed help.

One described a teacher's intervention when most students had failed an essay task and was enthusiastic about being taught a formula to structure essays. He still didn't really want to write essays but was now confident he could. Both boys strongly recommended an interactive approach and the value of being able to work in groups. One of the girls described how much help she got from her peer group, especially with words she didn't know. "If I just don't get it then I ask my friends…One of my friends she's like really, really good at spelling so most of the time I don't have to ask the teacher." But if she did need the teacher's help she found it difficult to ask. "Sometimes I'm just a bit scared to ask the teacher…so I let her think I know what I'm doing but I don't." For one student, a teacher who was enthusiastic and made work fun was highly valued and helped her persist even when "big words" were involved. It was clear that failure to understand content had been de-motivating and had led to some "mucking about" behaviour for all four students. Ultimately, a failure to address language barriers can become a path to failure in the education system for some students (Ministry of Education, 2007).

There is much international literature available to support teachers to help speakers of other languages in their classrooms (Cummins, 2000; Gibbons, 2002). In New Zealand support is made available in the documents and resources that accompany recent literacy initiatives in New Zealand schools.[11]

New Zealand Teachers and the Challenge of Students Speaking Te Reo Māori

New Zealand is a strongly monolingual country. Most people do not speak a language other than English with any fluency. Students who come from overseas are unlikely to encounter teachers who speak their languages. Students born in New Zealand who speak *Te Reo* Māori are currently also unlikely to encounter mainstream subject teachers who speak *Te Reo* Māori with any level of fluency. Historically there has been little support and some strong resistance against making *Te Reo* Māori a compulsory language subject in schools.

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[11] Examples include: *Effective literacy strategies Y9-13 handbook*, ESOL DVDs to support English, social studies, science and maths teachers.

There has been even less support for a move to a more comprehensive bilingual teaching programme like that provided for French and English in Canada, although a small number of Māori immersion and bilingual units exist in some schools. The Māori language renaissance has been largely for Māori by Māori. What this small study highlights is the gap between the aspirations of a system of education in *Te Reo* Māori and the mainstream, monolingual system of education, a gap made apparent when students move from Māori immersion to English language instruction mid-stream.

The students described how much easier it would be for them if their teachers were able to speak some *Te Reo* Māori, especially if they were stuck for a word in class. One student, clearly anxious about her inability to understand ideas in a mainstream English class said if all her teachers could speak Māori she would feel "a bit better 'cause if I don't understand in English I could ask them to translate it in Māori then I'll understand it." Another student tried to articulate the problem of finding the right way to ask questions in English. "I can't ask questions in Māori because they just wouldn't understand it so I have to ask questions in English... ." Things would be so much simpler if she could ask the question in *Te Reo* Māori. "I would understand what I'm saying… Yeah…if I said it in Māori I would understand it straightaway. It's just that in English sometimes I don't know what I am saying."

However, aside from the Māori language teacher in the school, none of these students had any expectations that their mainstream subject teachers would know some Māori language and be able to meet them even halfway in this process. Asked if there were any other teachers who spoke *Te Reo* Māori in the school one replied, "No I don't think so, they might know it but they just don't look like they know it." One said they might know a little, "probably just like *kia ora* and that's all." But they clearly appreciated even the most basic attempts to try. One described a relieving teacher who tried to speak Māori to her but "she didn't understand me…but she tried it … just did it wrong." But when asked how it felt that someone was trying to use Māori her response was positive, "pretty good, yeah." The boys described a teacher who tried to use Māori language, and asked them to help her as a "learning teacher." But there was also some underlying ambivalence about this teacher's mistakes. They laughed when they couldn't understand her, "because she can't pronounce it properly sometimes." Asked how this felt one replied, "Oh sort of funny."

Policy Implications

Official education documents in New Zealand acknowledge the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document and the basis of principles of biculturalism in New Zealand. The revised New Zealand curriculum document (MOE, 2008b) states, "All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of *Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga*[12]". In a section on official languages the curriculum document describes *Te Reo* Māori as a "*taonga*[13]" and argues, "All who learn *Te Reo* Māori help to secure its future as a living, dynamic, and rich language. As they learn, they come to appreciate that diversity is the key to unity" (p. 14). The importance of the Māori language to New Zealand is thus clearly supported in official documentation.

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[12] Te Reo Māori me ona tikanga – Māori language and its customs.
[13] taonga – treasure.

In the light of such policy the four students in this study and the larger cohort of students who find themselves in a similar position present a unique challenge to mainstream education in New Zealand. Official statistics about how many students fall into the category are unavailable (C. Mako, personal communication, August 17, 2007). If mainstream teachers are to share the ideal of diversity expressed in the New Zealand curriculum then some revisiting of the importance of mainstream teachers learning *Te Reo* Māori may be needed; and other forms of intermediary support should be urgently considered by individual teachers, school administrators and the wider system.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has described some of the challenges faced by four students who have recently moved from learning in Māori immersion educational settings to English-medium schooling. Their experiences make it clear that such students require better support from the mainstream system in meeting the challenges such a transition brings. Both educators and policy makers have a role to play if the language diversity that is valued in policy is to be achieved in practice and the vision of Māori to sustain their language is to be realised. Students like those interviewed should have confidence they "make sense" in both *Te Reo* Māori and English.

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Chapter 17

HEALTH AND WELLBEING OF A DIVERSE STUDENT POPULATION: THE YOUTH2000 SURVEYS OF NEW ZEALAND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

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ABSTRACT

Young people in *Aotearoa* New Zealand are increasingly diverse. National surveys of secondary school students carried out in 2001 and 2007 provide essential information on their ethnicity, family configurations and living arrangements, connection with school and community, physical and mental health, sexual behaviour, nutrition, and other factors influencing their health and wellbeing. The key findings, as they relate to student diversity in school settings, are reported and discussed and the implications for those working in education explored.

Keywords: *health and wellbeing, Youth2000, risk and protective factors*

INTRODUCTION

The success and participation of all its young people is vital to the ongoing success of any society. The economic burden to society from young people failing and being excluded is substantial: Cohen (1998) estimated that in the United States the cost of one student dropping

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out of school amounted to 1.5 million U.S. dollars. Health and wellbeing problems cannot only hinder young people's potential development, but can result in marginalised uneducated youth who are more likely to have difficulties in adult life. On the other hand, schools are in a position to create environments in which young people can develop and strengthen the protective factors that will help them through the challenging years between childhood and adulthood. Many schools are doing this and most young people successfully make the transition to adulthood. But not all succeed in this regard. At the other end of this particular dimension of diversity there are worrying numbers of young people who face major problems. New Zealand has a poor record when it comes to young people's health and wellbeing. Rates of youth suicide, death from motor vehicle injuries, unplanned pregnancy, and drug and alcohol use in New Zealand continue to be among the highest in the western world (Ministry of Health, 2002). Violence and abuse, depression and other mental health disorders are also major issues for young people in New Zealand.

But can we quantify these issues? How widespread are they among the population of young people? It was with these questions in mind that the Adolescent Health Research Group (AHRG) established the Youth2000 project to measure and document the health and wellbeing of secondary school students in New Zealand. The AHRG has now conducted national surveys in 2001 and 2007 which provide a window on the diversity of the secondary school student population. This chapter provides a review of the key findings from the Youth2000 surveys as they relate to diversity in school settings, and considers the implications of the results for those working in education. We begin with a brief historical overview of the work conducted by the AHRG through the Youth2000 project.

BACKGROUND: THE YOUTH2000 SURVEYS

The AHRG was established by researchers at the University of Auckland in 1997 with the aim of providing accurate and timely information on New Zealand's young people, that communities, schools, parents, and policy-makers could use to improve the health status of young people. Under the Youth2000 project set up by the AHRG, large national youth surveys of over 9,000 secondary school students were conducted in 2001 and 2007. Smaller surveys have also been undertaken, including students in alternative education settings in 2001, teen pregnancy units in 2006, and *wharekura* (Māori-language total-immersion secondary schools) in 2007. The development of these national youth surveys was based on wide consultation and guidance from five steering groups (Youth, Māori, Pacific, Asian, and Secondary School Principals). The data has been presented and published extensively, and is available via the project's website (www.youth2000.ac.nz).

The first national survey carried out by the AHRG in 2001 used a self-report questionnaire administered on laptop computers. A total of 133 schools from those with more than 50 students in Year 9 through to Year 13 (i.e., ages about 13 to 18 years) were randomly selected and invited to participate. At each of the 114 schools that agreed to participate, 15% of students were randomly selected from the school roll. In total 9,699 students took part in the survey. Demographics, methodology and early findings have been reported in detail elsewhere (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2003a, 2003b; Watson et al., 2001). The 2001

survey was supported by the Health Research Council of New Zealand and a grant-in-aid from the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand.

The second national survey in 2007 used a development of the same questionnaire, but this time administered on internet tablets - essentially small hand-held computers. Using the same criteria as in 2001, a total of 115 schools were randomly selected and invited to participate, and of those schools agreeing to participate 18% of students were then randomly selected from the school roll. In total 9,107 students from 96 secondary schools took part in the 2007 survey. Demographics, methodology, and early findings have been reported in detail elsewhere (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2008a, 2008b; Denny et al., 2008; Clark et al., 2008). The funding of the 2007 survey was a partnership between the Health Research Council of New Zealand and eight government agencies: the Department of Labour, the Families Commission, the Accident Compensation Corporation, Sport and Recreation New Zealand, the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand and the Ministries of Youth Development, Justice, Health, and Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry of Māori Development).

KEY FINDINGS FROM THE YOUTH2000 SURVEYS

Findings from the Youth2000 surveys in 2001 and 2007 highlight the diversity and also the common features of young people at secondary school. There are many differences that for educators can be both stimulating and challenging. For instance, the surveys showed that the ethnic mix of students attending secondary schools is becoming more diverse: in the 2001 survey 33.6% of students reported that they belonged to more than one ethnic group, while in 2007 this proportion had risen to 39.2%. Bearing in mind this multiple ethnic identification, the ethnic mix indicated by students in 2007 was particularly diverse: 75.7% indicated some New Zealand European ethnicity, 18.7% indicated some Māori ethnicity, 13% indicated some Pacific ethnicity and 14.4% indicated some Asian ethnicity, with 9% indicating other ethnicities from countries in the Middle East, Europe, the Americas or Africa. When asked about the particular ethnic group they mainly identified with, students were very proud to belong to their ethnic group, and in most ethnic groups more than half of the students reported that they understood and spoke the language of their family's culture fairly well, well, or very well.

Students who took part in the Youth2000 surveys came from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. More detailed information was obtained in the 2007 survey, including an urban/rural classification and an index of socioeconomic deprivation based on census data for the neighbourhood where the student lived. Thus, in the 2007 survey 70.3% of students lived in a main urban area, while only 16.0% in a rural area. New Zealand Deprivation Index scores (i.e., NZDep2006) were determined for each student's main home address. This deprivation index comprises standardised measures of social deprivation of the student's home neighbourhood based on census data for: home ownership, employment, qualifications, living space, availability of communication and transport, and other variables. The results confirmed that there is considerable diversity in the socioeconomic circumstances in which students live: 24.7% live in neighbourhoods with high levels of deprivation, 37.3% in neighbourhoods with medium levels of deprivation, and 35.4% in neighbourhoods with low levels of deprivation.

Many teachers would agree that students who are healthy are more likely to be able to take advantage of the learning opportunities schools offer them. Indeed, a recent study concluded that students who attended schools that deliberately set out to be health-promoting were not only healthier but also achieved better academically (Lee, Cheng, Fung, and St Leger, 2006). In this regard, although students in the Youth2000 surveys reported a wide range of levels for personal health and wellbeing it will be reassuring to teachers that the great majority of students are healthy: the proportion reporting that their health was excellent, very good, or good was 92.1% in 2001 and 91.9% in 2007.

The surveys also asked students about their emotional health and wellbeing and the results indicated some encouraging improvements between 2001 and 2007. The proportion of students who reported being OK, satisfied, or very happy with their lives rose from 86.1% in 2001 to 91.7% in 2007. However, while most students seem to get through the adolescent years with no more than the expected highs and lows of teenage mood swings familiar to most parents, 10.6% of students in the 2007 survey did report significant depressive symptoms. While this was a reduction from the 12.4% in 2001 it remains an area of concern, particularly for girls. The proportion of girls reporting significant depressive symptoms (15.3% in 2001, 14.7% in 2007) is twice as high as that among boys (9.1% in 2001, 6.9% in 2007).

A new feature of the 2007 survey was the taking of physical measurements - students' height, weight, and waist measurements. From these the body mass index (BMI) for each student was calculated to provide a measure of body size and obesity. The results showed a considerable range in physical size among students. While most (63.2%) students were of "normal" weight by international criteria and a very small proportion (2.6%) were "underweight", a significant number (34.1%) were either "overweight" or "obese". There was little difference overall between male and female students. However, after analysing the figures for obesity against the level of deprivation in the student's neighbourhood a clear trend emerges: students from neighbourhoods with high levels of deprivation were more than three times as likely to be obese (18.4%) as students who lived in neighbourhoods with low levels of deprivation (5.7%). Another correlation from the 2007 survey results is relevant here: students from neighbourhoods of high deprivation are also more than three times as likely to buy their breakfast from shops or takeaways as students from neighbourhoods with low deprivation levels (30.3% compared to 8.2%). Food bought from shops or takeaways is likely to have less nutritional value than food from home; indeed, the environment of shops and takeaways around many New Zealand schools has been described as "obesogenic" – generating obesity (Carter and Swinburn, 2004).

Eating breakfast is important if students are to be engaged in their learning and physically active at school. The survey in 2007 indicated that many students (58.1%) always eat breakfast, and the majority of students (89.0%) sometimes or always got their breakfast at home, although a proportion (9.4%) sometimes got their breakfast from school. Some students (8.5%) did not have any breakfast, with girls (12.6%) more than twice as likely to skip breakfast as boys (5.0%).

The surveys also asked students about their sexual behaviour. In 2007 36.3% of students reported ever having had sexual intercourse and of those 25.1% reported they were currently sexually active. It is natural for young people to experiment with sex and become sexually active as they move to adulthood. This progression is apparent in the figures from the 2007 survey with 10.8% of 13 year olds and under, reporting that they were currently sexually

active rising to 39.6% for students 17 years and older. When asked about their sexual attraction 92.2% of students were attracted to the opposite sex, 4.2% to the same sex or both sexes, and 3.6% were undecided about their sexual orientation.

In designing the Youth2000 surveys, the AHRG was keen to probe the question of what factors keep young people well – what protects them from the risks inherent in growing up in a society where potentially negative influences such as alcohol and drugs are readily available, powerful cars can be bought relatively cheaply, and the media normalise violence and the initiation of sexual activity at an early age.

Feeling connected to their family, school, and their neighbourhood is a strong protective factor and is of importance for both health and student achievement. In the 2007 survey most students (71.4%) reported that they live in one home while 28.6% reported two or more homes. Of those students who lived in one home 84.4% reported they lived with two "parents" (including a parent's partner) while of those who lived in two or more homes 44.7% reported living with two "parents" in their main home. These findings serve to illustrate the considerable diversity in how families are configured, and how students live and are looked after. For instance, students reported a range of people who acted as a "parent" for them, including grandparents (13.4%) or other relatives (20.8%). But for all the diversity in living arrangements and family configurations, the majority of students (80.5%) reported that their families get along well together, and even more (90.3%) that their mother and/or father cared a lot about them. These numbers did not differ greatly by age, gender, or level of deprivation.

The survey results also showed that communities, despite their geographic and socio-economic diversity, generally provided supportive environments which gave a wide variety of opportunities for their young people. Over a third (38.9%) of students reported having regular part-time jobs, 25.3% were involved in music, art or drama for up to an hour a day, 56.8% in sports teams or clubs and 28.8% of students attended a place of worship weekly or more often. Almost all students (96.7%) reported having a group of friends they could hang out with and 54.6% reported they had other adults outside their family they could talk to. The great majority (81.1%) of students felt safe in their neighbourhood most or all of the time.

While schools usually have little control over the outside influences in the lives of their students, they have the time and the opportunities to provide relationships and environments that can have long-lasting effects on the development and wellbeing of the young people they serve. The great majority (91.3%) of students in the 2007 survey reported that people at school cared about them. However, just under half (48.8%) of students reported that teachers treat students fairly most of the time, with students from neighbourhoods with high levels of deprivation being less likely to report that teachers treated students fairly (40.7%). But very few (3.7%) students reported that they didn't like school at all; nearly all students enjoyed going to school (it was "OK" or better), even if the main reason they gave for going was to hang out with their friends!

Student safety is paramount for both parents and school staff and it was encouraging to note that most students (83.5%) felt safe at school all or most of the time and the proportion of students who reported avoiding going to school because of bullying had decreased from 9.5% in 2001 to 4.1% in 2007.

MĀORI STUDENTS IN NEW ZEALAND SCHOOLS

Māori people are the *tangata whenua* (first nation people) of New Zealand. Māori students are a large part of the diversity that exists in New Zealand mainstream secondary schools. In the 2007 survey, 18.7% of students in these schools identified Māori as one of their ethnic groups. There are also *wharekura*, and Māori-medium and bilingual classes around the country where almost all students are Māori. The 2001 survey of Alternative Education Units (schools for students with behavioural problems or repeated expulsions that preclude them from attending their usual secondary schools) showed that a large proportion (78%) of the students at these units are Māori (Denny, Clark, and Watson, 2003). Similarly, in the 2006 survey of Teen Pregnancy Units, 62% of the students continuing their education in these units identified as Māori (Johnson and Denny, 2007).

The majority of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools reported high educational aspirations with 74.3% wanting to stay at school until Year 13 (i.e., age 17-18 years). Most Māori students liked school a lot (85.7%) and felt part of their school (88.7%) (Clark et al., 2008). Nearly all Māori students (97.7%) reported that it was important for their parents that they attended school every day. Most Māori students (83.8%) felt safe at school and 63% reported that their schools encouraged different ethnic groups to get along. However, they were less positive in their perceptions of their teachers, with only 49.0% of Māori students reporting that they usually got along with their teachers and only 38.7% reporting that teachers treated students fairly most of the time.

The increase and range of Māori-medium education options available for *whānau*/families to choose from has resulted in an increasing proportion of Māori students who understand and speak *Te Reo* Māori (Māori language, English and New Zealand Sign Language are the official languages of New Zealand). In the 2007 survey 39.4% of Māori students in mainstream schools and *wharekura* reported being able to speak and understand *Te Reo* Māori fairly well, well or very well – slightly more than the proportion who reported that their parents or caregivers at home spoke some *Te Reo* Māori (36.9%).

In 2007 91.2% of Māori students reported that they were OK, satisfied, or very satisfied with their lives. However, at the other end of the spectrum a significant proportion reported significant depressive symptoms or suicidal thoughts and behaviours. As among students generally, these were markedly higher among girls than boys, although the pattern is complex: female Māori students were more likely to report depressive symptoms than their *Pākehā*/New Zealand (NZ) European peers, but male Māori students were less likely than their *Pākehā*/NZ European peers to report such symptoms. In regard to suicidal behaviours, both female and male Māori students were more likely than their *Pākehā*/NZ European peers to report having made a suicide attempt in the past year. On a more positive note, both depressive symptoms and suicide attempts among Māori students declined from 2001 to 2007, and substance use also decreased in the same period.

However, despite the positive gains in the past six years, disparities remain: 45.8% of Māori students live in neighbourhoods of high deprivation (compared to 12.6% of *Pākehā*/NZ European students); 22.8% reported they had been unable to access healthcare when they needed it in the last 12 months (compared to 13.7% of *Pākehā/*NZ European students); and 10.4% of Māori students reported that their parents worried often or all of the time about not having enough money to buy food (compared with 5.5% of *Pākehā*/NZ European students).

Māori are diverse, as are *Pākehā*/NZ Europeans and other groups in New Zealand, but a disproportionately high number of Māori students continue to face deprivation and the consequences of deprivation in their daily lives.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

Findings from the Youth2000 project have several implications for educators. The survey results confirm that students in New Zealand come from a diverse range of backgrounds, cultures, and home situations. The challenge for educators is to provide environments where all young people feel supported and connected to school, no matter what their background or experiences may be.

Students who feel marginalised because of their particular culture, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or background are especially at risk for poor academic outcomes and extra efforts need to be made to make these students feel they belong and are able to achieve in the classroom. Successful strategies to improve outcomes for these students include: teacher training and support, peer support groups, grouping of students with similar experiences, and school-wide policies and support. For example, Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richardson (2003) have shown that improving the quality of the face-to-face relationships between teachers and students is the single biggest factor in improving education outcomes for Māori students.

A particularly important factor is school connection, that is when students feel part of their school and believe that adults at school care about their learning and about them as individuals. Extensive research has shown that students who feel connected to school do better academically, are more engaged in teaching and learning, and are less likely to be truant from school (see for example Resnick et al., 1997). School connection is characterised by high academic expectations and support for student learning, caring adult-student relationships, and psychological safety. The survey results give a rather mixed picture of school connection: a high proportion of students feel adults at school care about them, but fewer feel that teachers treat students fairly.

To improve school connection for students facing adversity, behavioural problems, or ill-health requires a dual strategy of reducing the risks and promoting the resiliencies that are at the heart of healthy youth development (Resnick, 2007). Students facing adversity, behavioural problems, or ill-health need comprehensive assessments by professionals from both education and health who can work collaboratively with the student to identify risks such as abuse, mental health issues, violence and/or substance use, as well as working with each student's strengths to build the skills and competencies that foster a sense of belonging and engagement with the school. Ideally, such a dual strategy is managed by a multidisciplinary team including teachers, nurses, doctors, social workers, and youth out-reach workers. Services such as this, which operate within schools to support students experiencing adversity, behavioural problems, or ill-health, are part of successful approaches for improving academic achievement and health and wellbeing for all students.

CONCLUSION

The Youth2000 surveys have not only provided much-needed information on the health and wellbeing of secondary students in New Zealand, but have also highlighted the diversity of their ethnic and cultural background, the neighbourhoods they live in, their family arrangements, their activities and interests, the risks they face, and the strengths they develop. While we must continue our efforts to support and assist those facing deprivation and reduce the risk factors that can jeopardise healthy youth development, it is reassuring to realise that the majority of secondary students in New Zealand are healthy, happy, active, and well cared for by loving families.

Even so, it is our responsibility as policy-makers, educators, and health professionals to listen to what students have told us through these surveys and take the necessary actions to ensure that we provide all young people with the opportunities and environments to grow and develop into healthy, happy, and contributing young adults.

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Chapter 18

MALTREATED CHILDREN IN THE EARLY YEARS: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE TEACHER'S ROLE

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ABSTRACT

Child abuse and neglect is a significant health and social problem with serious consequences for children, families and communities. This chapter provides students, early childhood teachers, and administrators with an evidence base for understanding their role in relation to child abuse and neglect. The chapter draws from international and interdisciplinary research to address four key areas of responsibility: i) recognising signs of child abuse and neglect; ii) reporting child abuse and neglect; iii) supporting children in the classroom; and iv) teaching children to protect themselves (Watts, 1997).

Keywords: *child protection, prevention, early childhood*

INTRODUCTION

Early childhood education programmes provide services for diverse populations of children and families. Such services include addressing child maltreatment through implementing protective measures and providing safe educational environments for children. As an organising framework for understanding the complexity of the teacher's role in child protection, we adopt Watt's (1997) four-dimensional model: i) recognising signs of child abuse and neglect; ii) reporting child abuse and neglect; iii) supporting children in the classroom; and iv) teaching children to protect themselves. We begin by providing background to the issues of child abuse and neglect before reviewing each dimension of the role.

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BACKGROUND

Child abuse and neglect (hereafter CAN) is an umbrella term capturing four different maltreatment subtypes: physical abuse, emotional abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect. These subtypes may coexist in what is frequently termed *comorbidity* (Caron and Rutter, 1991) or *multi-type maltreatment* (Higgins and McCabe, 2001). Each form of maltreatment may be conceptualised as a continuum from less to more serious and harmful characteristics and patterns. For example, at the lower end of the physical abuse continuum may be gentle smacking or spanking. Further along the continuum may be deliberate beating, shaking, biting, and burning. At the upper end of the continuum may be child death, either by acts of omission or commission. Research by Nielssen, Large, Westmore and Lackersteen (2009) in New South Wales found that 36% of child homicides could be directly attributable to physical abuse. The case of Victoria Climbie in the United Kingdom depicts the tragic co-occurrence of physical abuse and neglect (Laming, 2003).

Victoria Climbie was a previously thriving child of 8 years when she died from injuries inflicted by her caregivers in the United Kingdom in 2000. Having been in the care of her great aunt for a little over one year, Victoria presented to various professionals with cut marks on her face and fingers, what appeared to be a skin irritation on her scalp, burns, bites and belt-buckle marks. She was fearful of her aunt, looking down at the floor and rubbing her hands together each time she was present. In the months leading up to her death, Victoria was tied by her hands and feet in a freezing bathroom, lying in the cold bath in a plastic bag in her own waste. At the time of her hospital admission her body temperature was so low it did not show on a thermometer and her legs could not be straightened. In the inquiry into her death, it became clear that opportunities to help Victoria were missed by well-meaning professionals (Laming, 2003). She was not enrolled in a school or daycare. Would this have made a difference? Would her teachers have noticed what was happening and taken action to protect her?

This disturbing case highlights the complexities of CAN. While there is no single cause or network of causes for CAN, some factors increase risk and other factors foster protection. More than 20 years ago, Cicchetti and Rizley (1981) offered a *transactional model* to conceptualise outcomes for children as depending on environmental forces and caregiver characteristics interacting throughout childhood. At the same time, Belsky (1980) proposed an *ecological model* to explain the phenomenon of CAN as influenced by forces within individuals, families, communities and cultures. Although the link between parenting practices and CAN is well established in this model, parenting cannot be considered in isolation from its social context. For example, although research has shown that insensitive, inconsistent, and unresponsive parenting can adversely influence a child's relationships, their capacity to achieve independence and their functional skills (Belsky and Vondra, 1989; LaRose and Wolfe, 1987), elements in the social context such as inadequate housing, social isolation, poverty and underemployment also amplify the risk for physical abuse and neglect. Acknowledgement of the damaging consequences of physical abuse together with growing awareness of children's rights[1] have forced social policy change, most notably, the banning of

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[1] Including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in which Article 19 sets down children's right to be protected from physical violence.

corporal punishment of children in 23 countries (End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2008).

Rates of CAN in developed countries vary considerably, influenced by legal and policy-based definitions of what constitutes these phenomena, and by child protection systems' responses to referrals of CAN. Official notifications to child protection authorities in English-speaking countries confirm that CAN is not uncommon. It is not possible to compare rates directly across jurisdictions owing to differences in how countries define CAN, and in how referrals of child protection matters are documented. However, the officially-recorded rates give some indication of the incidents. The overall CAN rate for children in Australia ranges from 2.9 per 1000 children in the state of Western Australia to 11.9 per 1000 in the Northern Territory (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2009). Australian rates are comparable to those in the UK with approximately 2.7 in 1000 (Department for Education and Skills, 2006), the USA with 11.9 per 1000 children (US Department of Health and Human Services, Administration on Children, Youth and Families, 2006), and Canada with 13.89 per 1000 children (Trocmé et al., 2005), but lower than New Zealand with 21 per 1000 children (Department of Child, Youth and Family Services, 2006[2]). A legal, ethical, and moral question arising from these differences, not yet addressed in empirical research, is the extent to which differences in laws about the reporting of CAN create differences in the detection and identification of cases (Mathews and Bross, 2008).

The consequences of CAN for children vary and are dependent on factors such as the nature of the act, the severity and duration of the abuse or neglect, its perpetrator, the child's resilience, the presence of early detection and intervention, and the existence of supportive adults in the child's life (Cicchetti and Toth, 1995). CAN causes numerous effects, some of which are germane to maltreatment subtypes and others occurring as a result of the co-occurrence of two or more forms of CAN. Importantly, all place children at risk of educational failure and future disadvantage (Cicchetti and Toth, 1995; Veltman and Browne, 2001). Studies have revealed that exposure to CAN and family violence is associated with heightened risk in later life of further victimisation, perpetration of violence, anxiety, depression, alcohol and drug dependence, high-risk sexual behaviours, and suicide (Felitti et al., 1998). CAN contributes to poor physical and mental health outcomes at great cost to individuals and society.

RECOGNISING SIGNS OF CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

Because of its severe adverse effects, teachers are in an ideal position to identify changes in behaviour and presentation that may indicate CAN (Briggs and Hawkins, 1997). However, research shows this is not a straightforward task (Goebbels, Nicholson, Walsh, and DeVries, 2008; O'Toole, Webster, O'Toole, and Lucal, 1999). Recognizing CAN is complicated because the manifestations of CAN are often indistinguishable from other childhood maladies (Besharov, 1990). For example, a child who is hyper-vigilant (constantly scanning their

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[2] Official sources in New Zealand do not provide rates of CAN per 1000 children. For comparative purposes, we have calculated these from information available as follows. In New Zealand in 2005-06, there were 66,210 notifications of suspected child abuse of which 49,063 required further action (Department of Child, Youth and Family Services, 2006). Based on 2006 census data (which found 1,053,666 resident children in New Zealand), this gives an approximate rate of 21 in 1000 children.

environment for danger cues) can be indistinguishable from a child with signs of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder. The two conditions have different aetiology but may be impossible to differentiate from the teacher's perspective. Teachers are not medical practitioners; however, pre-service and in-service training to build knowledge and awareness of the signs of CAN is proposed as a way to better prepare teachers for the task (Baginsky and Macpherson, 2005). The complexities inherent in recognizing CAN may be understood by reviewing the physical and behavioural signs of the maltreatment subtypes (see Table 1).

Table 1. Physical and behavioural signs of 4 maltreatment sub-types[3]

Physical abuse	
Physical signs	Object-shaped bruises or marks (hand-shaped marks, human bite marks, wooden spoon outline, belt marks)
	Bruises on head, face, neck
	Black eye(s)
	Lacerations, welts, rope burns, burns, scalds
	Fractures, especially in children under 3 years, dislocations, sprains, swelling
	Child's explanation is inconsistent with the injury/Parent's explanation is inconsistent with the injury
	Repeated accidents or incidents that are bizarre or vaguely described
	Ingestion of poisons, medicines, alcohol, drugs – child may seem sleepy or appear drunk or sedated
	Frequent visits to health or other services with unexplained or suspicious injuries, substance ingestion or internal complaints
Behavioural signs	Wears excessive layers of clothes to hide wounds and reluctance to remove clothing for normal physical activities
	Fears adults, may be fearful or on guard around adults
	Cowers or reacts to sudden movements
	Aggression and violence towards younger children, peers and adults
	Explosive temper that is out of proportion to precipitating event
	Seems to lack empathy
	Frequent absences from school
Emotional abuse	
Physical signs	Fails to thrive for no medical reason
	Delays in growth and/or development
	In extreme situations, head banging, sucking, biting, rocking
	Very difficult to pinpoint because there are few physical signs
	May co-exist with physical abuse, sexual abuse and neglect
Behavioural signs	Extremely withdrawn, anxious or depressed
	Extremes of behaviour (excessive compliance or passivity/ overly aggressive and demanding)
	Bullying other children
	Highly self-critical
	Feelings or expressions of worthlessness about life and self
	Suicide attempts, self harm
	Unable to value others, lack of trust in others, lack of empathy

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[3] Compiled from Besharov (1990); Briggs and Hawkins (1997); Macdonald (2001); Munro (2007); Department of Community Services (2006)

Sexual abuse	
Physical signs	Difficulty walking or sitting
	Bloodstained underwear indicating bleeding from the vagina, external genitalia or anus
	Swollen, inflamed or infected genitalia
	Bruises on chest/breasts, buttocks, lower abdomen or thighs including bite/burn marks
	Presence of a sexually transmitted infection
	In older children, pregnancy
Behavioural signs	Direct or indirect disclosures of sexual activities with an adult or individual more than five years older
	Bizarre, persistent or sophisticated sexual knowledge or behaviour/ sexually provocative behaviour
	Seductive interest in, or fearful avoidance of close contact with others
	Expresses affection in inappropriate ways for age and maturity
	Inappropriate sexual knowledge for age and maturity
	Artwork or creative/journal writing with unusual sexual themes
	Sleeping problems, nightmares, bed-wetting, soiling
	Going to bed fully clothed
	Self-destructive behaviour, drug misuse, self harm, attempted suicide
	Fear of going home, running away from home, homelessness in older children
	Regression in school work or developmental achievements
	Contact with a known or suspected paedophile
	Unexplained money or gifts
Neglect	
Physical signs	Untreated physical problems, appears to be in need of medical attention
	Severe dental decay, persistent discharge from eyes, ears, untreated or infected wounds
	Hygiene problems, dirty face, hands, hair, unwashed clothing, strong odour, smelling of urine or faeces
	Poor self care
	Failure to thrive, low weight for age
	Developmental delays
Behavioural signs	Frequently inadequately dressed for the weather, missing essential items of clothing
	Tired and sleeps in class
	Frequently without breakfast or lunch
	Scavenges or steals food
	Left alone at home or is unsupervised under circumstances in which injuries may occur or when the child's health or safety is endangered
	Stays at school/public places rather than go home
	Self-comforting behaviour (rocking, sucking)
	Frequent absences from school

Annual data provided by statutory child protection authorities in developed nations demonstrate that younger children are more vulnerable to all forms of CAN. In Australia, for example, children aged less than 1 year are 2.3 times more likely than children aged 10-14 years to be the subject of a substantiated report (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2009).

REPORTING CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

Teachers are usually required, either by legislation or by school policy, to report suspected CAN. Legislation in almost all states and provinces of the USA, Canada, and Australia requires teachers to report CAN, although the exact terms of the reporting duty differ between jurisdictions (Mathews and Kenny, 2008). Apart from suspected child sexual abuse which should always be reported, reports of physical abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect are usually required only if the maltreatment has caused or is capable of causing *significant* harm to the child. This limitation on the reporting duty is meant to prompt reports only of relatively *serious* cases, and to avoid reports of minor or trivial incidents. Even where legislation does not require teachers to report suspected CAN, for example as is the case in New Zealand, school policy typically requires such reports.

High levels of awareness of their duties to report CAN promotes effective reporting practice by teachers. This knowledge also benefits teachers by endowing them with accurate information about what must and must not be reported, and about what protection is provided to them as reporters (Walsh, Bridgstock, Farrell, Rassafiani, and Schweitzer, 2008). Under legislation (and usually under policy), if a teacher reports suspected abuse, their identity as the reporter is kept confidential, and they are given special immunity from civil legal liability. For example, a teacher cannot be liable in defamation or negligence if she/he reports suspected child abuse in good faith, and it turns out that the child has not been abused or neglected (Mathews, Walsh, Butler and Farrell, 2006).

However, decisions about whether to report maltreatment can be difficult because teachers consider the pros and cons of making reports (Goebbels, et al., 2008; Zellman and Bell, 1990). The decision to *report* or to *not report* CAN has been conceptualised as involving an overlapping two-part process comprising a *judgement* component where the teacher asks "is this child abuse?" and an *action* component where the teacher asks "will/can/should I report this?" (Dalgleish, 1988, 2003; Walsh et al., 2008). Regarding the judgment component, the duty to report CAN typically requires a report of a *reasonable suspicion* or *reasonable belief* of CAN. This means the teacher must have reasonable grounds to suspect or believe that the child has been or is being maltreated. Here, a teacher's knowledge of the indicators of CAN becomes very important, along with her/his ability to assess the extent of harm to the child. Regarding the action component, the teacher must have formed a reasonable suspicion that a child has been abused or neglected, with significant harm caused or likely to be caused, *and* the teacher must also know and understand her/his reporting duty under legislation or policy and be prepared to take action.

Research into reporting of CAN by primary (or elementary) school teachers has identified a number of influences on reporting practice relating to both judgment and action components. These include: i) the frequency and severity of the child's injuries and behaviour (Walsh et al., 2008); ii) teachers' attitudes towards reporting (Goebbels et al., 2008; Hawkins and McCallum, 2001); iii) teachers' knowledge of the reporting duty (Kenny, 2004); iv) the extent and nature of teachers' training in CAN recognition (Hawkins and McCallum, 2001); v) teachers' confidence in their own ability to accurately recognise CAN (Crenshaw, Crenshaw and Lichtenberg, 1995); vi) the presence of well formulated action plans for reporting (Goebbels et al., 2008); vii) a supportive work environment (Abrahams, Casey and Daro, 1992); and viii) the existence of a legal duty to report CAN (Crenshaw et al., 1995).

Research into early childhood teachers' reporting of CAN is less extensive. Nightingale and Walker (1986) studied teachers, teacher aides, nurses, and programme directors in New York who were mandatory reporters under legislation. Personal factors were found to affect reporting decisions: staff with children of their own were less likely to report hypothetical cases than those without children, and experienced staff working with pre-school-aged children were more likely to report suspicious incidents. Sundell (1997) studied reporting behaviour of Swedish child care personnel who were legally required to report suspected CAN and found less than half (49%) of the centre directors knew their legal obligation and over one-third (37%) failed to report because they were uncertain CAN was occurring. Sundell proposed that close connections between child care centre staff and parents inhibited reporting because staff valued confidentiality and feared betraying trust.

SUPPORTING CHILDREN IN THE CLASSROOM

Much of the evidence about best practices for working with maltreated children in classrooms is derived from clinical research with children who have experienced trauma from one or more CAN subtypes. Although trauma is not inherent in all CAN, the trauma literature (e.g., Downey, 2007; Perry, 2006) is instructive as a conceptual framework for classroom intervention. This literature stresses the importance of teacher-child relationships and supports for teachers. For example, Downey (2007) identifies eleven classroom practices to assist maltreated children: i) understanding the child; ii) managing your own reactions; iii) helping children comply with requests; iv) providing structure and consistency; v) using time in rather than time out; vi) gentle and consistent attempts to make connections; vii) using of consequences rather than punishments; viii) offering choices; ix) acknowledging good choices and decisions; x) supporting parents and caregivers; and xi) maintaining your role. Perry (2001) advises teachers to focus on developing six core strengths in children: i) attachment – the capacity to form and maintain bonds with others; ii) self-regulation – developing and maintaining the ability to notice and control impulses; iii) affiliation – capacity to join others and participate as a member of a group; iv) awareness – ability to recognise qualities in others; v) tolerance – understanding and accepting differences; and vi) respect – valuing self and others. In simple terms, to create emotionally safe environments, teachers must first settle children's trauma and stress responses.

In their extensive review of universal, selected, and indicated programmes[4], Canadian researchers Nelson, Laurendeau, Chamberland, and Peirson (2001) note that 'state of the art' programmes promote family wellness *and* prevent maltreatment" (p. 220). To understand the adaptations required for early childhood programmes to cater for maltreated children and their families, it is worth reviewing the *Chicago Child-Parent Center* (CPC) programme from the United States. This is a publicly-funded intervention targeting at-risk families by providing preschool education in high poverty areas for children beginning at age 3 (i.e., a selective prevention programme). A study of participants in the *Chicago Longitudinal Study* (Reynolds

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[4] Universal prevention addresses the entire population with messages and programs aimed at preventing all forms of CAN. Selective prevention targets subgroups within the population who are likely to be at high risk of CAN. Indicated prevention strategies are designed to prevent further CAN when it is identified, and to redress the problems arising from past and present CAN.

and Robertson, 2003) found lower rates of officially-reported child maltreatment for those children attending CPC preschools than similar-aged children attending other before-school programmes after adjusting for maltreatment before enrolment in the programme, and family background factors.

Those families eligible for the CPC programme were living in an identified high poverty area, demonstrated educational need based on a screening interview, and were willing and able to participate (Reynolds, 2000; Reynolds and Robertson, 2003). Features of the intervention included: i) size of approximately 100-150 children mostly co-located with neighbourhood schools; ii) appointment of a head teacher, a university-qualified parent-resource teacher and a school-community liaison representative in addition to classroom teachers; iii) outreach to families involving home visits and assistance with enrolment; iv) provision of health screening, speech therapy, nursing and meal services; v) ongoing staff development; vi) focus on structured but diverse learning experiences for children; vii) augmentation of the mandated curriculum with additional literacy materials; viii) child-staff ratios of 17:2 (age 3-4) and 25:2 (age 4-5); ix) subsequent enrolment in affiliated elementary schools with services provided under direction of the parent-resource teacher, reduced class sizes and teacher aides in each class and ongoing parent support via activities in a parent resource room at the school; and x) all teachers had bachelor degree qualifications in early childhood education. Parent support activities included: i) reinforcing learning at home; ii) volunteering in the classroom; iii) attending special school events and excursions; iv) participating in vocational education and training experiences; and v) receiving home visits. Parents were members of a school advisory board and collaborated with staff in curriculum planning (Reynolds, 2000; Reynolds and Robertson, 2003).

The multi-component, community-based nature of the CPC programme has much to offer. Other promising early interventions with educational components, although not conducted in schools or early childhood education programmes include nurse home visiting programmes (e.g., Olds et al., 1997), parent education and training programmes (e.g., Sanders, Cann and Markie-Dadds, 2003), and therapeutic day treatment programmes (Gray, Nielsen, Wood, Andresen, and Dolce, 2000; Oates, Gray, Schweitzer, Kempe, and Harmon, 1995). Given the multiple causes of CAN and the scope and complexity of its cumulative effects, it is important to consider a range of options for supporting maltreated children.

TEACHING CHILDREN TO PROTECT THEMSELVES

Programmes aiming to provide children with knowledge and skills to protect themselves from sexual abuse or teach personal safety competencies have been used in developed countries since the 1980s (Sanderson, 2004). Generally, these programmes aim to: i) inform children about sexual abuse; ii) make children aware that perpetrators can be family members, relatives, friends, other caregivers; iii) emphasise that children are in control of their own bodies; iv) help children differentiate between different types of touches; v) teach resistance by rejecting approaches and running to safety; vi) encourage children to disclose instances of abuse to a trusted adult; vii) explain that children are not responsible for abuse (Nelson et al., 2001; National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, 1999).

Research has shown that CSA (child sexual abuse) prevention programmes can result in improvements in children's sexual abuse knowledge and self-protection skills (Finkelhor, 2007). Such outcomes are more likely for programmes with the following elements: i) trained instructors; ii) standardised materials; iii) integration with the school curriculum; iv) parental involvement; v) group participation; and vi) active skills training (Davis and Gidycz, 2000; Rispens, Aleman, and Goudena, 1997; Sanderson, 2004; Zwi et al., 2007). Importantly, a cautionary note is necessary in relation to child sexual abuse prevention programmes because research in this area has been hampered by the absence of rigorous research designs and reliable outcome measures capable of capturing data to determine programmes' effectiveness.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS/EDUCATORS AND FUTURE TRENDS

In the past 25 years, teachers have become central to governments' child protection strategies because they spend more time in contact with children than any other professional and are often trusted confidants for children (Briggs and Hawkins, 1997). A child's teacher may be the only adult in their life they can trust with their safety. This places a burden of responsibility on teachers themselves, their employers, and higher education and training institutions to ensure teachers have adequate levels of knowledge and awareness of child protection-related issues and have positive attitudes towards their role. However, researchers have drawn attention to the shallow treatment of CAN, particularly in teacher education programmes, and the paucity of research into the efficacy of various training models at continuing education levels (Baginsky and Macpherson, 2005; Walsh and Farrell, 2008). Multidisciplinary training with professionals across health, welfare, education, justice, and media sectors has been proposed as one model for enhancing community capacity for child protection and building strong supportive professional networks (International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, 2008). However, to assess the efficacy of such training, further research must be conducted to better understand the essential components of pre-service and in-service training, and to assess their lasting impact on professional practice.

CONCLUSION

CAN is a serious and complex health and social problem with serious short- and long-term effects for children and families including profound educational consequences. In this chapter we have argued that teachers have an important and multifaceted role to play in protecting children from CAN. Drawing upon the international literature, we made use of Watts' (1997) framework to detail four dimensions to the teacher's role in child protection: i) recognising signs of CAN; ii) reporting CAN; iii) supporting children in the classroom; and iv) teaching children to protect themselves. Conceptualising the teacher's role in this way provides a starting point for a coordinated systematic approach to preparing teachers for this significant work. Finally we stress the importance of purposeful ongoing high quality education about CAN related issues for teachers so that they can adequately fulfil their role.

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Chapter 19

CHILDREN EXPERIENCING POVERTY: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR NEW ZEALAND EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATORS

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally, there has been a great deal of attention highlighting the needs of ethnically and linguistically diverse children and those with special learning needs within education. Less emphasis, however, has been given to the needs of children who are living in poverty and facing financial hardship. This chapter examines early childhood educators' beliefs and practices in meeting the learning and developmental needs of children and families living with such disparities, drawing on data from a research project that investigated the impact of "diversity of diversity" in New Zealand early childhood services. To minimise the disparities for children and families experiencing poverty and financial hardship, we offer some pedagogical practices that early childhood services can implement to build on the resources that each family has.

Keywords: *financial hardship, poverty, pedagogical practices in ECE*

INTRODUCTION

The diversity evident amongst children and families enrolled in New Zealand early childhood centres has grown dramatically in recent years. In terms of ethnicity, the New Zealand Ministry of Education statistics for the last five years show increases in enrolment of 5.1% for Māori children, 18.8% for Asian children and a staggering 133.2% for children of

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"Other" ethnic backgrounds. Going against the dominant trend of increased ethnic diversity, however, there has been a decrease in enrolments of children from Pasifika backgrounds by 1.7%. Linguistic diversity is evident with 75 different languages spoken by children and adults in early childhood education settings (Ministry of Education, 2008a). Other forms of diversity include special learning needs, such as autism, physical disabilities, sensory impairments, and health challenges requiring early intervention. Families themselves are also diverse, comprising immigrant and refugee families and those from distinct religious and socioeconomic backgrounds. In addition, different family structures are apparent, including single-parent, two-parent, gay-lesbian parent, and extended families.

Each dimension of diversity raises challenges for educators, requiring specialised knowledge, understandings and skills for application in pedagogical practice and in interactions with children and families. It is the combination of various elements of diversity that produces its complexity, which is often overlooked in the literature in this area. Traditionally, there has been a great deal of attention addressing the needs of ethnically and linguistically diverse children and those with special learning needs within education. However, less emphasis has been given to the needs of children who are living in poverty and facing financial hardship, even though these cross racial and ethnic boundaries and are evident within a range of different family structures (Cuthrell, Ledfort, and Stapleton, 2007). According to St John and Wynd (2008), one-quarter of all children in New Zealand are living in poverty. Consequently, educators need to be aware of the extent of financial hardship in families within their service. Rather than simply adapt a deficit model, however, pedagogical practices need to build on the resources that each family has.

This chapter draws on data from a collaborative research project undertaken at Victoria University of Wellington's Faculty of Education in 2008 to investigate the impact of "diversity of diversity" in New Zealand early childhood services[1]. Data was collected through a comprehensive national survey sent to 1,516 licensed private and community based education and care centres, Playcentres[2], home-based care services and kindergartens. There was an acceptable 25% response rate. The survey asked respondents to provide demographic data, teacher qualifications, the types of information their services collect relating to diversity issues, agencies they worked with to support children and families, the type of assistance teachers provide to families in engaging with agencies and organisations, professional development relating to diversity, and the extent to which they have encountered different aspects of diversity. Educators' beliefs about diversity were also investigated using a rating scale along with qualitative questions about successful inclusion, and situations that have challenged them[3].

Data from three survey questions are examined here to gain insights into educators' beliefs and practices in meeting the learning and developmental needs of children whose families are living in poverty or facing financial hardships. These relate to the extent that educators recognise and encounter children and families facing financial hardship or experiencing poverty, the agencies and organisations they work with in supporting children and families, and the ways in which they support families to engage with these organisations.

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[1] The project was undertaken by Sophie Alcock, Alison Barker, Feaua'i Burgess, Sue Cherrington, Ali Glasgow, Judith Loveridge, Jonine Nager, Luanna Meyer, Sonja Rosewarne and Mary Jane Shuker, and administered through the Jessie Hetherington Centre for Educational Research.

[2] Playcentres are community-based, parent-led sessional services.

[3] Eight in depth case studies of early childhood services were also part of this research.

Also analysed were responses to four statements from the survey relating to educators' beliefs about poverty and hardship.

What are Educators' Experiences of Families Experiencing Poverty or Facing Financial Hardship?

The survey asked respondents to what extent during the past five years their service had encountered the following challenges: families facing financial hardship, and families who were experiencing poverty. The data revealed that 35.3% of educators always (5 or more children per year) had families in their service that faced financial hardship while 50.2% reported they sometimes (3-4 children per year) had such families. Only 14.2% of educators stated that they never or rarely encountered families in this situation. When asked about poverty, 22.5% of educators noted that, over the past five years, they always encountered families experiencing poverty, with another 39.5% maintaining that this sometimes occurred. A large number, 37.9%, of respondents asserted that they never or rarely (for example, one child per year) had families attend their service who were experiencing poverty.

The proportion of educators encountering families who experienced poverty reflects the approximate percentage of children living in poverty in New Zealand, while the families they worked with that faced financial hardship was considerably higher. St John and Wynd (2008) point out that New Zealand has the fourth highest child poverty rate in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), with 26% of children living in poverty. These children live in families with less than 60% of the median income, adjusted for household size and housing costs. According to the Child Poverty Action Group (2003), 60% of median income is seen to be a more realistic poverty measure within New Zealand than the 50% of median income used by United Nations International Children's Emergency Funds (UNICEF).

For the past two decades New Zealand has experienced the fastest growth in inequality within the OECD, with the bottom 50% of the population holding only five percent of the wealth. The level of childhood diseases is related to poverty. New Zealand has the second highest rate of childhood diseases in the OECD, which is indicative of this inequity (Child Poverty Action Group, 2008). According to Cross and Lewis (1998), children from low socio-economic households are more likely to experience poor physical health, exhibit more emotional and behaviour problems and achieve less well educationally than children from more affluent families. Butler, Williams, Tukuitanga, and Paterson (2003) point out that respiratory illnesses such as colds and asthma occurring as a result of exposure to cold, damp, mouldy housing (particularly among Pasifika families) are well documented and contribute significantly to these statistics.

In New Zealand, government initiatives such as Working for Families (WFF) have resulted in increases in employment. While this has assisted in addressing poverty for low income earners during the past two years, the 250,000 children living in workless households have continually missed out. For these families, household income has not risen as benefits, in real terms, have typically remained at 1991 levels (Child Poverty Action Group, 2008).

As noted above, these survey data indicate that educators perceive some distinction between financial hardship and poverty, and while many families are experiencing financial hardship they are not living in poverty. Statistics measure poverty in terms of family income

and even though adjustments are made for household size and housing these measures can be quite limiting as they do not account for other cost variables or the social issues that impact on families' financial resources. For example, a family with an income greater than 60% of the average family income (a statistical measure of poverty) who has a child with special educational needs may face additional transport costs to access specialist services; likewise a family with a child with health challenges will have additional medical costs. Socio-cultural factors impinge, too, on families' financial resources, for instance, traditional gift giving to family and church within Pasifika families (Cowley, Paterson, and Williams, 2004). Parents may also feel pressured to provide their children with a standard of living that is beyond their means, such as buying consumer goods or providing experiences they perceive other children as having. These socio-cultural factors result in huge costs to families that sometimes lead to high interest borrowing, thus compounding the problem even further. Therefore, it is important to look beyond income levels to the costs families are incurring. Furthermore, it is well documented that social problems such as gambling, drug and alcohol addiction exacerbate the financial hardship within families and households as well as impacting on the social and emotional wellbeing of family members (Conyers, 2003; Grell, Heser, and Huan, 2006).

Another aspect to consider is the impact of poverty on educational outcomes. Wylie, Thompson and Lythe (2003) investigated the enduring impact early childhood education experiences and family resources (such as family income, maternal education and employment) have on children's competencies at ages 6, 8 and 10 in New Zealand. Their findings indicate that family resources are the main factor associated with differences in children's competency levels, even when family income rose after children had gone to school at the age of five years. Family income is a demonstrably greater predictor of achievement than family type. Children from low income homes are only half as likely as those from high income homes to score at or above the study median for reading and mathematics. Children from higher income families were less likely to have experienced bullying and more likely to go to music and dance classes, play organised sport, go to the library and spend less time playing video games.

According to Wylie, et al. (2003), early childhood education continues to have an enduring effect on children's competency levels, with the age at programme entry and quality of the service being particularly significant. Earlier studies also found that family income is strongly correlated with cognitive development and behaviour of children even after accounting for the level of maternal schooling between low and high income families (see, for example, Duncan, Brooks-Gunn and Klebanov, 1994).

While the amount of money going into a household is statistically significant, poverty is more than experiencing financial hardship. The lack of emotional, mental, spiritual and physical resources; the need for support systems and positive relationships; and a lack of knowledge of rules and expectations all contribute to and compound the impact of poverty, and can lead to social exclusion (Biddulph, Biddulph and Biddulph, 2003; Payne, 2005).

What Agencies and Organisations Do Educators Work with to Support Children and Families?

Respondents were asked to identify any agencies and organisations they were currently working with in order to support children and families with one or more dimensions of diversity, such as children's disabilities, health issues facing children, immigrant families, children's special learning needs, and families' religious affiliations. Group Special Education (GSE), a government agency that provides services and allocates resources to children with special teaching needs, was the service identified most frequently by respondents (63.3%). Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ), which administers benefits and supports job seekers, was identified by 4.6% of respondents, with similar numbers identifying that they worked with the Public Health Nurse (4.2%). Child, Youth and Family (CYF), a government agency responsible for keeping at risk children and young people safe, was identified by 3.8% of respondents.

Educators recorded over forty different agencies and organisations covering a wide range of education, health and welfare bodies, government and non government agencies, including church support, social workers, refugee support agencies, parent support centres, hearing and vision testing, Plunket,[4] Starship Children's Hospital, and multicultural networks. What is significant is that educators are working alongside agencies and organisations to meet the educational requirements of children and families as well as their health, welfare and financial needs.

Ways in which Educators Support Families

Respondents were also given statements and asked to tick all that applied, indicating how their service provides support and assistance to families to engage with other agencies and organisations. Results indicate that:

- 90.1% displayed information for families about local services on their notice boards;
- A large number of respondents, 68.5%, made initial contact with other agencies on behalf of the parents whose children attended their service;
- 60.6% of educators made their service premises available to parents to meet with other agencies;
- 58.6% of respondents stated that they advocate on behalf of families with other agencies;
- 52.6% maintained databases of information about local services that could be made available to families (either upon request or because services saw the need to offer the information);
- 47.2% of educators assisted parents with English as a second language to complete forms for other agencies;
- 40.4% of educators accompanied parents who were meeting with other agencies, if requested;

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[4] Plunket is a long-standing organisation that supports parents through the provision of ante-natal courses and infant health and development checks.

- 37.1% reported that they advise parents of their rights when engaging with other agencies; and,
- 29.5% of educators included information about local services in their enrolment packs.

The above results indicate that educators are actively involved in disseminating information to support children and families. Noticeboards, in particular, are an important strategy used by services to do this. A large number of educators, too, are taking on a facilitative role in linking up parents with agencies and organisations, accompanying them to meetings, making their premises available to meet with other agencies, and advocating for parents.

What are Educators' Experience, Beliefs and Practice about Poverty and Financial Hardship?

The survey included a comprehensive list of value statements, typical of different views about diversity and reflecting many different perspectives on a wide range of issues concerning diversity. Using a four-point Likert Scale respondents were requested to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each of the statements by marking the response that most clearly matched their teaching team's experience and/or how they felt. For the purpose of this chapter, we focus on four of the statements, which are directly related to poverty and financial hardship (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Educators' beliefs about poverty and hardship

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
Poverty is a huge issue for families with young children in New Zealand.	3.3%	17.7%	48.2%	30.8%
Poverty is really only an issue for solo parent and immigrant families.	87.4%	6.1%	2.9%	3.5%
Children from poorer households are more likely to have learning and behaviour problems than other children.	40%	34.8%	20.3%	4.8%
One of the problems with enrolling children from low socio-economic backgrounds is poor attendance.	31.6%	25.3%	35.2%	7.9%

According to Statistics New Zealand (2006) half of all solo parents fall into the lowest 20% of average personal weekly income. Immigrant families from the Pacific, Middle East and African countries also fall below New Zealand Europeans' average personal weekly

income. By way of illustration, the average weekly personal income for Europeans is $723, Māori $528, Pacific Island $477, and for Middle Eastern, Latin American and Africans is $309 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Educators' responses here suggest a wider perception of the scope of poverty and its impact on families in their service.

The results in Table 1 indicate that educators do face some challenges with children from poorer households. Children with disabilities, those from one parent households, and children from diverse ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Māori and Pacific families, and from Middle Eastern, Latin American and African countries), are more likely to be represented in these low socio-economic statistics and experience these adverse outcomes. This is mainly attributed to the fact that families with children with disabilities face a greater financial burden in meeting the care and therapeutic needs of their disabled child, thereby restricting opportunities for maternal employment. Parish and Cloud (2006) argue this is particularly evident with mothers of children with severe disabilities. For solo parent families and those from diverse ethnic backgrounds the main attributing factor is the level of household income, with over half of solo parents within the lowest quintile and the average personal weekly income for immigrant groups falling well below that of Europeans (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Educators' responses to the statement about children's patterns of attendance suggest that poor attendance is an issue for some early childhood services. In New Zealand, the Ministry of Education introduced 'equity funding' for community-based early childhood services in 2002. The aim was to reduce disparities for services situated in low socio-economic areas and/or for services that have significant numbers of children from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds or children with special teaching needs. Services in low socio-economic areas have tended to spend the money on curriculum resources, professional development, excursions, and staffing. Mitchell, Tangaere, Mara and Wylie's (2006) evaluation of the impact of equity funding indicated that it was difficult to distinguish between the impact of this funding source on early childhood services and the impact of other quality improvement initiatives such as *Pathways to the Future - Ngā Huarahi Arataki* (Ministry of Education, 2002), changes to qualification requirements and associated initiatives for staff to up grade qualifications, all of which were introduced within the same timeframe. The evaluation of Equity Funding on early childhood services did, however, show that over half of services had improved in terms of the quality of teaching and learning processes, teaching resources and structural quality measures such as staffing and the provision of professional support (Mitchell, et al. 2006). This is important as, according to Pellino (2006), children who are living in poverty are more likely to attend schools that have fewer resources. This may put children from low socio-economic backgrounds attending private early childhood services at a disadvantage as such services do not receive equity funding.

In 2007 the New Zealand Ministry of Education introduced another initiative, 20 free hours of early childhood education for 3-4 year old children attending eligible teacher-led services[5]. The purpose of this initiative was to increase children's participation in ECE by reducing the weekly costs for parents by making up to 20 hours of early childhood education free from compulsory fees (Ministry of Education, 2007; 2008b). Beyond these initiatives, which focus on reducing the costs of early childhood education and supporting services which have large numbers of lower-income families enrolled, other initiatives have also been

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[5] This initiative was extended to parent-led services in the May, 2009 government budget.

implemented. One such initiative funded by the Ministry of Education (2006) is the Parent Support and Development Project which uses early childhood centres as a hub for the provision of parent education and support for families who are at risk.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

Educators need to tune into the culture of poverty to fully understand the challenges children encounter (Pellino, 2006). The findings from our survey reveal that educators are aware of the financial hardship and poverty issues facing children and families in their services, are taking an active role in identifying a wide range of agencies and organisations that are available to support them, and are assisting them to access these organisations. Furthermore, while early childhood services are not able to influence the financial resources available to families, 80.6% of eligible services who responded to our survey had implemented the 20 hours free early childhood education for children over 3 years (Ministry of Education, 2008b). Although services need to invest time and money in order to support this initiative, it has obviously been beneficial for families to pay lower fees.

To minimise the disparities for children and families experiencing poverty and financial hardship, early childhood services can implement pedagogical practices that foster children's interdependence and emphasise their working together. Ensuring children's basic needs are met and that they have access to a wide range of experiences, resources and relationships should enable them to thrive and grow. This can be as simple as involving children in the preparation of morning tea. Daily baking of wholesome healthy snacks will ensure children are fed and have the energy to engage in learning as well as gain valuable life skills. Additionally, celebration rituals, such as birthdays, can focus on creative endeavours and the sharing of special wishes rather than the material trappings associated with such events. This will build on the notion of community and down-play socio-economic disparities amongst children and families attending the service.

Embracing sustainability and taking an ecological approach to consumption is another way that educators can assist children and families who are facing hardship or living in poverty. This reduces costs to the early childhood service and to families. Growing fruit and vegetables, composting and involving children in cost effective ways of solving problems is cognitively good for children and promotes positive life style choices based on reducing, recycling and reusing. Books that are being replaced from the service library can become part of a take home library thus increasing young children's access to books within the home environment. Setting up a monthly trading table where families can give away or swap surplus goods can provide opportunities for families to economise while fostering a culture of caring for each other. For many early childhood services in New Zealand natural and recycled resources are the mainstay of art programmes. Using such resources as dramatic play props, for building and construction and for making musical instruments foster positive attitudes towards making use of resources that are abundant in families and communities and is a protective measure against wasteful consumption.

Other pedagogical practices that can enhance the educational and life outcomes of children living in families that are facing poverty or financial hardship include focusing on nurturing trustful, respectful relationships, attending to motivation by sparking children's

interests, teaching coping skills, and finding the positive in the negative (Pellino, 2006). This is particularly relevant when it comes to behavioural challenges. Negotiating a positive way through which preserves the dignity of all involved will contribute to an amiable environment. Diamond and Hopson (1998) have listed ten ways to foster an enriching environment; these include providing ongoing emotional support, a nutritious diet, sensory stimulation, and a stress free atmosphere with experiences that are pleasurable, new and different and which offer a moderate degree of challenge. Activities which promote social interaction, foster a range of skills and interests, and that encompass all areas of learning and development are also advocated, as is an open curriculum that is fun and which allows children to be active explorers who choose and construct their own experiences. Given that children living in poverty are statistically more likely to experience emotional and behaviour problems (Cross and Lewis, 1998) it is even more imperative that they experience these kinds of early childhood environments.

Educators need to keep an open mind when it comes to planning experiences and activities for children. Bruer (1998) cautions educators that the interests and activities of less affluent families are not less complex and enriching than those experiences favoured by the middle classes. He is sceptical about educators using neuroscience to privilege certain cultural experiences over others, for example, Mozart over MTV or chess over playing pool. If educators are to build on the capacity and resources that exist in families it is imperative that they recognise families' interests and use these as a rich resource for curriculum planning.

CONCLUSION

Our research project indicates that educators do recognise and encounter children and families who are facing financial hardship and experiencing poverty. In this chapter we have discussed a range of pedagogical practices that educators can make use of to address such disparities in their services.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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Chapter 20

CULTURE AND DIVERSITY: TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCES UNDER SCRUTINY

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ABSTRACT

This chapter draws on the results of two doctoral studies (Hynds, 2007; McDonald, 2002a) which investigated New Zealand Māori and Cook Island Māori teachers' engagement in the context of professional development. Both studies highlighted the influence and importance of teachers' cultural values and beliefs, which influenced their participation in professional development activities. The implications of this are subsequently explored.

Keywords: *culturally responsive professional development, beliefs, identity*

INTRODUCTION

School populations are increasingly diverse and there have been many calls for the teaching staff to acknowledge this in the classroom (Banks, 2001). The importance of developing culturally responsive practices for teacher preparation and professional development programmes has been highlighted (Sleeter, 2005), however there has been less attention on culturally diverse teachers' experiences within professional development contexts. Teacher professional development is complex but when a professional development planner interacts with a culturally different group of teachers, the development and

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implementation of programmes and the subsequent transfer of ideas to the teacher's classroom needs to be considered even more carefully.

COOK ISLANDS IN-SERVICE RESEARCH PROGRAMME

In a study undertaken by McDonald (2002a) in the Cook Islands, the significance of culture for participants in an in-service programme was highlighted. This was a phenomenologically-based three-phased research study which resulted in the surveying of over 138 educators. The purpose was to identify cultural factors that intersected with the in-service programme to influence teacher engagement and subsequent transfer of ideas to the classroom. The priority strategies/approaches identified in the first two phases of the research were tested in a pilot course implementation to assess the validity of the developed model. It was concluded that professional development planners, like all educators, require more than a scant knowledge of the recipient culture; the dynamics of culture in everyday life need to be understood by all professional development personnel when attempting to achieve change in the classroom.

The Cook Islands are part of Polynesia and the indigenous population are related to the Māori[1] of New Zealand. It is a unique traditional culture that has characteristic ways of knowing and thinking and, according to Broekhuizen and Dougherty (1999), this has implications for professional development. Pasifika cultures are characterised by the spiritual, rank and authority, importance of specifics, conformity, interdependence, others' feelings, blood ties, and restraint (Thaman, 1996). Western cultures are somewhat different with an emphasis upon the secular and scientific, equality, universals, individuality, independence, individual rights, the nuclear family, and critical judgment. In Pasifika societies, relationships, community interests, and extended family kinship are highly valued for these provide for basic needs and enable an individual to be identified. It was within this context that McDonald (2002a) undertook a study to identify what cultural factors facilitated or thwarted in-service training. Three particularly important factors were identified: individual qualities of the participant, training characteristics and the context of support for the participant.

In specific terms, the personal-psychological qualities of the participating teachers, the characteristics of the trainer and training, and the support to and from others were identified as important features associated with effective implementation of ideas; these features helped to provide personal, social, and cultural legitimisation for the acceptance and subsequent implementation of course ideas. Training responsiveness was deemed to be related to an individual's characteristics but this in turn was related to the individual's position, role, and group membership. Being an individual whose identity is intimately tied to a group affiliation has unique implications for in-service training. In this study, the distinctive features of the culture impacted upon how participants defined effective in-service. Access to, and use of, the course ideas was predicated upon the participants' understanding of their role in relation to the others around them. Confidence to use the ideas related to how the teachers perceived others would respond to them using the ideas.

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[1] Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand Aotearoa. They are regarded as close cultural cousins to the Cook Island Māori.

In this research study, personal and therefore social and cultural factors were related to teacher thinking and behaviour. These personal qualities were linked to the subsequent implementation of ideas. For example, being prosocial and working effectively alongside others to facilitate their development were highly regarded individual qualities and this was perceived to facilitate recognition of others' needs enabling easy sharing of professional development ideas.

> I think if we have good relationships between participants, then there is no animosity, no feelings of distrust, no feelings of fear - I think you create a better atmosphere.

It was more than social competency however. The psychological skills associated with effectively locating oneself within a group of people and being able to provide specific leadership and professional management was an important consideration.

> The use by the school of the retrained teachers as resource personnel, subject leaders, syndicate leaders, (etc.), during staff meetings... [is to be recommended].

The literature on transfer of training[2] has recognised the importance of the training event and the qualities of the in-service facilitator (Broad and Newstrom, 2001); significantly, these are culturally linked qualities (McDonald, 2002b; Leberman, McDonald, and Doyle, 2006). For example, many of the respondents considered the nature of the relationship between the teacher and trainer as particularly important – in this culture, the nature of relationships is highly complex but is predicated upon acceptance, reciprocity, and role division, and hence the importance attached to the nature of the relationship. An important component of this, the trainer's personality and cultural knowledge, was highlighted by the study participants. The trainer was seen as a catalyst who could bridge the various training connections together – for example, link the course ideas with the participants to collectively engage and then move toward implementing ideas in the classroom. Safety to implement ideas was enhanced by a programme and course methodology that engaged others. Essentially, it was perceived to be problematic if the trainer was unknown to the teacher and had no "local" knowledge.

> I think if you act as though you are superior or you are too educated, or you are well educated, you know it all, I think people are reluctant to participate in what you are going to do.

What was also apparent was that the course methodology and structure needed to be considered from a cultural perspective if change was to occur readily. The features of the training programme most favoured were those that were "supportive" and responsive to the needs of the individual teacher but which simultaneously met the needs of the group of participating teachers. There was a preference for relevant, fun, interactive, practical group activities – approaches that used, or at least considered, others perspectives. Independent autonomous activities were least favoured.

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[2] Transfer of training refers to the use in the workplace of skills, knowledge and attitudes learned as a consequence of a formal training event.

Tangible support to - and from - others was also an important quality that the teachers emphasised. The support gained from the teacher's school and colleagues were a particularly important aspect.

> Actually we want them [i.e., the non-participating staff members/ colleagues/professional friends] to support us. If they don't want to join into the course we would like their support if we are to do something in the school...because there are times when we need them, when we need to ask their opinions.

Not only was the support offered to the participating teacher acknowledged as important, but there was also recognised value in giving support to others. For example, the course notes were valuable because they could be shared with others in the school and with this involvement, the course ideas continued to have an on-going relevance and 'life'. As detailed below, relevance for others and involvement of them also acted to legitimise the participant's involvement in the programme.

Contextual local factors outside of the school were recognised as somewhat important sources that could either sustain or deter the transfer of ideas. For example, the family, Ministry of Education, and other community factors were considered important determinants of transfer.

> Teachers are not willing to go out of their way to improve their work in the classroom if they are not getting support from...the Ministry.
>
> Always my first thing is the family. [It] always keeps me going to this course, it's their support.

These features identified in the research programme can best be explained in terms of the concept of *aroha*, one of the very fundamental features of Māori and indeed Pasifika cultures (Tauroa and Tauroa, 1990). *Aroha* refers to a wide ranging positive interpersonal condition which is displayed in terms of behaviours indicating kindness, trust, respect, support, belonging, love, care, empathy, and so forth, which underlies many of the cultural features defining the societies. It facilitates the reward of close personal relationships. In this study, the importance of explicit and implicit social support, relationships and belonging to bring about change from the in-service programme was identified as a particularly potent force. It provided the individual with psychological support to maintain interest and motivation, and it was this energy (a pervasive force) which assisted participants to implement the course ideas.

> If you are getting support, you feel like carrying on with it, you are enthusiastic about it and you keep on… . If you run out of ideas you will be looking for other ideas whereas if you're not enthusiastic, you'll just do what you know then and let it drop.

Similarly, the *lack* of collegial support and the levelling of criticism toward the participating teacher (for using ideas, being on the course, and so on) were identified as a force that mitigated against change. If significant change is undertaken without the support of others around the individual, disapproval and indeed ostracism can occur. This can result in *akama* which is the opposing condition to *aroha* – it is explained in terms of shame, wrong-doing, and shyness of others and can result in withdrawal from activity and social interaction.

Just one single mistake you make and they jump on you and that is the fear of most teachers over here. Just to make a mistake and then everybody pull you down or criticise you. That's what it is, and that's why they need support… . Over here it's a big black mark [if you make a mistake]…and over here you can't reason with some teachers. "I'm right and that's it. Final!" There are no other options.

I've seen too many people climb to the top and everybody else seemed to be pulling them down again and putting them in their place… . For some strange reason, if I'm working with a group of people and I get clever and I get a certificate for this and a certificate for that, and a diploma for that, the others, my peers, look at me with suspicion and they will try their best to pull me down and put me in place.

However, the nature of support and the seeking of it was a complex phenomenon and is subject to a number of influences. For example, it was suggested by some cultural advisers participating in the research that the potency of the criticism would be mediated by factors such as degree and location of training, age, gender, status of the individual (seniority in school, position in community, and so forth), familial affiliation bonds, and the geographic location of the school. Accordingly then, although it was suggested that criticism of behaviour was a potent factor to consider in the transfer of training process in the Cook Islands, this was likely to be mediated by the teacher's individual/familial, locational, school and training characteristics.

NEW ZEALAND MĀORI TEACHERS EXPERIENCES

Hynds' (2007) study investigated Māori and non-Māori teachers' collaborative reform work in two New Zealand schools, following a government-funded initiative designed to raise the achievement of minority ethnic (Māori) students. In 2001 the New Zealand government launched an action research project, with the intention of providing several voluntary schools with partnership opportunities to enable teachers to improve classroom practice for Māori students. Voluntary schools were grouped into clusters and undertook to:

- collect base-line data on Māori student achievement and identify students' learning needs;
- develop appropriate professional development programmes for teachers to address the most significant learning needs;
- implement the interventions;
- observe and record changes in Māori student outcomes; and
- assess the impact the programme had on Māori student outcomes and family (whānau)-school relationships.

Hynds' study drew on narratives of the experiences of Māori and non-Māori participants, including teachers, students and community people, in two schools (one elementary and one secondary school[3]) who had participated in this government-funded action research initiative.

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[3] In New Zealand, elementary schools typically include students from 5 years to 10, intermediate/middle school 11-12 years, and secondary schools, students from 13 to 17 years.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with 77 participants to track personal experiences of teachers' engagement in reform work and perceptions of change over time. Seventeen teachers (7 Māori and 10 non-Māori) were interviewed twice over the course of 12 months (2003 – 2004). Parents/caregivers (10 Māori and 20 non-Māori) and their children (15 Māori and 15 non-Māori) were then interviewed towards the end of 2004. Inductive analysis ensured that codes, themes and patterns emerged from the collected evidence (Janesick, 2000). Co-construction of meaning developed through member checks[4] and debriefing procedures with participant groups. In this chapter, we draw on the narratives of four Māori teachers who participated in Hynds' study to illustrate the influence of culture, identity and perceptions of personal safety on teachers' engagement in school-based professional development. Pseudonyms have been given to protect the identity of research participants.

Analysis of these interviews revealed that teachers' beliefs, values and cultural identities influenced their engagement in the context of school-based professional development. For example, these teachers talked about the importance of *mana* (status), age and leadership as well as personal identity and perceptions of safety as key factors that influenced their engagement in professional development work over time. According to Metge (1976), the concept of *mana* is tied to notions of "power", "prestige" or "standing" (p. 64). She argues that for "elders steeped in Māoritanga, *mana* still retains its full force, signifying power beyond the ordinary possessing and possessed by extra-ordinary individuals" (p. 64). However, Metge and other authors (Barlow, 1996; Mead, 2003) acknowledge that the meaning of the word *mana* has changed and is subject to interpretation.

In Hynds' study, a young Māori teacher highlighted the importance of status. She explained that it was not her place to raise important issues within professional development discussions. Her decisions were influenced by her own cultural beliefs, related to her status as a young, female Māori teacher, which had also been shaped through her family experiences:

> I feel uneasy with myself about it because of the way that I have been brought up … we don't talk back to our elders … it would be a bit like back-chatting to my Nan or something … . I'm the junior of this place and I already have enough to say and ... that's the role of senior staff and I respect the other people that are already here … . I'm young and …I don't feel it's my place to intrude… it sort of goes against my upbringing. It's like talking back to your elders, it's the whole sort of values and morals that you're used to. (Maree, Māori teacher, 2004)

However, another Māori teacher, Herewini, explained that his decision to engage in school-based professional development activities and discussions was influenced by the availability of another Māori, male mentor who had the necessary status, *mana* and leadership:

> I came under Saul … and he mentored me just in the basics, yeah, which I hadn't had before. Organising your day, time management skills, your planning, making sure it's all there and is systematic, and that you're following it, making sure that you deliver, and that you're

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[4] As key patterns emerged from analysis, participant groups were asked to comment on the validity of results through a process of on-going member checks and debriefing procedures. The process of conducting member checks with culturally diverse participants developed into a process of mutual story-telling, "… where participants are engaging in a discourse where meanings are contextually grounded and shift as discourse develops and is shaped by speakers" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p. 127).

organised. And Saul, he's been one of the key people who has been instrumental in changing this school around because of his professionalism, his *mana*. He came here wanting to improve himself as a teacher, he had a goal and he knew where he was going and how he could help the school. A lot of us were just here and bumbling on but he came with purpose and, yeah, he's pretty much kept to that, and he's done a tremendous job in lifting the standards of teaching and maintaining that professional integrity. (Herewini, Māori teacher, 2004)

Beliefs about *mana*, status, and age were also brought up by another Māori teacher. Barbara was an older Māori woman who had concerns about power-sharing or co-construction teaching strategies with students, introduced as part of the school-based professional development. She believed that these strategies were "not Māori" and that power sharing or co-construction activities should be undertaken with older, Māori community members so that important cultural values were not lost:

> ...in my day you had to be white haired, just about bald before you could stand up and speak on a marae [meeting house]. Now they've got systems where anybody can go and stand up on the marae and korero [talk] because this is how they're (youngsters) being taught – "You go to the front" – and yet there's an old Māori saying that, "If it's all right at the back then it's right in the front; if there's no workers at the back then the front will fall down," and a lot of our Māori people are forgetting to learn how to work before they make their way up, because there is a step and our kids aren't going through those steps, ... you've got to go back to values ... . I'd love the older people to be more involved in this, because I'm sure I'm not the only person who has got these same points of view, and I am sure that there will be some old people out there, and I'm going past the parents, I'm going to the older lot who have exactly the same concerns as I have got. (Barbara, Māori teacher, 2004)

Beliefs related to personal identity and perceptions of safety also influenced Māori teachers' engagement in school-based professional development work. Heria, was another Māori teacher who believed she had a particular identity within her school community which influenced the way colleagues chose to view and/or engage with her in professional development work. Although she described herself as a "staunch Māori teacher", committed to working with colleagues to improve practice for Māori pupils, she said that some of her colleagues saw her as a "radical". She explained that her training had been through Māori immersion schools and that she had taught previously at *kura kaupapa*[5]. She described how her outspoken beliefs had caused some problems at her school. A few of her colleagues (Māori and non-Māori) had written a letter of complaint to the principal about her behaviour and her conduct with students, in particular her behaviour towards Māori students. Heria was a passionate believer in power-sharing and co-construction activities as a way of improving classroom practice and outcomes for students.

During 2003, when she was first interviewed, she had seemed very enthusiastic about the possibilities of working collaboratively with colleagues across her school to improve aspects of classroom practice for Māori students. She explained that she was particularly interested in improving practice for those Māori pupils "who fell through the cracks", and by her own accounts described herself as a "straight talker", someone who was not afraid to raise the "hard

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[5] Schools (*kura*) where the language of instruction is *Te Reo* Māori (Māori language) and the *kaupapa* (strategy) is revitalisation and development of Māori culture.

issues" within her school. During her second interview, she explained that recent experiences had put her off engaging in school-based professional development:

> I've been described as a radical and accused of deficit theorising by some of my colleagues, which is actually bull-shit … . I'm interested in our kids who struggle to get to school … . (Heria, Māori teacher, 2004)

Hynds' study results revealed that teachers held different beliefs about the goal of school-based professional development, and that these beliefs were intersected by factors of ethnicity, age, gender, *mana*, personal identity as well as perceptions of personal safety which all influenced the way an individual teacher may choose to view and/or engage in professional development activities over time. Analysis highlighted intercultural differences (between Māori and non-Māori teacher groups) and intracultural differences (within Māori and non-Māori teacher groups). Although differences in teacher beliefs and values influenced teacher engagement in school-based professional development, these beliefs and values were not investigated or acknowledged within the context of school-based professional development work.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Although these two studies (Hynds, 2007; McDonald, 2002a) highlighted the importance and influence of teachers' cultural identity and perceptions of safety within the context of professional development, we found a lack of attention to such issues within the majority of research literature. In both studies participants' cultural identity as well as the acceptance by others was perceived to be a central influence on teacher engagement and learning. Cultural and personal identity were intertwined and intersected by factors such as age, gender, community affiliation, status, place of training, language use, and so on, and this impacted upon participant perceptions of psychological safety and acceptance by peers. The implication from both studies is that the voices and views of all participants are important when developing culturally responsive training/professional development programmes. Facilitators of such programmes need to avoid cultural stereotypes and move beyond superficial understandings of culture and its influence, and recognise the dynamic quality of culture.

An important implication arising from these two studies is the need to acknowledge in professional development programmes the influence and complexity of participants' cultural identities. The Cook Islands study essentially investigated the implications of diversity within diversity (although within the context of an intercultural professional development programme). In the New Zealand study a related range of findings were examined within an intracultural and intercultural context. There was a certain degree of commonality in the findings. However, caution must be exercised to overcome a cultural determinism. The results of the studies should be interpreted cautiously as a generalisation of some of the key results would invalidate the findings that diversity is a dynamic force. There were clear indications that within the findings there were divergences.

Some authors (e.g., Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richards 2003; McIntosh, 2005; Penetito, 2001; Waitere-Ang, 1999) have highlighted the significance of diversity within New Zealand Māori identities and undoubtedly this has implications for their cousins in the Cook

Islands. This diversity will impact upon professional development programmes. These authors warn against using "homogenising titles" in educational research and that many Māori are "… strongly resistant to the fact that they may be cast as holding 'the' Māori voice" (Waitere-Ang, 1999, p. 242). Bishop, et al. (2003) note there is danger in stereotyping Māori and that identities are multi-faceted and not monocultural. Penetito (2001) also argues that there "are many ways to be Māori … there is no such thing as 'the' Māori identity, there are only Māori identities" (p. 19). There is a marked heterogeneity within broad ethnic group descriptions within Aotearoa/New Zealand including Pākehā, Māori, European, Asian, and Pasifika students (Alton-Lee, 2005).

McDonald (2002a) found that within the Cook Islands, there was diversity and this could impact upon behaviour. The impact of location (village and island), age, level and place of education/training, gender, status, familial bonds, and similar, were factors that could influence teachers' decision to adopt innovative ideas. For example, in some schools the senior members had significant influence in determining what happened and hence the politics of power could become an important issue. Conversely, a teacher who had trained in New Zealand frequently did not have this dilemma as this training was highly regarded. More recently, L. Smith (personal communication, April 18th, 2009) has argued that teacher preparation and training must take account of the politics of culture, the politics of power and the politics of decolonisation. This would require teachers to acknowledge and examine the way historical power relations have shaped identity, thought processes, learnt behaviour, and legitimate knowledge in professional development contexts (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Penetito, 2001). The mainstream schooling system within New Zealand has been developed through colonising processes and perpetuates pathologising practices, deficit thinking, and destructive images of Māori and others who are culturally diverse (Shields, Bishop, and Mazawi, 2005). In a similar vein, McDonald (2005) suggested that the politics of international aid in Pasifika training programmes meant that teachers in Pasifika were subjected to professional development programmes that were not always relevant and had little sustainability. These are complex yet essential arguments; however there is a lack of attention to such issues within the context of the majority of literature on school-based and in-service teachers' professional development (see for example, Poskitt, 2001).

There is a range of implications that arise from these studies.

1. It is important to consider cultural variables when planning professional development for diverse groups of teachers.
2. The important dimensions to consider for professional development are the facilitator's cultural experiences, the cultural contexts of the participants and what constitutes culturally responsive practice.
3. Facilitators need to be aware of useful models and approaches that can help to engage the diverse participant. The ideas developed by Broekhuizen and Dougherty (1999) are useful and the work of Williams and Green (1994), who rationalise the work of Hofstede (1991), explain how the differing cultural values of facilitator and participant can be incorporated effectively into the training.
4. Diversity within diversity needs to be recognised and planned for in programmes. Teachers will have individual, social, gender, sexual orientation, religious, and other such differences, as well as a cultural identity. It is important that there are no rigid

generalised assumptions about what cultural identification implies in terms of behaviour.

5. Additional research is urgently needed to ensure that dimensions related to diverse teachers' experiences in professional development programmes are explored. Bishop and Glynn (1999) have argued that due to the dominance of "deficit theorising", there have been few large-scale research studies that identify the importance of cultural identity and diversity for successful participation in education.

Although educational literature on teacher professional development highlights the importance and influence of individual teachers' beliefs and values, there is little which accounts for culturally diverse teachers' experiences within professional development contexts (in-service and school-based). We are hopeful that these research studies will encourage discussion about working with teachers from different cultural backgrounds. Each culture has a different way of knowing and believing and until this is acknowledged in teacher professional development programmes it is probable that some teachers will be marginalised and unable to implement the programme ideas as intended.

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Chapter 21

PERSISTENT INEQUALITY IN THE WAKE OF NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND: INCREASING THE CHANCES FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

Introduced to the public and embraced by politicians as the answer to all the failings of our school system, the No Child Left Behind Act preaches accountability and imposes punitive consequences on schools that are unable to bring their students up to legislatively imposed standards. Yet, persistent underachievement of African Americans in the United States is a manifestation of a deeply rooted sociopolitical, historical, and educational legacy of continuous and unequal treatment, and differential outcomes for African American students can not be totally overcome by legislative change to drive educational reform. This chapter explores the educational realities of African American students today and seeks to understand why this racial minority has not been able to achieve at the same level as other students, concluding that a large part of the answer may rest with the alignment of standards-based instruction and culturally responsive pedagogy and improved teacher quality.

Keywords: *African American students, academic achievement, assessment/testing*

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INTRODUCTION

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the Nation in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing a high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is 7 years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much. We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your State and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives. (John F. Kennedy, as cited in The American Presidency Project, nd.)

Persistent African American underachievement is a manifestation of a deeply rooted sociopolitical, historical, and educational legacy of continuous and unequal treatment. Carter G. Woodson warned of African Americans' "mis-education" and the threat to their academic achievement and subsequent economic and cultural vitality, individually and communally (Woodson, 1933). In his 1963 address to Americans, President Kennedy rebuked America's continual moral crisis of insidious inequality in all sectors of African American life in the United States. President Kennedy subsequently called for federal, local and statewide congressional action to overturn centuries of prejudice, racism and discrimination in public institutions, citing especially the need to redress inequalities to improve the chances for educational opportunity and social upward mobility for ethnic minorities. The 'chance' for equality in public classrooms in America first came with the end of racial segregation, in the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education ruling and then again in 1965 with the passage of The Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

In 1965, two years after Kennedy's assassination, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). This Act is thought by many to be the most important piece of education legislation in American history. For more than 40 years, it has shaped educational policy in the United States. Central to the ESEA is a fundamental belief in the need for equity in education. Legislation was designed to provide equitable funding. The underlying hope was that if states were provided with supplemental federal funding and programs, there would be an equalizing of educational opportunity for poor and minority students (DeBray-Pelot and McGuinn, 2009).

By the 1980s, however, it was already becoming clear that the dream of equity was far from a reality. In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education published *A Nation at Risk*. The report highlighted concerns about low student achievement and the impact it was having on economic development for the country. Politicians scrambled to respond to the public's widespread dismay and fear of a floundering public education system. The 1990s saw a flurry of new education legislation. The federal government, still reeling from *A Nation at Risk*, began expanding its role in education. In 1994, it introduced the Improving America's Schools Act which extended programs in the ESEA. Government funding became more prescriptive, requiring states to develop rigorous academic content standards. Despite the requirements for standards, increases in student achievement did not

follow. In the wake of unsuccessful reform, the federal government decided greater intervention was needed.

In 2001, Congress amended the ESEA and gave it a new title, "The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001" (NCLB). With the public and politicians alike demanding a new approach to educational reform, the time had come to require states and school districts to provide evidence of improved student outcomes (Yell, Drasgow, and Lowrey, 2005). With students underachieving and access and programming in education far from equitable, it was felt that funding alone was no longer the answer. The new legislative agenda embraced reforms targeting standards, testing, accountability and choice (DeBray-Pelot and McGuinn, 2009).

NCLB's purpose is to ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging State academic achievement standards and state academic assessments (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). The legislation recognizes that there is a significant achievement gap between children from low-income families, racial minorities, children with disabilities, English language learners, and the test scores of other children (Wright, Wright, and Heath, 2007). This gap was meant to be addressed through the accountability mechanisms of the Act, culminating in a requirement that all public schools bring students to proficiency in reading and math by the school year 2013-2014. Sanctions are imposed on schools that fail to make acceptable progress toward this goal. Despite a complicated set of supports and incentives as well as sanctions, schools continue to struggle to comply with the legislation (Fitzgerald, 2009).

Introduced to the public and embraced by politicians as the answer to all the failings of our school system, NCLB preaches accountability and imposes punitive consequences on schools that are unable to bring their students up to legislatively imposed standards. For the critics, the legislation is unreasonable, misguided and even harmful (Fitzgerald, 2009). Despite the attempt of the legislation, there remains an "enduring threat to their equality and opportunity" in school and beyond (McCray, Webb-Johnson, and Neal, 2003, p. 455). The answers do not lie in creating more requirements on schools to pass students through achievement test hoops. Rather the inequality that plagues African American students has a long and complicated history (Neal, McCray, Webb-Johnson, and Bridgest, 2003).

This chapter explores the educational realities of African American students today and seeks to understand why this racial minority has not been able to achieve at the same level as other students. The chapter begins with a statistical overview of African American representation in the public school system. It then looks at academic outcomes for these students, high school drop out and completion rates, disciplinary and special education placements, the underrepresentation of African American students in postsecondary institutions and their overrepresentation in the prison population. From there, the chapter attempts to take a more theoretical perspective on the educational status of African American students by delving into motivational issues and the impact of targeted programming aimed at increasing opportunity rather than imposing sweeping academic requirements. The chapter concludes with a clarion call of teacher-driven reform through professional development and training and culturally responsive pedagogy for improving African American student achievement.

AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS IN SCHOOL: A STATISTICAL OVERVIEW

In the USA, students from racially, culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) backgrounds are entering public schools in increasing numbers (Cartledge, Singh, and Gibson, 2008; Gollnick and Chinn, 2002; Villegas and Lucas, 2002). According to an annual report released in June 2005 by the U.S. Department of Education (2005), U.S. public school enrollment showed growth and increased diversity. Public school enrollment has increased steadily through the early 2000s and is expected to peak at an all-time high of 50 million in 2014. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2007), reports that 42% of public school students were racial or ethnic minorities in 2003, up markedly from 22% in 1972. Additionally, the total number of African American students has increased by 21.7 percent in the last decade (Texas Education Agency (TEA), 2007b).

CLD students present with a diversity of languages, perspectives, and learning styles that challenge school systems to develop appropriate curricula or culturally responsive instruction. While the U.S. student population becomes more culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse, the teacher population is becoming predominantly European American middle class, female, and English monolingual (Cartledge et al., 2008; Cho and DeCastro-Ambrosetti, 2005; Trent and Artiles, 2007). Many school personnel expressed a sense of being ill equipped for the demands of an increasingly culturally diverse student population (Cho and DeCastro-Ambrosetti, 2005).

African American students are disproportionately represented in special education in the most restrictive placements. African Americans also tend to have the least access to the general education curriculum and experience the greatest levels of school failure (Cartledge et al., 2008). Thus for many students, and African American students in particular, Kennedy's call to provide a "chance [to experience high levels of school achievement and complete school], and to make something of themselves" is seriously diminished.

ACADEMIC OUTCOMES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS IN U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

African American students tend to experience negative academic outcomes. Most tend to perform lower academically across subjects (e.g., math, English, social studies, and science), drop out of high school at higher rates, get assigned to the Disciplinary Alternative Education Settings (DAEP), and perform more poorly on college entrance exams (e.g., ACT, SAT) than their White peers (TEA, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007e; U.S. Department of Education, 2007). African American students performed more poorly across subjects than other CLD groups (Native American, Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Islander) as well as their White counterparts. In Texas, students take a yearly standardized test to gauge their academic performance. The Texas Assessment of Basic Skills (TAKS) test is designed to measure the extent to which a student has learned and is able to apply the defined knowledge and skills at each tested grade level. Every TAKS test is directly aligned to the Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS), the state wide list of essential skills required in core curriculum areas. For the 11th Grade TAKS retest in English language arts (ELA), 70% of African Americans (74% of

Native Americans, 77% of Asian/Pacific Islanders, 65% of Hispanics) met standard. In math, 26% of African Americans (52% of Native Americans, 54% of Asian/Pacific Islanders, 36% of Hispanics) met standard. In social studies, 68% of African Americans (81% of Native Americans, 81% of Asian/Pacific Islanders, 69% of Hispanics) met standard. In science, 36% African Americans, (56% of Native Americans, 59% of Asian/Pacific Islanders, and 38% of Hispanics) met standard. The scores for the Grade 12 retest are comparable to those of the Grade 11 retest scores. Generally, when comparing the percentage of individuals who met the standard for the TAKS, of the four CLD groups, African American students performed more poorly academically across the core subject areas.

HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT AND COMPLETION RATES

African Americans are more likely than their peers to leave school prior to graduation (Kaylor and Flores, 2007). According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2007), the status dropout rate (an indicator of the percentage of young people who lack a basic high school education) in the United States for 2006, African American students' was 10.7 percent. Additionally, in an October 2006 dropout rate report for individuals aged 16-24 among the racial/ethnic groups, African Americans represent 14.2% of this total population, but had a 16.3% dropout rate (NCES, 2007). Furthermore, in 2006-07, the Grade 9-12 (age ranged from 14 to 18 years) dropout rate for this population (5.8%) was three times that for White students (1.9%) (TEA, 2007a). Across all grade levels, African American students were at least twice as likely to drop out of school as White students and other CLD groups (TEA, 2007b).

DISCIPLINARY OUTCOMES

Disciplinary Alternative Education Programs (DAEP) serve as alternative education settings for students temporarily removed for disciplinary purposes from their regular instructional settings. African American students tend to be removed from the home campus to an alternative setting for disciplinary reasons more so than their counterparts. According to the assignments to DAEP, by student groups 2005-06 report (TEA, 2007c), African Americans were assigned more often than other CLD groups. For example, 33,126 (25.8%) of African Americans and 61,537 (48.0%) of Hispanics were assigned to DAEP, while 821 (0.6%) of Asian/Pacific Islanders and 491 (0.4%) of Native Americans were assigned. Furthermore, in the 2005-06 school year, Hispanic students accounted for almost half (48.0%) of all DAEP assignments, including multiple assignments for individual students. African American students accounted for 25.8 percent of all assignments, and White students accounted for 25.2% (TEA, 2007c). African American and Native American students are the most likely to be excluded, and Hispanic students have higher exclusion rates than do White students (Cartledge et al., 2008). Overall, African American and Hispanic students are disproportionately assigned to DEAP settings than other CLD groups.

DISPROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS' SPECIAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Ford, Grantham, and Whiting (2008) contend that African American students are placed in special education disproportionately, and are underrepresented in programs for the gifted and talented and advanced placement classes. Moreover, Cartledge, et al. (2008) argue that these students are disproportionately identified for special education in the most restrictive placements. Ford et al. also maintain that this has been a persistent dilemma at all levels of education for African American, Native American, and Hispanic students, and suggest that this lack of progress may be due in part to the scant database on culturally diverse gifted students. Although schools have worked to change how students are identified for special education, special educators continue to see a disproportionate number of minority students represented in this area (Oesterreich and Knight, 2008). In 2005-06, African American students accounted for 14.7 percent of the total student population. In contrast, African Americans made up 18.2 percent of the special education population and 8.3 percent of students enrolled in gifted and talented programs (TEA, 2007d). African American students are underrepresented in advanced placement courses and experience the least success (Moore and Slate, 2008). Being disproportionately placed in special education has been linked to a number of negative issues, including poor graduation rates, high dropout rates, and limited access to postsecondary education opportunities (Chamberlain, 2005). In particular, this overrepresentation of CLD students with disabilities in special education is coupled with an underrepresentation in college attendance (Tierney and Hagedorn, 2002).

UNDERREPRESENTATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

According to research, students from CLD backgrounds have lower rates of high school graduation and university attendance (Kaylor and Flores, 2007). The SAT and ACT are general reasoning and achievement tests, respectively, that assess what students learn in their classes and how well they apply what they learn. Both tests measure critical reading and mathematic reasoning skills fundamental to success in college. The SAT and ACT are measures of readiness for first-year college-level academic work. The scores are used by a majority of colleges and universities in the college selection process. In the graduating class of 2006, a total of 141,188 public high school graduates took either the SAT, ACT, or both; this was up from 140,003 examinees in the 2005 graduating class. The overall participation rate was 65.8 percent - 0.3 percentage points higher than the previous year. Asian/Pacific Islanders had the highest participation rate at 88.9 percent, followed by Whites (70.2%) and African Americans (68.1%) (TEA, 2007d). Meanwhile, African American examinees obtained the lowest average scores on both tests (TEA, 2007d). Although there has been an increase in diversity among college students, graduation rates among African American students and Whites are not equal. Associate degrees earned by race/ethnicity between 1981 and 2005 are: White 68.3-82.7%, African American, 8.6-12.4%; Hispanic, 4.3-11.3%; Asian or Pacific Islander, 2.1-4.8%; and American Indian/Alaska Native, 0.6-1.2% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). Moreover, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, compared to Whites, CLD groups earned fewer degrees than all other types. Overall, African American and Hispanic

students have the lowest scores and participation rates for the ACT and SAT. They also earn fewer college degrees than other ethnic groups.

In summary, CLD students, African American students specifically, are facing serious issues with academic underachievement. They are underperforming academically across subject areas, more likely to drop out of school, and have lower rates of high school graduation and university attendance. They have the lowest rates of participation in the SAT and ACT testing and obtained the lowest averages on these tests. Consequently, they lack adequate academic skills to perform successfully in college. Furthermore, African American students are assigned to DAEP settings more frequently than other groups. These students are underrepresented in gifted and talented programs, while being overrepresented in special education.

These national and state statistics are disturbing when one looks at the alarming disparities between White students and African American students in academic achievement, course failure, dropout rates, SAT and ACT scores, and college admission (Gutstein, Lipman, Hernandez, and de los Reyes, 1997). But by far the greatest and most disturbing disparity is between African Americans and Caucasians. Performance of these students appears more dismal than ever before. Despite the efforts implemented to close the achievement gap between African American students and their counterparts, these students continue to perform lower academically. Even when one examines the hopefulness of the beginning of change starting with Brown v. Board of Education and the most current implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, which focuses on improved achievement outcomes and the enhancement of educational opportunities for all students, there is sufficient data to indicate we have far to go to improve the academic achievement and educational opportunities for African American students.

SCHOOL TO PRISON PIPELINE

Individuals from diverse backgrounds are represented in disproportionately high numbers in the criminal justice system (Hagner, Malloy, Mazzone, and Cormier, 2008). In general, African Americans and Hispanics encompass an excessively large share of the prison population (Hogg, Druyts, Burris, Drucker, and Strathdee, 2008); particularly, African Americans represent 40% of the youth in detention (Keith and McCray, 2002) and they comprise the largest percentage of the male prison population (45.2%) (Hogg et al., 2008). According to research conducted by Hogg et al. African American males and females can expect to spend on average 3.09 and 0.23 years in prison or jail over their lifetime, respectively. Overall, this male population, the highest risk group, can expect to spend on average 61.80 times longer in prison or jail as compared to Caucasian women, the lowest risk group. Bleakly, considering either ethnicity or gender, African Americans spend much more of their life imprisoned than other populations.

MOTIVATION IN AFRICAN AMERICANS

Graham (1994) identified three assumptions regarding the motivation of African American students: (a) the belief that African Americans lack certain personality traits deemed necessary for achievement striving, (b) African Americans are less likely to believe in internal or personal control over outcomes, and (c) the hypothesis that African Americans have negative self-views about their competence. However, Graham's review showed that none of the assumptions are supported by evidence. Instead, African Americans do maintain a belief in personal control, have high expectations, and enjoy positive self-regard.

Culture influences learning, cognition, and language (Belgrave and Allison, 2006). African American children's perception of their environment, for example, shows that they attend more to social and interpersonal aspects than to physical aspects of the environment. In addition, they prefer to receive information from multiple channels, are likely to process information using a holistic approach and are more likely to use a relational style to learning than analytical.

CURRENT EDUCATION INITIATIVES FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

Various educational interventions and models have been researched to address the academic persistence and motivation of CLD populations. One of these, Response to Intervention (RTI), involves implementing a series of evidence-based interventions to determine the learner's responsiveness and possible alternative to special education. Cartledge et al. (2008) attest that culturally responsive instruction is highly effective teaching that makes special accommodations for the unique conditions of CLD students. RTI has been used with CLD students as a multi-tiered preventative instructional system to enhance reading instruction and improve reading outcomes for these students (Klingner, Sorrells, and Barrera, 2007; Linan-Thompson, Cirino, and Vaughn, 2007). Preventing disproportionate representation of CLD students by utilizing culturally- and linguistically- responsive prereferral interventions and conducting nonbiased assessments (Garcia and Ortiz, 2004; Rinaldi and Samson, 2008; Roseberry-McKibbin and O'Hanlon, 2005) has been considered.

There are several initiatives implemented to address the issue of underrepresentation in higher education for low-income and minority students. First, one recent initiative was the development of several early college high schools (ECHS) in the United States (Jacobson, 2005). The ECHS initiative is supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which in 2003 announced sponsorship of 70 new early college high schools across the nation. Proponents of ECHS argue that national dropout rates for African American and Hispanic students show a pressing need for more such innovative schools (Jacobson, 2005). ECHSs allow students to earn both a high school diploma and two years of college credit simultaneously (Chmelynski, 2004). This initiative makes college more affordable, provides more support to students in their first two years of college, and allows them to jumpstart their careers by eliminating time-wasting activities in the last two years of high school. It also encourages more low-income, minority students to enter higher education (Chmelynski, 2004; Jacobson, 2005).

Second, Upward Bound was designed to equip economically disadvantaged high school students with the required skills to help them graduate and succeed in their post-secondary endeavors (O'Brien et al., 2000). Third, GEAR UP (Fields, 2001) was primarily developed to extend the opportunity for post-secondary education to students from low-income families; this initiative broadens college opportunities to over one million middle and high school students. Two other programs are the Student Success Skills (SSS; Miranda, Webb, Brigman, and Peluso, 2007) and the Educational Navigation Skills Seminar (TENSS; Caldwell and Siwatu, 2003). SSS is based on three skill sets consistently identified as contributors to improved academic and social outcomes. These skill sets include: (a) cognitive and metacognitive skills such as goal setting, progress monitoring, and memory skills; (b) social skills such as interpersonal skills, social problem solving, listening, and teamwork skills; and (c) self-management skills such as managing attention, motivation, and anger. TENSS is a preventative educational intervention used to supplement a summer enrichment program. The design and implementation is based on non-cognitive factors of persistence for African American students.

IMPLICATIONS FOR IMPROVING THE CHANCES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

African Americans continue to achieve and thrive, often beating the odds. Reminiscent of 45 years ago, however, still too many African American children, especially males, do not have access to good teaching that is unique to their cultural and linguistic ways of knowing and being (Ladson-Billings, 1995a), and are at risk for academic failure and placement in special education programs (Neal, et al. 2003). How do we ensure that all African American students have a real chance at academic success and subsequently, social, economic and political parity? According to Hardy (2006), "the simple truth is that the country cannot close achievement gaps without closing teacher-quality gaps" (p. 17).

Teacher quality is the most influential variable in predicting the quality of instruction in the classroom and student outcome (Darling-Hammond and Bransford, 2005). Teacher educators and researchers advocate for a restructuring of teacher education to meet the needs of CLD learners more effectively in both general and special education (Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2005; Sorrells, Webb-Johnson, and Townsend, 2004; Trent, Kea, and Oh, 2008). In addition to the infusion of multicultural education tenets into the teacher education curriculum (Villegas and Lucas, 2002), culturally relevant pedagogy (Howard, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1995b), culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2002), and other instructional practices are needed to address the educational issues of CLD students.

CONCLUSION

The persistent differential outcomes for African American students indicate that dependence on legislative change to drive educational reform is not the answer. A different approach is needed. While government intervention at some level is probably necessary, a large part of the answer may also rest with teacher quality and instructional quality. There is a

need to understand what is meant by culturally responsive pedagogy and teaching. What does it look like in the classroom in terms of its alignment with standards and evidence-based practice, and in what ways do African American students benefit in actual academic achievement from this approach to instruction? We must also seriously begin a dialogue of the conceptual framework and curricula for developing professional development and preservice teacher education programs for student diversity. Maintaining the status quo in research and practice and in teacher preparation will only lead to ineffective and disconnected teachers and the inability to provide good teaching for all students (Trent, et al. 2008).

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Chapter 22

PREPARING SPECIAL EDUCATORS TO WORK WITH STUDENTS WITH AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDERS IN CULTURALLY AND LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE SETTINGS: AN EVOLVING TEACHER EDUCATION MODEL AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

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ABSTRACT

Students with ASD are diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, language status, social class and gender. That is, they are culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD). Special educators therefore need expertise related to ASD and working in diverse socio-cultural and linguistic school and community settings. This chapter describes a program to prepare educators to work with students with ASD from CLD backgrounds. The program at The University of Texas at Austin, involves a collaboration between two areas: Autism and Developmental Disability (ADD) and the Multicultural Special Education (MCSE). The program includes coursework and practical experiences that aim to develop knowledge and skills related to teaching students with ASD using culturally responsive practice. Future directions for the program and for promoting culturally responsive practice for students with ASD are discussed.

Keywords: *Autism Spectrum Disorder, teacher training, cultural and linguistic diversity*

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INTRODUCTION

The number of children diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) has risen dramatically in the United States (Centers for Disease Control, 2008). Students with ASD are diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, language status, social class and gender. That is, they are culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD). Special educators therefore need expertise related to ASD and working in diverse socio-cultural and linguistic school and community settings.

Research to-date on culturally and linguistically responsive special education services for CLD students with disabilities is sparse (McCray and García, 2002). This underscores the need to ensure that special educators understand the complex interplay between disability, language, and culture (Cloud, 1993; García and Dominguez, 1997; Garcia and Malkin, 1993). There is a professional, and ethical responsibility, as teacher educators, to ensure that teachers are prepared to successfully serve students with ASD in diverse settings and communities.

INTERFACE AMONG CULTURE, LANGUAGE, AND DISABILITY

When working with students from such diverse socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds, it must be understood that culture shapes development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Greenfield, 1994; Rogoff, 2003). Consequently, children's academic performance and behavior at school can be expected to reflect their socialization toward specific ways of relating to others. When teachers understand that culture is the context for teaching as well as learning, they may realize that many aspects of this process which they assumed to be universalistic are, in fact, culture-embedded (García and Guerra, 2004). To develop interventions and instructional goals that are appropriate and effective for students with ASD, it is essential then, to be responsive to the cultural practices of a family.

Recommendations for ensuring culturally responsive practice include understanding one's own cultural beliefs, being open to other cultures, and understanding bilingualism (Rogers-Adkinson, Ochoa, and Delgado, 2003). Professionals should find ways to ensure that the families with whom they work are able to understand what is being discussed at meetings. Professionals should also be aware of the implicit, and often hidden, ways in which culture is reflected in their personal and professional lives, and must be open, flexible, and understanding of the views of others from an ethno-relativistic perspective (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2007). They must be able to gather accurate information about other cultures and be respectful of differences. Through collaboration and discussion, professionals must be able to find ways to adapt their interpretations and recommendations to the value system of the family.

PREPARING TEACHERS OF STUDENTS WITH ASD
TO WORK IN DIVERSE SETTINGS

Our program is designed to prepare teachers to work with students with ASD in culturally diverse settings. The program is a collaboration between two specialist areas within the Department of Special Education – Autism and Developmental Disability (ADD) and Multicultural Special Education (MCSE).

Program Design

This program uses a research-based, multidisciplinary approach to enhance the existing master's degree specialization in ADD by preparing teachers to work with children with ASD from CLD backgrounds. This requires the integration of multicultural special education (MCSE) knowledge and skills into existing coursework, field experiences and practica, and the selection of appropriate interdisciplinary coursework. The training program is a 36-credit hour, 12-month program, culminating in a master's degree (MEd) in special education. A cohort of 10 students is admitted to the program each year. Students take four 3-credit hour courses in the fall, spring and summer semesters respectively; the summer semester is divided into two sessions, with two 3-credit hour courses in each session. The scope and sequence of courses by semester are depicted in Table 1. Each 3-credit hour course requires 45 contact hours over the semester, with classes meeting for three hours per week over a 15-week semester. Practicum courses, which occur in the fall and the spring semesters, require teacher candidates to spend the majority of their practicum hours in supervised settings in the public schools (the practicum experience is described in detail later in the chapter). The curriculum relies on up-to-date research-based practice for working with persons with ASD. The program curriculum sequence is outlined in Table 1. Students begin the program with foundation courses in curriculum and instruction, positive behavior support, and cultural and linguistic diversity. They also complete their first supervised practicum. In the spring semester students take courses related to topics in autism, communication interventions, single case research design, and complete a second supervised practicum experience. Students take interdisciplinary electives during the summer semesters.

Practical Teaching Experiences

Skills targeted during a practicum experience with students with ASD and other low incidence disabilities should include exposure to, and supervision of core teaching skills such as behavior and classroom management, instructional strategies, curriculum design, inclusion, IEP development and working with families. The structure of practicum experiences should create access to learning experiences, and provide constructive feedback on performance (O'Reilly and Renzaglia, 1994). In our practicum model, supervision of the practicum experience is usually coordinated between the cooperating teacher and a university supervisor. The cooperating teacher is generally responsible for providing opportunities and delivering feedback as the pre-service teacher practices teaching skills in the classroom. The university supervisor works with the cooperating teacher to ensure that the targeted learning opportunities for the practicum experience are available. The university supervisor must also monitor performance, and provide feedback to the student teacher during the practicum experience.

Although practicum experiences vary greatly across ASD and low incidence disability teacher preparation programs, the above characteristics seem fundamental to most programs described in the literature. To ensure that teacher candidates have supervised exposure to working with CLD populations, and experiences that support development of culturally and linguistically responsive interventions, it is important to select practicum classrooms that are culturally and linguistically diverse, and to tailor the practicum curriculum to address cultural

and linguistic diversity. These criteria as well as characteristics of practicum sites in which our students participate are described in more detail in a later section of this chapter.

Table 1. Course of Study for the Graduate Program in Autism Spectrum Disorders with an Emphasis in Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

Fall Courses
Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Special Education
Teaching Individuals with Autism and Developmental Disabilities
Challenging Behavior and Developmental Disability Practicum
Spring Courses
Communication Interventions for Students with Autism and Developmental Disabilities
Single Subject Research Design
Advances in the Understanding and Treatment of Autism Practicum
Summer Session I
Language Acquisition and Assessment in Multicultural Special Education
Applied Research in Special Education
Summer Session II
Foundations in Positive Behavioral Support
Elective Course in Bilingual Education, Psychology, Social Work, or Speech Pathology

Focus on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

The program design requires essential knowledge and skills related to teaching CLD students with ASD to be interwoven into almost all the courses in the program, in addition to being offered as a specialist sequence of courses in the Department of Special Education and from other program areas (such as Bilingual/Bicultural Studies). Department offerings include Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Special Education, and Language Acquisition and Assessment in Multicultural Special Education. The overlap between these and other courses in the program, in content and application, is purposeful to make sure that students do not compartmentalize their newly acquired knowledge and skills but see the content across classes as inextricably woven. To further clarify the curriculum we briefly describe some of the courses listed in Table 1. Practicum curricula are described in great detail in the following section.

Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Special Education is a required course that is offered in the fall semester (the first semester in the program). Required of all master's students in the department, this course is specially tailored to provide an overview of historical and contemporary trends and issues, and emerging educational practices related to CLD students with disabilities. Course content is designed to promote a greater understanding of the inter-relationships between culture, language and disability so that educators can make informed decisions concerning services provided to CLD individuals with disabilities. Course topics include disproportionate representation of CLD students in special education, legal safeguards

related to services for CLD individuals with disabilities, best practices in referral, assessment and eligibility determinations for students referred for special education, and factors that influence access and equity of services in general and special education. Students also learn key concepts related to interpersonal and inter-group communication in CLD settings, and explore the role of culture and language in their ability to communicate effectively with CLD exceptional students and families. A special section of this course has been developed for the newly developed ADD-MCSE program, which focuses more specifically on CLD students with ASD and their families.

Language Acquisition and Assessment in Multicultural Special Education is a required core course for students specializing in Multicultural Special Education, and is now also required for teacher candidates in the ADD-MCSE program. As with the above course, a special section of this course is being designed to focus more specifically on language and communication for language minority students with ASD. Topics include a) the acquisition of languages or dialects other than standard English as a first language/dialect; b) the acquisition of English as a second language or dialect; c) assessment of oral language skills of CLD students; d) guidelines for distinguishing language disorders from language differences and for linking assessment and instruction; e) acquisition and assessment of reading and writing skills of CLD students; and f) considerations in designing communication interventions for CLD students with ASD, including factors related to the selection and use of augmentative/assistive communication devices.

The Practical Teaching Experience

Two 15-week practical teaching experiences are required as part of this program. All practical sites are located in the public schools. Teacher candidates spend between 10 to 30 hours per week in each practicum. Supervised exposure to working with diverse populations and experience in developing culturally responsive interventions is accomplished through the selection of classrooms that reflect cultural and linguistic diversity, and by tailoring the practicum curriculum to address these aspects of diversity. Participation in practicum experiences in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms is critical to the preparation of teacher candidates. The ASD program has partnered with a local school district that expresses the values of inclusion and culturally responsive support for students with ASD. In addition to placement in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms, the practicum curriculum includes prescribed activities linked to working with culturally and linguistically diverse populations in a number of ways. A list of the readings included as part of the practicum experience is included in Table 2.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS/EDUCATORS

As of this writing, the ADD-MCSE program is in its first year of implementation. ADD and MCSE faculty continue to work together to ensure that program graduates are adequately prepared to serve CLD students with low incidence disabilities and their families.

Table 2. Practicum Readings Related to Cultural and Linguistically Responsive Practice

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Preliminary feedback from students as well as instructors is being used to guide modifications in the scope and sequence of courses as well as the curriculum. As a result, we anticipate that the initial compilation of essential knowledge and skills developed to guide the program will be refined, and course content as well as practicum experiences will be modified accordingly. Also, as we recruit candidates for the coming academic year, all applications are being carefully reviewed to identify individuals with an expressed interest in, or openness to working in culturally and linguistically diverse settings. Our recruitment and selection activities have also focused on increasing the pool of candidates from under-represented groups in terms of race/ethnicity, and languages other than English, to diversify the teacher workforce, as well as to increase the number of qualified bilingual personnel in special education. We cannot expect our teaching force to be open to culturally diverse student groups unless we actively program for this agenda when we train teachers. Organizing teacher preparation programs to provide experience and pedagogy in cultural diversity takes a lot of effort on the part of faculty as this has not been a traditional agenda when training teachers to

work with students with ASD and their families. We hope that the brief descriptions of our attempts will be helpful to other Universities as they work towards this agenda.

CONCLUSION

At the present time, there are no known personnel preparation programs in the US that explicitly emphasize the preparation of special education personnel to provide culturally and linguistically responsive services to students with low incidence disabilities. Although some programs in ASD attempt to provide this focus, they may not have the resources comparable to the MCSE program at UT-Austin, to truly institutionalize and integrate these areas. The UT-Austin partnership between one of the longest standing and nationally recognized MCSE program and faculty, and the ASD program has created this unique opportunity to develop a model program that can be disseminated to other institutions of higher education. We anticipate that one of the benefits of this collaboration will be to improve the quality and quantity of these programs as our model for preparation of multicultural special educators will be disseminated to other teacher education programs. As noted earlier, the design for this program is multidisciplinary, and draws from disciplines related to special education, general education, bilingual education and ESL, as well as cultural and linguistic studies. A key principle for personnel preparation is that participants need specialized coursework focused on diversity which must then be integrated across all courses and experiences, to ensure that their knowledge and skills related to culturally and linguistically responsive practice are not fragmented nor compartmentalized.

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Chapter 23

SUPPORTING DIVERSITY, DIFFERENCE AND INCLUSION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

This chapter describes the authors' development and implementation of a process of collaborative scrutiny of academic practice to support diversity and inclusion for students in tertiary education. We give an overview of the theoretical foundation for this work in transformative education and Foucault's analysis of discourses. A process of "reflexive supervision" was created to support academics working together to interrogate the inclusiveness of their own practice. This process was applied to a research project examining inclusion of students with impairments in higher education. Findings of the research led to questions about humanistic models of social inclusion that underpin much work with diverse students. The supervisory process was also used to support tertiary teaching. The chapter ends with several examples of this work, which aimed to support students towards being more inclusive, culturally responsive and democratically active professionals and future community leaders.

Keywords: *collaborative research, higher education, inclusive education*

INTRODUCTION

Universities have changed radically in recent times. On the one hand, lean economic times have put pressure on universities in New Zealand and elsewhere to bring in more international students. On the other hand, there is increasing poverty facing potential students

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who are local, putting constraints on their access to further study. At the tertiary education level, there are continuing problems with lack of retention towards final qualification for some groups of students, notably part-time students, students from immigrant (such as the Pacific, for New Zealand) and indigenous cultures (such as Māori). There are numerous reasons for this lack of retention: there may be little interest in a particular programme, pressures of family life, work responsibilities, or simply satisfaction with knowledge gained prior to final qualification (Coolbear, 2008).

In our experience, however, mere sensitivity to the broad brushstroke of cultural and physical difference is not a good basis for ongoing support for students to overcome these problems of access and retention. Students' lives include a huge range of issues such as dealing with courts, abuse, discord, major health concerns and bereavement. We deal with these difficulties on a weekly if not daily basis. Yet, when students come to us with these issues when requesting extra time for a task or to explain an absence from class, our responses are by necessity limited by our institutional position and our (ethically) limited roles as teachers. In the ongoing work described in this paper, we describe the way we have tackled the issue of student achievement in higher education via another pathway: assisting tertiary education staff to deal with difficulties in providing effective support for students. In this we join a growing group of researchers interested in the ethics of teaching practice and supporting students in their ethical thinking about diversity, inclusion and, increasingly, the environment.

In a number of projects, our work has centred on finding a place for staff to stand together collaboratively to consider the contradictions involved in support for inclusion, acknowledgement of the rights of minority groups as well as the hurts and wrongs that people inflict on each other in group settings in tertiary education. Rather than seeking formulae for ways to run groups or perfecting universal design, we have stayed with the messy, sometimes completely unsatisfying, kaleidoscopic view that gives voice to many different competing accounts at once. We have done this not just by reflecting on practice, because for all we know our practice might have within it all the hidden history of racism and sexism that we have tried so hard to overcome. Instead we have allied our collective examination of complexities of inclusion and diversity to reflexive work that examines the grounds for its own presuppositions, finding strength and inspiration not just from colleagues and students, but from the theorists who have spent more time than we have available to tackle some of the thorniest questions around difference and education.

The key theme on which we would like to focus this paper is the limited vision of diversity possible when educational practice is informed solely by dominant models of "pastoral care", a term used to refer to the practice of professionals looking after the personal and social wellbeing of people for whom they have some responsibility. In such a model the person being helped is often positioned as someone in deficit (e.g., as lacking in some capability). It is from the questions raised by post-structural theorising that we have started to doubt the very care that we have assumed to be our jobs in life, as we began to wonder about the ways that such individually focused student concern could keep us from a more incisive understanding. By going beyond humanist perspectives that tend to assume universal views of needs, there is, we think, more openness to the marginalised and the silenced – or those whose loud words are unintelligible to us. By taking a more reflexive view, we situate ourselves as – always – implicated in the social forces we seek to understand, and only imperfectly able to comprehend or alter. This reflexivity gives us, for example, the dual

ability to both draw on our training and employment experience and at the same time keep open the possibility that current best practice may not always be seen as such, might even be seen as harmful at some point in the future.

Over the last few years we have dialogued with diversity in a variety of research projects, both together and in collaborative teams of researchers who were themselves diverse. Our work began in a research setting and has expanded to encompass implications for our teaching practice. In this chapter we reflect on what we have come to learn about a term that is both inviting and at times misleading. To describe our work in more detail, we begin by outlining our perspective, giving a number of examples of its working in our research and teaching practice and ending with a discussion of how we have come to think differently about diversity.

BACKGROUND

Our main theoretical foundation comes from collaborative exploration by groups of researchers working on complex tasks in ways that draw on the diverse understandings in the group. Such research has a genealogy that is diverse, including collective decision-making in teams in healthcare settings (e.g., Opie, 2006), distributed cognition involved in work networks (Engestrom and Middleton, 1998), collective biographical memory work (e.g., Davies and Gannon, 2006) and critical focus group research methodology (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2005). While we have also drawn to some extent initially on theorists well known for their work on transformative education – such as Freire (1972), hooks (2000) and Giroux (1994) – we have found it important to bring in further critique that removes the certainties of liberation and allows for more contingency and uncertainty around proposed "solutions". The focus is not just on sensitivity towards student concerns and adherence to institutional practices, but to ongoing support across multiple layers of practice at the micro and macro levels. One model for such a wide focus comes from Nikolas Rose's (e.g., 1985, 1998) work on psychology and governmentality.

The theoretical foundation for the work began collectively as well. Our interest in diversity began in the late 1990s with the formation of a "discourse group" that explored a huge range of dilemmas for practice[1], and found the writings of Michel Foucault[2] useful. These caused us to question the taken-for-granted assumptions that we made as teachers and researchers. Our interests covered a range of topics such as historical debates around abuse survivors, secondary school teachers' management of appearance and clothing and mixed messages about masculinity for boys in centres for violent offenders (see Bird, Cornforth, Duncan and Roberson, 2005). This group later evolved to include a number of academic colleagues in education and health-related areas in three universities and one polytechnic in the region. Again, our interests were diverse: the body in the process of caesarean section or gastric bypass surgery; sexuality for people with intellectual disability and environmental ethics. The collaborative group grew again when the formerly independent College of

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[1] This group was initially created by the first author to provide support for students with whom she was working on research theses.

[2] A French philosopher and historian (1926 – 1984) associated with the structuralist movement, whose critiques have had wide influence in the humanities and social sciences.

Education in Wellington merged with Victoria University in 2005 and became a lively group of 20 researchers, some of whom embarked on a series of collective biographical memory work studies (e.g., Claiborne, Cornforth, Davies, Milligan and White, 2009).

We drew on this evolving collaborative foundation to further our concerns about diversity and inclusion. We considered the resonances between two different professional practices called "supervision": thesis supervision and clinical supervision of health professionals. We have written about the possibilities for putting the two types of supervision together to enhance the practice of university educators through collaborative support in the face of difficult interpersonal and structural dilemmas (see Cornforth and Claiborne, 2008). The projects described below all had some influence from this model of a more reflexive form of supervision, one that examines the grounds of its own formation, through the collaborative discussion that we have found crucial in our work.

SUPPORT FOR INCLUSION IN PRACTICE

Our approach is well illustrated in an aspect of a research project that examined one university's practices regarding the inclusion of students with impairments or disabilities. Initially we responded to a request from the university's Disability Support Service to investigate the manner in which the new national guidelines for including students with impairments, *Kia Orite* (Achieve, 2004), had been implemented on campus. Working collaboratively with two members of the support service, Ava Gibson and Alexandra Smith, we subsequently ran a series of small critical focus groups targeting a range of stakeholders in one area of the university in order to discover what was considered to be best practice. Stakeholders included students with impairments, students without impairments, teaching staff and administrators.

Our findings showed a discrepancy between what lecturers thought was ideal practice and what students with impairments found useful or would have preferred. For lecturers, successful inclusion involved listening to students and being empathic about their needs, while also encouraging students with impairments to identify themselves to staff so that their needs could be catered for. We saw this focus on the part of educators and, to a lesser extent, administrators and students without impairments, as social inclusion: that is, a concern mainly with smooth social relations between all people in a classroom. In contrast, students with impairments expressed frustration with the technologies available and academic staff members' lack of facility in presenting lectures using resources such as audio loops and visuals in the way accessible to these particular students. These students' views of inclusion seemed to centre more on the rights to curriculum and pedagogy based on universal design principles.[3] These students also expressed considerable ambivalence about self-disclosure, since such action would create a marked position of disabled that the student might not want to take on early in a course.

It took some time for the present authors to understand the ways that staff and students "talked past each other" in our data. Our own training as educators had emphasised humanist concerns such as empowering students in general to be self-reliant, independent learners

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[3] These principles assume that it is possible to create an environment in which every student would be able to access the materials for learning in a way that would suit their particular capacities and skills.

helped by the teacher's sensitivity and willingness to "go the extra mile" (as mentioned by one teacher participant). Students with impairments, on the other hand, expressed frustration when their considerable technological competence went unacknowledged, even when it was not matched by that of the lecturers. It was as though their own successes in managing an able-bodied world were invisible to teaching staff; therefore ironically the only inclusion on offer for this diverse group was one of companionable willingness to get along socially in a classroom where their skills were underused. Successful inclusion was sometimes measured by lecturers as the willingness of the student with an impairment to enter a psychological discourse with its ideological investment in transitivity (Fairclough, 1992) in which the ideal subject is also confident and optimistic. When such a subject "confesses" to their disability and "comes out of their shell", they also "become so much more confident" as one lecturer put it. However, the agency associated with such positioning remains directed towards disability. This created dissonance for students with impairments who defined their problems more as specific requests to remove barriers to their learning.

This project was originally seen by the authors of this paper as focussed on enhancing "pastoral support" for tertiary education students. As researchers, we were so embedded in the "helping" discourse that it took us some time to hear what the students with impairments had to say.[4] Our learning from this exercise was that diversity has its own expertise, and that merely being sensitive and willing to listen to minority voices may not be enough. We needed to find a place and a method for challenging the dominant paradigms of our own practice (see Claiborne, Cornforth, Gibson, and Smith, under review).

TEACHING AND DIVERSITY

Our research in the area of diversity has had considerable influence on our teaching separately and together. A brief outline of these directions will, we hope, show how the theoretical work and the research efforts have meant a difference to our teaching practice. We begin with our co-supervisory work with thesis students working on quite difficult topics. We have been able to facilitate the work below by using some of the ideas of reflexive supervision such as by questioning together our ongoing practices in supervision.

We have recently collaborated in the oversight of three innovative research theses with a strong diversity focus. First, we worked with a colleague from the University of Malaya, Vishalache Balakrishnan, who carried out doctoral work on the possibility of using "real life" moral dilemmas in compulsory moral education courses in Malaysia designed for non-Muslim students (who have separate religious instruction instead). We were able to discuss some of the resonances for Malaysia of indigenous education for this country in the medium of *Te Reo Māori* (the Māori language), while marvelling at transcripts of classroom conversations in which Form Four (16- to 17-year-old) students spoke with ease blending Malay, Tamil and Chinese languages as they listened to important yet difficult concepts in other people's cultures.

Secondly, we worked with a Chinese international graduate, exploring ways that immigrant Chinese students resisted inclusion into the dominant culture that advocates

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[4] The wider research group involved in this project had a diversity of views, which are being disseminated in a variety of ways.

counselling for those experiencing problems in living. Minghong Sun analysed ways that such students could access different ways of freeing themselves from stress by drawing on the influential philosophies of Confucianism and Taoism (see Sun, Cornforth and Claiborne, 2008). Finally, building on some of the work of these prior theses, at present we are working with Clare Mariskind (and colleague Stephanie Doyle) on the ways that university educators come to grips with "diversity" in their own small group teaching. This work draws on Foucauldian discourses of power alongside feminist philosophical writings about care.

We have also had the chance to bring collaborative work into our teaching of postgraduate courses that cover diversity concerns. In 2007 Lise Claiborne assisted Sue Cornforth with a Counselling Studies course that trialled a new way of integrating humanistic and discursive paradigms with students who were involved in small group exercises in which three people would take turns being interviewer, respondent and observer. A series of directed exercises, followed by journaling, invited students to approach a variety of problematic situations, first from a traditional humanistic perspective then from a different discursive approach. For these students, poststructural thinking had stimulated a new appreciation of difference. Furthermore, a focus on difference was seen as the key to connecting with different others, especially across cultures. Being able to "think discursively" also allowed diversity to be viewed across different disciplines and paradigms. It generated discussions, for example, around the connections, contradictions and ethical implications of human and species diversity. We also found ourselves bringing together the two discourses of human development and developmental studies. We are aware that the processes transforming people's lives and those of other non-human species, throughout the world, locate cultural, social and environmental difference within a wider ecological frame.

Later that year Sue assisted Lise with a course on difference, diversity and developmental psychology based on case studies of intersections between gender, sexuality, ethnicity and disability (see Bird, 2004). Students created visual and audio-visual presentations around diversity concerns such as having multiple identity positions as resident New Zealander/Scottish immigrant or Māori/Pākehā (non-indigenous) settlers, and the challenges involved in working with diverse clients such as a heterosexual counsellor with gay clients, a traditional Samoan woman teacher of students ambivalent about their ethnic identity, a gourmand concerned about a close friend with bulimia. The complex and sensitive concerns raised in this class were discussed in ways that the authors had learned to handle in the discursive groups mentioned above. A number of students mentioned their relief in finding the "both/and" logic of poststructural thinking that allows complexities to be encompassed without resorting to binary decisions that pit right against wrong in predetermined ways. The class's discussions were expanded by the chance that some students took to share their digital presentations with Master's students at New York University studying art and critical pedagogy with Dipti Desai[5]. Despite limitations of the online learning system and different timings of the university year in the two countries, there was a huge impact on the New Zealand students of connecting with the New York students, who came from a variety of regions and countries, via visual "posters" that described their own experiences of positioning and identity.

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IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS/EDUCATORS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Currently we are involved in taking the idea of reflexive supervision to support diversity further through seeding a network of innovative support groups for academic staff. The target issues of focus for work with staff are difference, diversity and inclusion within larger questions about ethical practice, including environmental awareness. In effect our goal is to investigate the benefits to the community of the creation of a method of inter-professional collaboration, both useful and sensitive to the constantly changing complexities of local conditions that have a huge impact on lives of staff and students.

The first phase of this project will involve setting up groups at several universities and possibly extending to polytechnics. This phase will also involve coordination through ongoing meetings of the central organising group of at least one person from each institution, to provide an overview of support for the project and its implementation. We will keep a record of meeting notes from this group, using a process of "core analytic memos" we are currently trialling, to record aspects of effective practices in the support process. The ultimate aim is to provide a guide or inspiring story that other groups elsewhere could use to set up similar groups.

We are also considering ways that we could investigate whether such collaborative support among educators could be of visible benefit for students. We would expect that group support among teachers is bound to influence students in a developmental sense "down the track", but does such support have any impact on students in the short term? Currently we plan to follow reflective journal entries of students over the course of a semester, linking these to concerns raised in the collaborative meetings of educators, one of whom would be the teacher of that particular group of students. One of us has already trialled the use of journals in two phases during a particular course: in the beginning of a course as an early reflective analysis of a particular text, followed by a later assignment in which the student is asked to re-edit their original reflective text (Cornforth, under review). This would provide clear information on a student's changes in reflective analysis of diversity concerns, for example. Such research would require considerable design nuance as well as ethical consideration to ensure comparability across different courses in terms of a measure of reflective depth or change. Any research with students, for example, would need to be put in place after the collaborative groups of staff had been well established with ongoing meetings.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have shared some of our thinking about diversity and the development of our thinking over the last few years, and we have shown how it has altered our practices as we continue our work as academics. We have become aware that there are many points of entry into the discourse of diversity. Findings in our above research and teaching projects suggest that diversity often has to be concealed in order to succeed; that the disclosure of diversity must be on equal terms with the assumption of sameness – that people want to be in control of what, how and when they claim to be diverse; that diversity offers new solutions to old problems; that diversity stimulates engagement with others; and that diversity cannot be limited to groups of humans differing on one dimension.

The complexity of these findings challenges the assumptions inherent in notions of empowerment, inclusion and pastoral care, as managed by expert practitioners; they cause us to question the possibility of universal design. We find that diversity is unruly and at times ungovernable, but that it provides the key for thinking differently and critically, to take teaching and learning beyond the parameters of simple norms and universals. Such learning reinforces, for us, the importance of making systemic spaces for on-going collaborative discussion within academia in order to allow difference to emerge and find voice. Through this practice we hope to create environments that are conducive to further study and research, in which diverse students may feel included, and which could lead to greater retention and successful completion for tertiary students.

We are increasingly aware of the challenges diversity poses to our established view of the world and the opportunities it offers to be curious, creative, flexible and adaptable; all of which are important aspects of professional practice in today's rapidly changing and environmentally challenged world. We do not, therefore, want to limit diversity to its location in individual bodies or inscribe it upon certain different groupings. For us, diversity is at the same time the key to hopeful futures and the canary in the cage of civilisation.

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Chapter 24

TEACHING QUEER STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

This chapter considers the teaching of queer studies in the tertiary classroom, based on twenty years of teaching queer studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Queer studies is presented as a useful addition to an understanding of diversity and to implementing and teaching human rights in the tertiary classroom. The article includes a discussion of the New Zealand background on homosexuality and human rights, and includes practical exercises and explanations of intersectionality for use in classroom settings, as well as recommendations for future research.

Keywords: *queer studies, LGBTQ youth, intersectionality*

INTRODUCTION – QUEERING THE CURRICULUM

"Queering" the curriculum and "querying" it may be two sides of quite similar questions. Queries from educators about classroom bullying, homophobic discrimination, human rights and how to address the bigotry preventing students from accepting diversity may be partly resolved by the solutions and strategies suggested in the teaching of queer studies.

In this chapter I take the perspective that the uncontested assumption and presentation of heterosexuality leads to the promotion of what Adrienne Rich (1980) first termed "compulsory heterosexuality". This construction of what Janice Raymond (1986) first called "heteroreality" permits students to believe that those not conforming to rigid gender and sexual roles are inferior and need not be tolerated. New Zealand theses and articles examining the situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) youth in secondary

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schools concluded they felt marginalised and excluded, receiving little or no support (Quinlivan, 1994, 2002; Stapp, 1991; Towns, 1998). An analysis of non-heterosexual respondent data in the Youth2000 survey, covering 114 schools, showed that nine percent of the non-heterosexual students did not feel safe at school, and that of those who had "come out" about one third did not feel safe at school, and 53% had been bullied (Le Brun, Robinson, Warren, Watson, 2004). *Safety In Our Schools* notes:

> Prejudice towards queer young people is apparent in many New Zealand schools. It is fuelled by heterosexism, which is the presumption that all people are, and should be, heterosexual. Heterosexism is the belief – stated or implied – that heterosexuality is superior (theologically, morally, socially, emotionally, behaviourally and/or in some other way) to queer sexualities and diverse gender identities. (New Zealand AIDS Foundation, 2005, p. 15)

This resource provides examples of LGBTQ youth in New Zealand schools who feel discriminated against and unsafe (NZ AIDS Foundation, 2005). How might queer studies taught within universities help remedy this? Can the curriculum engage with LGBTQ issues in all their diversities, differences, desires, queries and queernesses?

LGBTQ students are a small percentage of students. Why, then, should queer studies be an aspect of classroom learning? If mentioned at schools, it is within the sex education syllabus. If included in tertiary studies, it is often at the theoretical level of queer theory as an analytic tool in the study of media, literature or film. In some New Zealand universities, there have been courses on queer studies, cultures, politics or histories offered by Gender and Women's Studies, Māori Studies, Anthropology, Philosophy, and Teacher Education. Additionally, lectures and sessions have sometimes been offered within other disciplines, for example Psychology, Social Work, Biology, Film, Social Policy, and Sociology. Why are queer studies valuable?

In this chapter I discuss teaching queer studies within the Gender and Women's Studies programme at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, the problems encountered in teaching this material, and the results, connections and outcomes. I begin this discussion by unpacking the assumptions within which the understanding of gender and sexuality is often based. My objectives are to demonstrate that the insights gained from teaching queer studies courses in tertiary institutions provide useful frameworks for introducing this material into teacher training and the school curriculum. This means LGBTQ youth can feel affirmed through the presentation of positive information on homosexuality, and all students can have valuable experiences through the analysis of diversity and difference. Sex, gender and sexuality are categories where many societies construct binary divisions and subsequent discrimination and oppression based on difference. They are therefore a useful starting point from which to approach the similar mechanisms used to construct disparate categories including those of race, ethnicity, class, disability and so forth. The theoretical lens of intersectionality allows connections to be made between these disparate categories enabling them to be understood as proceeding from interlinked structures of privilege and power, where strategies for dismantling these structures may be similar. In particular, the usefulness of human rights legislation can be examined as a tool for preventing some forms of discrimination.

An important outcome from the teaching of queer studies courses is that students are prepared for undertaking research on queer topics for MA and PhD theses, enabling them to make a contribution towards the production of new knowledge.

NEW ZEALAND BACKGROUND

Māori elders told the 1988 Royal Commission on Social Policy that "homosexuality – female and male – was not uncommon in pre-European times and … was in fact more readily accepted than today" (New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, p. 167). Ngahuia Te Awekotuku provides an interpretation of the story of Tutānekai, who after his marriage to Hinemoa said he was "dying of love for my friend, for my beloved, for Tiki", describing Tiki as "taku hoa takatāpui". She explains that it is from this reference that the word *takatāpui* is taken, translated as "intimate companion of the same sex", and now used by many Māori LGBTQ individuals and organisations. In research on "same-sex lust and loving in the ancient Māori world," Te Awekotuku examines traditional sources of chant poetry, storytelling, sculptural art, plus accounts by European missionaries and voyagers; these sources suggest same-sexual practices were ordinarily accepted in earlier Māori societies (Te Awekotuku, 2005, p.8).

However, male homosexual acts of buggery and sodomy became illegal in Aotearoa/New Zealand following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi[1] in 1840, formalised by the *English Laws Act 1858*[2]. The penalty was life imprisonment and flogging, with punishments gradually reduced through the next century and a half by various law reforms. Decriminalisation was not achieved before the *Homosexual Law Reform Act 1986* (Laurie, 2009). Though the criminal law in New Zealand did not legislate against sex between women, both men and women involved in same-sexual relationships suffered discrimination. Human rights abuses included discrimination in employment, accommodation, and access to public premises, documented in submissions received by the Select Committee considering new grounds prior to the implementation of the *Human Rights Act* (HRA) *1993*. This background of discrimination meant homosexually inclined students and teachers hid their sexuality from fear of exposure not only to the criminal law, but also fear of persecution, bullying and, in the case of teachers, dismissal. A number of regulatory codes allowed people suspected of homosexuality to be dismissed, or subjected to bullying, harassment and discrimination. The Public Service Manual used broad terms like disgraceful, improper, and seriously detrimental to describe unacceptable behaviours, and the code of ethics of the New Zealand Educational Institute defined these widely. Teachers and public servants suspected of homosexuality risked dismissal or disciplinary action, or might choose to resign because of whispering campaigns and pressure from co-workers (Glamuzina and Laurie, 1991, p. 152).

The *HRA 1993* prohibited discrimination on a number of specific grounds. Introduced by Katherine O'Regan, the National Party Member of Parliament for the Waipa Electorate, the

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[1] Aotearoa is generally regarded as a Māori name for New Zealand. A treaty was signed at Waitangi in 1840 between the chiefs of many Māori tribes and the British Crown, establishing governance by Britain within the then British Empire, including British law. There is ongoing debate about the meaning of clauses in the Treaty as to what rights Māori retained, and the precise meaning of 'sovereignty' in the Māori and English versions.

[2] The *English Laws Act 1858* was passed by the General Assembly of New Zealand, and stated that all English laws in force on 14 January 1840 applied to New Zealand.

Act consolidated and amended the *Human Rights Commission Act 1977*, adding five new grounds where discrimination was prohibited in the specific areas of access to employment, housing, and goods and services. The new grounds included sexual orientation, defined as "homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual or lesbian". The Act initially applied to the private sector only, as government had exemptions to allow time to bring other laws and policies into line. The *Human Rights Amendment Act 2001* meant government was no longer exempt and new legislation followed, including the *Civil Union Act 2004*, which created legal partnerships for different and same-sex couples, with many of the provisions of marriage, and the *Relationships (Statutory References) Act 2005* provided consistency for same-sex and de facto couples across a large number of existing laws affecting married couples, including superannuation, benefits and inheritance, and birth registration (Laurie and Evans, 2009a).

Access to equal education for everyone is clearly within the *HRA 1993* requirements for access to goods and services. In *Safety In Our Schools*, the NZ AIDS Foundation (2005) points out that National Education Goals (MOE, 1990) require "equality of educational opportunity for all New Zealanders, by identifying and removing barriers to achievement", that the National Administration Guidelines (1990) include the requirement to "provide a safe physical and emotional environment for students", and that schools may breach the *HRA 1993* if they allow "a school environment to be hostile towards students who are attracted to, or perceived to be attracted to the same sex" (NZ AIDS Foundation, 2005, p. 6). The position of LGBTQ students and teachers may be evaluated by considering what curriculum is offered and how this affects the school environment. What is taught at universities is crucial, as this influences what is eventually taught at schools, and how teachers respond to LGBTQ students and colleagues, and to queering the curriculum.

The specific inclusion of sexual difference in the curriculum can work towards celebrating diversity by, for example, acknowledging the contributions of queer people in literature, music, culture, sports, politics and society. For example, the stories of Frank Sargeson can be read with new levels of understanding when his homosexuality and love for other men is recognized (see King, 1995), as can the writing of Katherine Mansfield when knowledge of her troubled lesbian relationships forms part of the biographical discussion (Laurie, 1988; Tomalin, 1987). The music of Douglas Lilburn may be informed by what some musicologists call gay sensibility (Body, 2005). The example of the New Zealand homosexual law reform and human rights campaigns can be used in studies of political social movements, gay and lesbian organising in New Zealand history, and LGBTQ festivals and events in New Zealand included in studies of New Zealand society.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Deconstructing fixed gender and sexual identities is an integral part of queer theory (Butler, 1990; Sedgwick, 1990). Challenges and debates unravel the meanings and constructions of sex, sexuality and gender. Recent research on intersex and transgender people reveals a more complex biological world than a simple binary division. For example, Anne Fausto-Sterling (1993) regards thinking there are only two biological sexes as flawed, arguing that physical sex is a continuum between male and female.

Gender is understood as referring to the cultural roles expected of the men and women in society. However, it may be argued that the universalising terms 'woman' and 'man' disallow and exclude difference and diversity, and do not constitute stable, biologically essential or genetically based universal identities pre-existing culture or language. Since Simone de Beauvoir described 'woman' as 'Other' to 'man', arguing that "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (de Beauvoir, 1972, p. 295), there have been many contributions to this debate. Denise Riley sees the category 'woman' as "historically, discursively constructed, and always relatively to other categories which themselves change" (Riley, 1988, pp. 1-2). Though every society distinguishes physically between biological females and males, Judith Butler asks whether the body itself is not a "cultural performance…constituted through discursively constrained performative acts that produce the body" (Butler, 1990, p. viii). She regards gender as produced by performance within language and "a doing", though not by "a subject who might be said to pre-exist the deed", suggesting that if one is not born but becomes a woman (or man), then the term is "in process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end" (Butler, 1990, p. 33). Ideas of sexual identity are recent and are claimed to have been produced by the discourses of nineteenth century sexology (Foucault, 1990). Modern homosexual identity as developed in western societies differs from other kinds of same-sex relationships in other times, cultures and places. Queer scholarship developed these debates from the late 1970s (see for example Halperin, 1990; Katz, 1983; Warner, 1993).

Through queer studies students learn to interrogate the meanings of sex, gender and sexuality, how they interrelate, and how prescriptive ideologies construct prejudice through rigid and stereotypic expectations of behaviour, physical appearance, and cultural and social interests. Students also learn to ask, which queer people? Which women? Which men? Sexuality intersects with many other aspects of identity, and the experiences of, for example, an older Māori lesbian are not the same as those of a young, *Pākehā*[3] gay man.

Early discussions of intersectionality by Black, Jewish, and women of colour critiqued uses of "woman" which hid the multiple identities and multilayered experiences of diverse groups of women (Beck, 1982; Collins, 1986; hooks, 1984; Hull, Scott and Smith., 1981; Lorde, 1984; Moraga and Anzaldua, 1981). Audre Lorde, affirming multiple identities as a Black, lesbian, feminist, socialist, mother, member of an inter-racial couple, and cancer survivor, warned there was "a pretence to a homogeneity of experience…that does not in fact exist", as all identity is complex and composed of differences (Lorde, 1984, pp. 114-116). Lesbian-feminist and gay liberation theorists wrote accounts on the intersection of oppressions including race, class, age, ability, ethnicity combined with gender, and sexuality (Hoagland, 1988; Laurie, 1987; Lorde, 1984).

The intercategorical approach to intersectionality documents social inequality over multiple dimensions, using existing categorical distinctions to measure changes over time. The social and cultural relationships between gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexuality, class and nationality intertwine. Leslie McCall explains that:

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[3] Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand. *Pākehā* is the term used for New Zealanders of European descent.

> The categorical approach focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories, or both. The subject is multi-group, and the method is systematically comparative. (McCall, 2005, p. 1786)

The intercategorical approach enables an analysis of the production of power and of social and cultural hierarchies, especially the production of 'otherness' and of the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. The anticategorical approach seeks to deconstruct categorical divisions and the intracatergorical approach seeks to reconcile the intercategorical and intracategorical approaches. Queer theoretical approaches destabilise categories (Sedgwick, 1990). However, as human rights protections are based on categories or perceived categories, retaining categories while recognizing their arbitrary construction through discourse enables an analysis of social justice reforms.

Queer meanings may contribute to unsettling the structures allowing some groups to assert an unquestioned entitlement over others. The intersectionality of oppressions and the structures of discrimination and privilege follow similar dynamics, and the application of similar strategies can help deconstruct these relationships of power over others. Students who learn to deal with their own homophobia, heterosexism, and sexism are less likely to discriminate against people of other races, religions, belief systems, age groups or abilities, if they understand how oppression is manufactured and applied.

TEACHING QUEER STUDIES

My first involvement with formally teaching queer studies was in 1984, when I taught a Lesbian Studies course through the Wellington Workers' Educational Association. I began including lesbian and gay material in my Women's Studies courses at Victoria University of Wellington, but soon realised that a few lectures or essay topics would not develop new theoretical or cultural knowledge. After receiving approval to offer a Special Topic in Lesbian Studies, I researched and collected materials, consulted colleagues, and trialled workshops at conferences. I then designed and piloted a Victoria University Continuing Education course, and based on this, designed and offered a 200-level course in 1990, the first in a New Zealand university (Laurie, 1991). In 1995 it became a permanent course, later re-titled as Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies, and then as Queer Sexualities, Histories and Politics, offered at both 200 and 300-levels. From 1996 I also taught a queer postgraduate level course.

In the first years, course content used American and British sources. Academic lesbian and gay studies, later queer studies, developed from the 1970s, providing material including overviews of changing ideas on homosexuality from pre-modern sources to the movements for social change influenced by gay liberation and lesbian-feminist theory. Conferences, journals, articles, books, web pages and e-lists have further developed theoretical, historical and cultural queer studies, as have LGBTQ archives internationally, and academic journals including the *Journal of Homosexuality* and the *Journal of Lesbian Studies*.

Initially, there were few New Zealand resources, but gradually, as a result of specialist conferences and local research, a body of New Zealand work is now available (e.g., Alice and Star, 2004; Brickell, 2008; Glamuzina and Laurie, 1991; Laurie, 1988, 1993, 2001; Laurie and Evans, 2005, 2009b; Stewart 1993; Te Awekotuku, Glamuzina, Laurie, and Tamihane, 1993; Wells and Pilgrim, 1997). Work addressing Māori sexuality includes Leonie Pihama

(1998), Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1989, 1991), and a collection edited by Jessica Hutchings and Clive Aspin (2007). LGBTQ auto/biography includes Carmen (1988), Tom McLean (1989), and Miriam Saphira (1997). Research projects Lavender Islands[4] and Male Call (see Aspin et al., 1998) are valuable. New Zealand internet sites including GayNZ.com, magazines including *Express*, lesbian radio, queer television programmes including *Takatāpui* (Māori TV), and *Queer Nation* provide useful local resources.

The Lesbian and Gay Archives of New Zealand (LAGANZ) based at the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL) holds records and materials relevant to New Zealand queer studies. My courses include a formal visit to LAGANZ, with talks by curators on resources, searching aids, and the research facilities of the ATL and National Libraries. Even at undergraduate level, students have often produced new knowledge based on archival research at LAGANZ. In earlier years, some students undertook oral history projects or produced radio documentaries for GayBC and the Lesbian Community Radio Programme on Wellington Access Radio, providing resources for later groups of students, as LGBTQ radio programmes are archived by LAGANZ.

Student assignments through the years reflect the availability of resources. Fundamental to all study is an engagement with underlying theory, through gay liberation, lesbian-feminist and queer theoretical approaches to the understanding of sex, gender and sexuality. Present assessment for 300-level students requires a submission or essay on homosexual law reform or on sexual orientation as a human rights issue, an essay on a choice of social, historical or political topics, a journal and a group tutorial presentation, with similar though shorter assignments minus the journal for 200-level students. Current essay and presentation topics include LGBTQ histories, politics, media, internet, theatre, music, art, sports events, elderly, youth, disabled, social venues; same-sex marriage, parenting, sado-masochism/leather communities, transgender, pink dollar, intersex, bisexualities, *takatāpui*[5], and *fa'afine*[6]. Guest lecture sessions include speakers from the AIDS Foundation, NZ Prostitutes' Collective, NZ Intersex Trust, Human Rights Commission and Members of Parliament working on queer issues. Regular lectures include: definitions and theories of sexuality; LGBTQ political movements, networks and communities; law reform and human rights campaigns; sexual identity – essentialism and social construction; homophobia – intersectionality, connections between oppressions; bisexualities; female same-sex relationships; male same-sex relationships and masculinities; *takatāpui* Māori; lesbians and gay men in the economy; transgender; AIDS/HIV; intersex, sexes and genders.

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[4] Lavender Islands. http://lavenderislands.massey.ac.nz/

[5] Māori term translated in English as "intimate companion of the same sex". Used to denote Māori LGBTQ individuals and organisations.

[6] Samoan term translated in English as "to make like a woman", referring to biological males who live as women, and take on women's roles in Samoan society.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS: ANTI- HOMOPHOBIA AND INTERSECTIONALITY EXERCISES FOR THE CLASSROOM

I soon realised a component on homophobia/heterosexism should be included in queer studies courses. Students whose homophobic attitudes prevent full engagement cannot study queer material successfully, and everyone lives in a homophobic society, despite reforms over the last 20 years. LGBTQ students must address their internalised homophobia, explained by Suzanne Pharr (1988) as self-policing. Michel Foucault (1977) argues that social controls are achieved not only by scrutiny, but also by people policing themselves:

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (p. 202)

Pharr (1988) suggests several classroom exercises exposing the mechanisms of heterosexism, where heterosexuality is privileged at the expense of homosexuality. These include a 'reverse world' role-play, where students change pronouns and experiences in a mock social situation where they may not admit to heterosexuality.

As well as using Pharr's exercises, I developed a 'dynamics of oppression' exercise to help students recognise links between different categories of oppression. The term 'dynamics' recognises the active production of discrimination, and students examine their own areas of privilege and of disadvantage, and consider ways of dismantling the structures perpetuating institutionalised oppression. Dominant cultures construct ideologies defining and interpreting reality, and structural oppression includes defining 'in' and 'out' groups, the inclusion and exclusion discussed by Foucault (1990). I selected seven categories for the exercise – race, sex, sexuality, class, age, disability, and religious affiliation. These reflect the New Zealand situation – more categories could be included, especially when applying the model in other countries. However, this selection is practical in time constrained classroom situations, and adequately reflects a selection from prohibited forms of discrimination under the *HRA 1993*.

In the exercise, students work in small groups, first setting up ground-rules. I explain this is not an exercise in self-disclosure, and that safety and confidentiality are important. For example, students may choose to identify as 'heterosexual' rather than as LGBTQ for 'heterosexism', or choose not to disclose a disability. If they choose to do this, they are asked to think about (privately) why it is necessary, as non-disclosure alerts to societal structures of discrimination and oppression.

Students receive seven chocolate biscuits, one for each category – chocolate biscuits are fun as they can later be eaten, but some classes have made and used fake 'dollars' as less messy. Working through the selected categories, students discuss how these operate in society, and decide where they fit for each one, keeping or relinquishing a chocolate biscuit accordingly. For 'sexism', for example, male students keep their own biscuit, and female students give up theirs to be divided amongst the 'men' in their group. If there are no representatives of a privileged category, the biscuits can be given to other groups in the class.

At the end, groups analyse who has how many biscuits, and discuss what privileges these represent in the real world – access to for example finance, housing, jobs, land, and education.

Then they discuss how the biscuits (resources) could be distributed fairly, and what structural changes would be needed to achieve this.

Social institutions may be material (banks, universities), or abstract (marriage), and as they reflect dominant cultures, may feel alien and irrelevant to others (Laurie, 1987, 1991). Some people have no way of relating to particular institutions. For example, until the *Civil Union Act 2004*, LGBTQ people were excluded from the institution of marriage, and from formal recognition of same-sex relationships. Much discrimination is prohibited by the *HRA 1993*, but can surface in ways that push the boundaries of permitted bigotry – for example, hate speech is not illegal in New Zealand. Teasing is a prevalent form of bullying LGBTQ students (NZ AIDS Foundation, 2005).

It is unhelpful to rank oppressions, or engage in "competing intersectionality", for example the 1970s' debates on whether classism was more relevant than sexism (Lykke, 2005, p. 10). The complexity of how oppressions intersect accounts for diverse individual outcomes, and oppressed groups can themselves recreate categories of oppression – for example, LGBTQ communities may discriminate against members because of race, disability, and age, etc.

Oppressed people can internalize the values and ideas of dominant cultures. 'Passing' is an important aspect of institutionalised oppression, and a way to determine whether oppression is structural. For example, age passing is common, people with disabilities sometimes pass and many LGBTQ people are closeted and pretend to heterosexuality. Passing perpetuates the invisibility and denial of oppressed groups and cultures. Once started on a path of accommodation, LGBTQ people are less likely to speak out in support of other oppressed groups, and may become more intent on 'fitting in' and 'passing'.

FUTURE TRENDS

Making LGBTQ people visible in the curriculum can meet with opposition, as silence and invisibility have often been the requirements for tolerance. There has been anxiety about "teaching and promoting homosexuality" to young people (NZ AIDS Foundation, 2005, p. 24). This makes it important to speak the unspeakable, to make visible the unseen, and to examine areas of experience that have been denied, silenced or trivialized. Research on LGBTQ communities and individuals can produce positive changes for society in general. Empowerment through knowledge is achieved through the provision of more historical and contemporary research on same-sex relationships in New Zealand. Information on contemporary same-sexual practices and cultures has been gathered through research projects including Lavender Islands and Male Call (see Aspin et al., 1998), but these must be constantly updated and revised. For example, Male Call documented male same-sexual practices as part of initiatives to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS through a better understanding of risk factors, and similar research on female same-sexual practices is also required. There are many other LGBTQ historical, political and cultural topics yet to be researched.

CONCLUSION

Ideally, universities must be relevant to all communities in their catchment areas, and able to accommodate diversity and difference within the student body and curriculum. The inclusion of queer studies enables students to learn about the complexity of sex, gender and sexuality, and how this links to categories producing advantage, disadvantage, power and privilege.

Further historical and contemporary research on LGBTQ people in New Zealand will give new perspectives from which to view common assumptions about sexuality and the acceptance of prescriptive ideologies. The inclusion of queer studies in schools and universities can provide students with knowledge about alternatives, helping to rupture rigid and superficial views that hinder understandings of sexuality, sex and gender relations. An appreciation of intersectionality and how categories of oppression are produced and how they are linked helps dismantle barriers to educational achievement, as LGBTQ students learn to confidently reject discrimination against themselves, and all students gain an understanding of human rights and diversity.

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Chapter 25

NEW LANGUAGES, NEW WORDS: THE POWER OF MULTIMODAL LITERACY FOR DIVERSE LEARNERS IN NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT

It is hard to imagine what Freire might have put into *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* if he wrote it in the new millennium. He certainly would continue to focus on reading and rewriting the world through critical literacy, but the tools of this new and fresh form of literacy might be different. Today, young people live in a world of diverse peoples and diverse literacies. Young people no longer have to master a single form of literacy which would enable them to read, comprehend, question, write, and rewrite. Today, young people need to be literate across many modes of communication. In this chapter, I will look at the power of multimodal literacies when combined with critical literacy. Modes of communication such as video, music, words, and images stimulate diverse readings and writings of the world. Multimodal literacies allows for a moment of cognitive dissonance without disrupting the identities of the reader and the writer.

Keywords: *Freire, critical literacy, multi-modal literacy*

INTRODUCTION

On May 2, 1997 Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, died from a heart attack. He was yet to see a world dominated by web-streaming videos, podcasts, and social networking sites. The world in 1997 may have been one in which the internet had just emerged as a place to source data (whether true or false), but it was yet to experience the transformation of web 2.0 and the

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accessibility of video and audio technologies. Now users of information communication technologies (ICTs) are not only consumers of information but producers of information. Now they can create content, remix content, and transform content, something that could only be imagined in 1997. Indeed, in the year of his death, Freire may have only just heard of the new search engine *Google,* a search engine that would dominate the internet for over a decade by 2008.

It is hard to comprehend the transformation of technology since 1997. And alongside this it is also hard to comprehend how technology itself has begun to transform teaching. It is now common to see computers as part of the classroom landscape. Whilst in 1992 computing was seen as a "practical" senior-level secondary subject reserved for those not undertaking an academic pathway (i.e., computing could not be counted towards university entrance), the need for ICT knowledge and experience is now seen as a necessary component of schooling. Alongside this, young people are now using ICTs to produce videos and podcasts. Rather than being just consumers of new media, in classrooms around Aotearoa New Zealand, young people are producers of new media.

Furthermore, the composition of classrooms in Aotearoa New Zealand has also been transformed. In the five years between 2003 and 2008, New Zealand schools experienced an increase in Māori, Pacific and Asian students (Ministry of Education, 2008b). This is not to ignore the growing number of refugee students in New Zealand schools. Alongside this, Māori and Pacific students, in 2006, were more likely to leave compulsory schooling without a nationally-accredited qualification (Ministry of Education, 2008a) and were more likely to be in the lower quartiles of literacy achievement (Ministry of Education, 2006a, 2006b). These statistics are a call to action. We need to transform the ways in which we think about, and do, education so that schooling becomes a transformative experience which meets the needs of a diverse student population.

In this chapter, I will endeavour to present the critical literacy argument as a journey from the working-class streets of Brazil to the ever increasing diverse nature of classrooms today. I will look at the ways in which this new form of critical literacy has been used internationally in programmes such as Digital Underground Storytelling for Youth (DUSTY) and Educational Video Centre (EVC) and will present some ideas for practical applications in New Zealand classrooms. My aim is not to push educators into becoming ICT aware but to become literate in a new sense and to become zealous about the potential for change in a 21st century environment.

BACKGROUND

The Problem with Schooling

Often, as educators, we fall into the trap of arguing that education and schooling is for the good of the young person. That is, through education, a young person can better their lives and participate in society. But schooling is effectively a two-edged sword. Whilst some students find school a valuable tool to aid in their lives as adults, other students are challenged through schooling. School, in all its structures and routines, is just not for them. These young people struggle in the everyday routine of the classroom. For many of them,

school is not about education in the sense of reading, writing, maths, social studies and science, but rather it is an experience of rules, authority, and procedures. To thinkers like Noam Chomsky (2003) the experience of school is about socialisation – making a conforming individual not a free thinker.

Chomsky is not alone in his thinking of education. The sociology of education, in itself, is a discipline concerned with the ideological function of education. The purpose of this discipline is to challenge the educator into really thinking about "why" school – why do "we" see it as necessary, what purpose does it really serve, and whose interests are served through schooling? In Aotearoa New Zealand, scholars like Richard Harker (1990; Harker and McConnochie, 1985) have argued that schooling filters young people into particular social groups and that the experience of education for young Māori and other diverse groups in the classroom is one of being placed on the lower rung of academic achievement – being put into the long tail of deficit achievement that often gets spoken about in the political discussion and dialogues.

Freire had a similar opinion about schooling. To Freire (1973, 1993) the classroom was a contested battleground where the types of knowledge and curriculum taught reproduced class divisions in a society. Through teaching a particular paradigm of knowledge as truth, students could be made to conform through education. The classroom was, therefore, the site of struggle. He argued that through transforming the practices of teaching and learning (pedagogy) and the ways in which literacy was used and understood, the classroom could be turned from a site of struggle to a space of positive revolution (c.f. Shor, 1996). In this sense, Freire saw the potential of education as a transformative experience which could ignite social conscience and address social injustice by allowing students to become agents of social change.

Critical Literacy

Freire's approach to education originated in the streets of Brazil and the class stratification of Brazilian society. Working with adult students of literacy, Freire discovered that the teaching of literacy was not a neutral process, but that the very act of becoming literate was imbued with ideological meaning. As Elsa Auerbach and Denise Burgess (1987) highlight in the teaching of literacy to English as a Second Language students, texts often *describe* an oversimplified reality and then *prescribe* a particular position for the reader of the text. Social context is often excluded from discussions and the student and teacher fail to critically engage with the position in which they find themselves. In order to transform the learning experience for students, Freire first looked at transforming the pedagogy of teaching and learning which then enabled him to redefine the teaching of literacy.

Freire (1993) argued that, at times, schooling and education is seen as a passive process where the teacher (in a position of hierarchy) deposits knowledge into the young student (which he illustrated through the metaphor of banking). He challenged his contemporaries to reframe the role of the teacher and student and to acknowledge that effective learning occurred when the teacher and student learn together. Similar to the Māori concept of *ako* (Pere, 1983), Freire's transformative pedagogy saw the teacher learning from the student and the student teaching the teacher. To Freirean scholar and educator Ira Shor (1996), overcoming the traditional hierarchy of all-knowing teacher and yet-to-know student is the

key to establishing a critical approach to teaching. This involves real dialogue and allows students to engage with each other (rather than merely responding to the teacher). In this space of dialogue and discussion, literacy becomes transformed from just reading and writing to a critical reflection on the text and its ideological function – the ways in which the text talks about different social groups and their role in society.

A key component of this new form of reading was the need to move towards problem posing rather than problem solving (Freire, 1973; Shor, 1992). In this sense, the dialogue surrounding the reading of texts would look at the ideological problems within a text and, rather than trying to solve the problem, the reader and teacher would go on a journey together to see how these problems were engrained in the power and ideological structure of society. It, therefore, enabled social transformation to occur through awareness – a simple process but with powerful implications.

In effect, critical reading is coming to terms with the ideology behind the text, how context informs text, and how a text puts us, the reader, into a particular context at a particular time. It looks at the values and judgements in a text and the ways in which texts reinforce social difference, or, at times, challenge the status quo. But to read critically is not enough to be literate. To be simply "literate" one needs to be able to both read and write, and to be critically literate means more than simply asking questions of a text. In critical writing, one needs to be able to rethink their world, to reinvent their life, and to challenge the status quo (Shor, 1999).

So, critical literacy is about an educator bringing the struggle within the classroom to the space of the text and the context that informs the writing/reading of a text. It is about transforming both the world of the student and educator through reading and rewriting the world. It is transformative and it seeks not to provide answers but to illuminate the social problems and inequalities so that a dialogue can begin. It is about recognising that students and teachers are both social and political beings and that the diverse worlds of students and teachers can be mediated through effective dialogue and problem posing. In a sense it is effectively listening through reading and writing – listening to the worlds of others, to the world outside the classroom and the world inside the classroom and how that world exposes itself in the many texts to which we are exposed to regularly (Shor, 1980, 1992; Wallerstein, 1987). One fresh way this can occur is through multimodal literacies.

Multimodal Literacy

Literacy today is much wider than the traditional book and pen. Today, we are exposed to a myriad of texts ranging from the traditional to the digital, from words and images to videos and music. Sara Kajder (2004) argues that to be literate one must be able to effectively communicate with various cultural tools available to oneself. In our current "cultural" context of Aotearoa New Zealand, this means being able to effectively use traditional medias (such as books, paper, and pen) as well as new media and technologies (like ICT, video, music, etc). To use the philosophical underpinnings of the curriculum document *The Arts in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2000) one needs to be able to engage in multiple forms of literacy. Indeed, the new curriculum statement now requires "using language, symbols and texts" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p.7) as one of the key competencies needed for New Zealand school students.

Much of this new thinking around literacy comes from the dialogue between scholars in the mid-nineties. Calling themselves The New London Group, a group of international scholars and educators met to discuss the skills needed in the coming new century. They concluded that to effectively participate in society one must be able to engage in multiple forms of literacy (The New London Group, 1996), each type of literacy drawing from its own forms of grammar and symbols. These new literacies stemmed from the introduction of new technologies and the rise of globalisation. Further drawing from Freire, The New London Group argued that part of these new literacies was the ability to engage in "critical framing" (p. 86), or the ability to analyse the ideological function of texts.

Since 1996, The New London Group's article has been recognised as a definitive article landscaping the current terrain of literacy. Their ideas have been applied to a number of initiatives across the world. One of these initiatives is the DUSTY programme in Oakland, California. DUSTY is an afterschool programme in the poorer suburbs of Oakland, and is designed to build literacy schools and to mediate education through the student's experience of school and life outside of school (Hull and Schultz, 2001).

DUSTY originated as a digital storytelling programme where students could develop a myriad of literacies through storytelling on computer technology. This involved students combining several modes of literacy in one platform (hence being multimodal) and in rethinking media (music, images and so forth) collected in an attempt to rewrite their own worlds and experiences (Hull, 2004). Glynda Hull and Mark Nelson (2005) argue that the multimodal approach used by DUSTY allows students to generate new meanings in ways that would be limited through pen and paper. The DUSTY experience also allows young people an opportunity to present their worlds in a way that generates dialogue, not condemnation. It has been found to be an effective approach to address the realities of the young people involved whilst giving them the tools to challenge the status quo (Hull, 2003; Hull and Greeno, 2006; Hull and James, in progress; Hull and Katz, 2006).

Another approach involving digital storytelling which effectively joins together a concept of multimodal literacy with a Freirean concept of critical literacy is the EVC programme in New York City. Similar to DUSTY, EVC is reframing what is thought to be literacy education. However, EVC explicitly uses a critical literacy framework to its pedagogical approach with young people (Goodman, 2003, 2005). Steven Goodman, one of the key founders of EVC, argues that for many young people they have already lost voice and hope before they join EVC. Through dialogue and film-making EVC allows these young people to tell their stories, engage in an effective dialogue, and re-read the ways in which they are represented in media. For young people often stereotyped through old/new, mass/new media, actually engaging in reading and writing their own texts plays a transformative action in their own lives and in the lives of their communities (Goodman, 2003, 2005).

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS/EDUCATORS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Both DUSTY and EVC are American examples of critical literacy within multimodal literacies; however, in Aotearoa New Zealand, we can learn from these examples ways in which we can allow critical literacy to play a part in our own classrooms and communities. Furthermore, we do have something to learn – diverse voices are often not heard in

classrooms where the truth is often found in a textbook or through the voice of a teacher. Moving towards critical literacy acknowledges that academic differences within the classroom are more than just objective marks on a piece of paper and are more reflective of cultural and ideological norms in our society (c.f. Dickie, 2003). So what can we do?

Engage in A Critical Dialogue

One of the first moves we need to take towards critical literacy is to enter into a dialogue with students about texts we use in education, the texts they are exposed to inside and outside of the classroom, and the values behind the texts. In a sense, this dialogue needs to happen both at the beginning of reading and at the end of writing. A small start is by critically reading the texts young people are exposed to in the media: the position in which the media text places the consumer; the cultural, gendered, class, disability messages in a text; the voices that are heard; the voices that are silenced; expectations on the reader; and so forth (Center for Media Literacy, 2003). However, it is imperative to move beyond the media into a critical analysis of both formal and informal texts.

This same form of dialogue can happen during the process of writing texts and focus on what the student/teacher is challenging and why. It would allow issues like discrimination, inequalities, social justice, and so forth to be discussed and analysed in the classroom. However, in all this there is a challenge. As educators, we need to believe that we can have such discussions with students and that these discussions can evoke change and acknowledge a diversity of perspectives. Initiatives like DUSTY and EVC show that this is possible not just for secondary students and adults but for students in primary school.

Embrace the Multimodal

When Freire originally began thinking about critical literacy, he was thinking about the education of adults. Now, the challenge is to move critical literacy into the classroom. This can occur through the use of multimodal texts and through a cross-curricular approach to education. Approaches like digital storytelling, hip hop education, and new media production (blogs (written web diaries), vlogs (web videos), and podcasts (audio programmes often published on the web)) provide teachers with a toolkit that can both stimulate and excite young people. Further to this, the multimodal opens a space for dialogue outside of school. The texts students construct can be shared with community groups, families, and even, (through the internet) the world, enabling an engaging dialogue to occur.

Furthermore, the multimodal is an accessible tool for teachers and learners. Stories can be composed on programmes as simple as *Windows Movie Maker,* and web-based media can be constructed quite effortlessly through web 2.0 technologies such as blogs, vlogs, podcasts and social networking (which allow people to create web content and collaborations without knowledge of programming). In a sense the multimodal opens the doors for critical literacy and dialogue to occur outside of the classroom.

Accept the Future

The youth of today live in a world of diverse texts, media, and people. Indeed, this myriad of texts now means that young people need several tools to effectively and actively engage in society (Jenkins, Clinton, Purushotma, Robison, and Weigel, 2006). We could limit our focus to generating media literacy, but the reality that as the differences in our society widen, then so too do the inequalities means that we need to provide students with a voice to speak, a place to be listened to, and a space for dialogue. In a world full of texts, young people need the skills to read these texts and rewrite their world.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have attempted to argue that through bringing critical literacy together with multimodal literacies we, as educators in Aotearoa New Zealand, have an effective and amazing tool to use with the students with whom we engage. Critical literacy allows for the diverse worlds of young people to be acknowledged and a rewriting of our own society. At a time when the makeup of New Zealand classrooms is becoming more and more diverse, and the achievement gaps of students is widening, rethinking literacy and pedagogy can have transformative effects. After all, the inequalities of education can have oppressive effects for those with no voice. By practically joining the multimodal to the critical, we as educators can find the exit sign.

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Chapter 26

GLOBAL-MINDEDNESS AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE: TWO RESPONSES TO THE CHALLENGE OF EDUCATING FOR A LINGUISTICALLY AND CULTURALLY DIVERSE WORLD

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ABSTRACT

This chapter approaches diversity from a global perspective by exploring the connections between two related concepts: global-mindedness and intercultural competence. Research from two projects informs this discussion. The first analyzed undergraduate students' views and experiences of citizenship and identified a set of dispositions associated with global-mindedness. The second carried out an international literature review in order to develop a framework for interculturally-informed second language teaching in New Zealand schools. We report on the main findings from the first study with respect to global citizenship and discuss the implications of these findings for teacher education. We then examine the contribution that intercultural language teaching can make to the development of global mindedness in school age learners. The discussion focuses on the potential for interculturally informed language teaching to deliver the kinds of experiences shown to correlate with higher levels of global mindedness.

Keywords: *global-mindedness, intercultural competence, language teaching and learning*

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INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, diversity is approached from a global perspective. We present results from empirical research and theoretical analyses investigating how to prepare students to engage positively with diversity through the development of the skills and dispositions to be globally minded and interculturally competent. The chapter draws on two projects. The first, the *Citizenship and World-Mindedness* survey, was developed by an international research team to investigate the experiences and perceptions of students at universities in the USA, Australia, New Zealand and the UK with respect to citizenship and global citizenship (Meyer, et al., 2008). The second, *Intercultural Communicative Language Teaching (iCLT): Implications for Effective Teaching and Learning,* reports key issues emerging from an international literature review towards the development of a framework for interculturally-informed second language teaching in New Zealand schools (Newton, Yates, Shearn and Nowitzki, 2009).[1]

The first section of the chapter describes dimensions of global-mindedness and intercultural competence emerging from these analyses. The second part considers how teachers might prepare the students who will be tomorrow's citizens, so that they themselves can be better prepared for global citizenship. Based on findings from the *Citizenship and World-Mindedness* survey, we discuss three factors related to prior experiences that are significantly related to positive aspects of undergraduate students' global-mindedness. These findings provide a platform for building more in depth approaches to initial teacher education programmes and intercultural language teaching in higher education. The third and final section is a synthesis of how research on global-mindedness and intercultural language learning can inform one another in establishing an educational response to the challenges and opportunities presented by social and cultural diversity.

TWO KEY CONCEPTS: GLOBAL-MINDEDNESS AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

Advocates for global-mindedness argue that education should attend to the increasingly diverse, globalized, and complex nature of learners' social worlds (Peters 2008; Tully, 2008). This includes preparing children to meet the challenges of their times by addressing issues such as the quest for peace and security, environmental challenges, moves towards unification or conversely, dissolution of nation states, shifts in global power and influence, and the pursuit of free trade (Spring, 2008). Enhancing teachers' dispositions towards a global view of the world is seen as a critical determinant in enabling learners to operate successfully in an interdependent and interconnected social world (Longview Foundation, 2008; Merryfield, 2000).

Following Hett (1993), we use the term "global-mindedness" as an umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of allied concepts (e.g., *international-mindedness*, *cosmopolitanism*,

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[1] The iCLT project was supported by Contract No. 397-2333 awarded to Victoria University from the New Zealand Ministry of Education, and the discussion of this work in the present chapter was informed by this research. However, the opinions expressed in this chapter are those of the authors, and no official endorsement from the Ministry of Education should be inferred.

global citizenship, and *world-mindedness*). Global-mindedness is inclusive of concerns for, for example, the environment, human-kind as a whole, and relationships between cultural groups. The term implies both global consciousness and agency: "the capacity and inclination to place our self and the people, objects and situations with which we come into contact within the broader matrix of our contemporary world" (Mansilla and Gardner, 2007, p. 58).

The *Citizenship and World-Mindedness survey*, conducted in 2008, was developed to investigate experiences, dispositions, and beliefs that are relevant to global-mindedness. This survey was administered to undergraduate students at various universities in the USA, Australia, New Zealand and the UK to examine aspects of citizenship and global citizenship within an international community (Meyer, et al., 2008). The goal of this broader project is to identify and validate effective ways to prepare teachers who can in turn prepare children to be world-minded.

Initial survey results from more than 1,100 respondents from various undergraduate disciplines (including teacher education) at the beginning of their course allowed examination of the predispositions and experiences students bring with them when they begin their tertiary education programme. The survey design was informed by an international review of previous investigations including items designed to measure presumed aspects of global-mindedness (Hett, 1993; Oxfam, 2006). A major section of the survey includes statements about "connections and perspectives" that were factor analysed, revealing one negative and four positive dimensions that are theoretically consistent with previous research. The positive factors are "social responsibility", "skilled dispositions and open-mindedness", "personal efficacy", "global kinship", and the negative factor is labelled "ethnocentrism and nationalism" (Meyer, et al., 2009). Table 1 summarises these dimensions and provides sample survey items.

Table 1. Dimensions of global-mindedness *(from Meyer et al., 2008)*

Dimension	Definition	Sample Item
Social Responsibility	Degree to which individual communities, organisations and institutions (such as universities) have a duty to promote intercultural understanding.	I think my country needs to do more to promote the welfare of different racial and ethnic groups
Skilled Dispositions and Open-Mindedness	Willingness to understand a wide range of perspectives in relation to social issues and the ability to tolerate ambivalence and debate.	Democracy thrives on different views
Personal Efficacy	Sense of agency and personal responsibility in making a difference in a complex social world.	There is little I can do to make the world a better place to live.

Table 1. (Continued)

Dimension	Definition	Sample Item
Global Kinship	Sense of empathy with the plight of others and desire to actively respond to global issues.	I think it is fair for some of my taxes to go to help other countries even if everything could be spent in my own country.
Ethnocentrism and Nationalism	Degree to which a nation's interests should be prioritised. The sense that conflict, inequality and exclusion are inevitable – and at times proper – social phenomena.	The present distribution of the world's wealth and resources should be maintained because it represents evolution and survival of the fittest.

The survey generates mean scores for each of these dimensions based on respondent ratings from 1 for "strongly disagree" to 4 for "strongly agree." Some items are reverse-scored (e.g., the example above under personal efficacy) so that high scores reflect agreement with a particular dimension. High scores on the Ethnocentrism and Nationalism dimension reflect agreement with items placing the interests of oneself and one's own nation first, rather than considering the impact on other parts of the world: this would be regarded as a dimension that does *not* reflect a global perspective. High scores on the other four dimensions represent positive dispositions towards aspects of global-mindedness. Scores on the survey can thus be analysed individually and by groups to investigate patterns associated with other variables such as background characteristics (e.g., whether or not a student has travelled internationally) or current interests (e.g., the student's current academic major). Thus, the survey could be used to investigate whether interventions designed to promote different aspects of global-mindedness are, in fact, effective.

We now turn to the second construct under consideration in this chapter, intercultural competence. The study of intercultural competence has a relatively short history of about 50 years, emerging from Edward T. Hall's groundbreaking 1959 book *The Silent Language* (for an overview of the field, see Arasaratnam and Doerfel, 2005). Today, intercultural competence attracts interest from researchers and practitioners in a variety of academic, educational and professional/business fields. For the purpose of this chapter we restrict our discussion to research and theorizing on intercultural competence in the field of second language education.

Broadly defined, intercultural competence[2] is the ability to "communicate and interact across cultural boundaries" (Byram, 1997, p. 7), that is, to "mediate/interpret the values, beliefs and behaviours (the 'cultures') of [ones]self and of others and to "stand on the bridge" or indeed 'be the bridge' between people of different languages and cultures" (Byram, 2006a, p. 12). Mediation also implies an "action orientation", which Byram (2006b) describes as

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[2] For the purposes of this chapter, we treat the terms intercultural competence and intercultural communicative competence as synonymous.

both critical reflection on the familiar and the unquestioned assumptions of one's own culture/country and involvement and intervention in the world of practice with an intention to create social change, in cooperation with people of other cultures/countries. (p. 28)

An action orientation parallels closely the social responsibility and personal efficacy dimensions of global-mindedness described in Table 1. Indeed, three of the four overall aims of intercultural language learning identified by Byram (2006b) and listed below, look virtually interchangeable with the dispositions associated with global-mindedness (see items 2-4 in the list below):

1. The acquisition of the linguistic and cultural skills of intercultural communication;
2. The development of an aptitude for critical thinking, questioning and challenging assumptions;
3. A change from exclusive identification with familiar communities and in particular, the nation state and national identity, to inclusive identification with others with related interests in other societies; the acquisition of new international identities, which complement national and local identities;
4. Taking action through involvement with people of other societies and liberating oneself and others from assumptions and ways of being and doing which are oppressive or constraining. (p. 17-18)

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS/EDUCATORS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Experiences that Promote Dispositions Toward Global-Mindedness

We now consider how global-mindedness can be developed in teachers so that they are equipped to prepare learners for effective participation in their culturally and linguistically diverse worlds. To do so we return to findings from the *Citizenship and World-Mindedness* survey which identify those life experiences that promote global-mindedness. We briefly discuss these findings in relation to initial teacher education programmes and, in the final section, critically evaluate the extent to which these experiences can be fostered through interculturally-informed language education.

Despite theoretical advances, there is limited empirical evidence regarding teachers' attitudes to global-mindedness in comparison to what we know about predispositions towards inclusion and diversity (Alton-Lee, 2003; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Merryfield, 2000). First, it is unclear whether there is widespread support for the idea that global-mindedness has a place in education. Second, proponents may take for granted that education can provide experiences that influence dispositions in this domain. Even if this were true, there is much to be learnt about the sorts of interventions (that would be effective in promoting global-mindedness) which can be implemented in educational programmes, and would be socially and culturally acceptable to students and educators. The *Citizenship and World-Mindedness* survey offers insight into the types of experiences that are related to globally minded dispositions in teachers. The survey includes a section for students to self-rate their skills, understandings and experiences across various domains. Factor analysis of these items reveals three factors comprising existing dispositions and prior experiences that are significantly related to the

dimensions of global-mindedness, including "participation", "interpersonal skills", and "ways of thinking" (see Table 2 for definitions and examples).

Table 2. Prior experiences and dispositions that are positively related to global-mindedness *(from Meyer et al., 2008)*

Experiences	Definition	Examples
Participation	Direct involvement in different activities	Participation in clubs or organisations Volunteer work Working on school publications
Interpersonal skills	Participants' perception of their communicative abilities	Communication skills Leadership abilities Social skills
Ways of thinking	The willingness to accept difference and divergent thinking	Considering other points of view Tolerance of ideas that others think are "far out" Tolerance of different religions

This empirical work provides an important platform from which to consider approaches designed to teach global-mindedness. Firstly, it points to the importance of understanding that students enter their teacher education programmes with existing attitudes and experiences that may already be quite positive in disposition—they are not 'blank slates.' The analysis of survey responses indicated that student teachers come to teaching predisposed with accepting attitudes towards divergent points of view, high on global kinship, and with a strong sense of social responsibility. Their orientations are significantly more positive on these dimensions than students in business majors, a field that requires global interactions in today's world so that one might expect such students to also be globally aware. These existing positive predispositions of teacher education students suggest that programmes can be directed towards the practicalities of enhancing students' global-mindedness rather than spending time persuading them of the merits of global-mindedness.

Secondly, the survey provides direction for the design of learning experiences and interventions that are most likely to foster global-mindedness in teacher education programmes. For example, scores on the "ways of thinking" factor were a significant predictor of positive global-mindedness. This reinforces the importance of discursive teaching and learning activities to enhance global-mindedness, including focussing on different perspectives, thinking, and involving critical and creative thinking skills. Teacher education programmes could explore intervention approaches within coursework and practical experiences that exemplify aspects of the three factors identified in the survey, such as encouraging divergent ways of thinking through validating different cultural viewpoints on a particular issue. Interpersonal skills could be developed further in teacher education through enhanced use of cooperative learning activities in the classroom, and participation could be expanded through experiences such as working with families or in diverse cultural settings in the community rather than solely working in schools.

'Experience' in Intercultural Communicative Language Teaching

In this final section we discuss the potential of interculturally informed language teaching to provide experiences and to foster dispositions shown by the *Citizenship and World-Mindedness* survey to be associated with global mindedness. Interspersed throughout this section are comments made by language teachers and learners in school settings on their experience of learning about cultures in the language classroom. These comments were made during interviews conducted for the intercultural project (Newton, Yates, Shearn, Nowitzki, 2009).

First, we discuss how intercultural language teaching and learning can address the "participation" and "interpersonal skills" dimensions of global-mindedness presented in Table 2. Central to the process of learning a second language interculturally is the experience of meaningful socially situated communication in the target language and/or about the second language culture. Rather than language learning through disembodied language practice, this approach emphasizes learning through communicative use of the second language. Genuine personal communication with native speakers is typically a preferred mode of learning for many learners. Research by Ingram and O'Neill for example, found that students in Australian schools showed a strong preference for interactional modes of language learning and wanted more interaction with native speakers, both face-to-face and over the internet (Ingram and O'Neill, 2001, 2002). To cater for this demand, on-line intercultural exchange is increasingly used to foster intercultural communication in language programmes in school and university settings (Belz, 2003; Bretag, 2006; O'Dowd, 2003, 2007; Ware, 2005). Intercultural conversations offer opportunities to explore one's own as well as others' cultural worlds, including their lived experiences, beliefs, values and attitudes; how they live, speak, write and portray themselves. Intercultural communication also provides first-hand experience of culturally situated communicative behaviour, of culturally prescribed ways of expressing politeness and appropriateness, and of the challenge of resolving misunderstandings and communication breakdowns that can emerge from cultural difference (Kramsch and Thorne, 2001).

Secondly, intercultural language learning can foster divergent "ways of thinking" (see Table 2) through *exploratory* approaches to language, culture and cultural otherness. An exploratory approach shifts the focus from *transmission* of objective cultural knowledge by the teacher to *exploration* of subjective lived culture by learners, including in particular, exploration of cultural dimensions of language and communication. To explore culture, learners construct knowledge from personal experience and reflection. They interrogate rather than passively accept cultural information. This kind of critical enquiry and active construction of understanding is claimed to result in better understanding of and more positive responses to the lived cultural experience of target language speakers (Carr, 2007; Finkbeiner, 2006; Kramsch 1993). When teaching is focused primarily on learning about "culture facts", these important cultural learning processes and the positive outcomes they engender are all too easily overlooked. As Ingram and O'Neill (2001) point out:

> [K]nowledge alone leaves learners ensconced in their own culture looking out at the other culture and observing its differences (often judgmentally) – rather like walking through a museum. (p. 14)

Exploratory learning is used widely across educational contexts (e.g., Adshead, 1993; Snell, 2005), and is enshrined in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (2007) which promotes the goals of producing "critical and creative thinkers", and "active seekers, users and creators of knowledge" (p. 8). Exploratory learning involves a process of discovery that allows learners to develop their individual conceptualizations of culture and to de-centre from their taken-for-granted cultural world (Byram, 2006a; Finkbeiner, 2006; Kramsch, 2006). For students studying their heritage or community language, the experience can resonate strongly with their identity. A Year 12[3] Samoan student studying the Samoan language at school commented to us:

> At home we speak the language but at school we go deep down in the culture. At home we just talk…but at school we learn and practise how to do the Samoan things.

As learners begin to understand the concept of culture and cultural differences, they understand that culture learning is about observing and analyzing what Byram calls "social processes and their outcomes" (1997, p. 19) and about developing sensitivity to how culture affects behaviour and language use. This allows learners to challenge and replace cultural stereotypes with more empathetic and self-aware perceptions and attitudes (Kramsch, 2006). In response to a question on the value of learning Korean as a second language at school, a Korean language teacher made the following comment:

> [They learn] learning skills; how to work things out on their own. When they meet people from other cultures outside school they can use this experience for figuring things out, being more comfortable talking to someone who doesn't speak much English.

Two Year 11[4] Japanese language students who were asked a similar question replied:

> So you are not one-minded. You can see another culture other than your own. You're not thinking my culture's the best culture; it's the only way to be.

> Learning Japanese will help me not only handle Japanese but other cultures as well, like in England or somewhere else because you know that your culture is not the only culture out there.

An emphasis on exploration does not preclude traditional approaches to culture, including information about other countries, institutions, societies and histories. Indeed, Byram (1997) argues that teachers should combine approaches, but that ultimately learners should be encouraged to see cultural information as subjective and dynamic. A number of authors also emphasize the importance of teachers involving themselves in the process of exploring culture alongside students, modeling openness to new ideas and engaging students as partners in constructing new knowledge (Byram and Cain, 1998; Phillips, 2003). This idea is

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[3] Year 12 students are typically 16-17 years of age.
[4] Year 11 students are typically 15-16 years of age.

congruent with the important concept of *Ako*[5] in *Kaupapa Māori*[6] (Bishop, Berryman, and Richardson, 2002).

A further dimension of exploratory intercultural learning which we think is particularly well suited to fostering divergent 'ways of thinking' is language instruction that includes explicit, guided cultural comparisons. Leading international scholars in intercultural language learning have written extensively on the insights into self and others that can be achieved through guided comparisons between cultures (Byram, 2003, 2006a; Kramsch, 1993, 2006). In increasingly multicultural classrooms, these comparisons and connections can be multi-faceted as learners explore and share one another's cultures while cooperatively exploring a new culture and learning a new language. The following comment by a Year 12 Samoan student studying the Samoan language at school illustrates this:

> Learning Samoan, we compare the Samoan way with the Kiwi way…We see that we are kind of similar. It helps you to solve problems the Palagi [European] way.

Two teachers (of French and Korean respectively) further highlight gains in cultural awareness obtained through language learning:

> Even students who are not good at the language develop a sense that they have a culture and that other cultures are equal.

> Learning Korean helps them to be more culturally aware of who they are and how other cultures can be different.

For comparisons to be effective they must be reflective and interpretive, drawing on learners' current knowledge as well as new knowledge being introduced. This is captured in the three steps that make up the *ABC's cultural understanding and communication* learning tool (Finkbeiner, 2006):

Table 3. The three steps of the ABC's *(Finkbeiner, 2006)*

A as in Autobiography
Each learner writes or narrates relevant aspects and/or key events from his or her autobiography.

B as in Biography
Learners cooperate with a partner from a different cultural background. Each of them conducts an in-depth, audio or videotaped interview with a partner from a culture different from his or her own. The interviewer will then construct a biography describing the key events in that person's life.

C as in Cross-Cultural Analysis and Appreciation of Differences
Learners study their autobiographies and compare them to the biographies they have written. They write down a list of the similarities and differences.

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[5] *Ako* - describes a teaching and learning relationship in which 'the educator is also learning from the student … . *Ako* is grounded in the principle of reciprocity and also recognises that the learner and *whānau* cannot be separated.' (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 20).
[6] Māori philosophy, worldview and cultural principles (Smith, 2003, p. 8).

The third step in the ABC's model touches on Kramsch's statement that "it is through the eyes of others that we get to know ourselves and others" (1993, p. 222). Comparison of a target culture with one's own culture is *not* an end in itself, but is instead a process designed to facilitate movement by the learner into "a third place" (Kramsch, 1993). This third place is an intercultural position between cultures, a position from which the learner can negotiate differences and interact comfortably across cultures by drawing on "a reflective capacity to deal with cultural differences and to modify behaviour when needed" (Dellit, 2005, p. 17). This notion of a third place and the new way of seeing the world that it entails, is captured in the following comment by a teacher of Korean:

> I make a lot of comparisons. New Zealand life is normal, then I introduce the Korean and it's weird. The students make comparisons. They see things through Korean eyes and they understand differences and be tolerant of the culture.

Comparing cultures is a practical focus for language teaching to allow development of more sophisticated concepts of culture. It also helps to undermine notions of the immutability of cultural values and cross-cultural prejudices. In this way, instruction focused on raising cultural awareness and making connections between cultures aims to produce intercultural speakers, that is, people who can communicate and interact across cultural boundaries from a position of empathetic understanding.

CONCLUSION

The *Citizenship and World-Mindedness* survey identified through empirical research five dimensions of global-mindedness. Further, survey findings suggested three types of experience that positively correlate with it. In this chapter we have sought to show how closely these dispositions align with the construct of intercultural competence. Similarly we have explored ways in which the kinds of experiences which correlate with global-mindedness can be addressed in the language classroom through interculturally informed language teaching. Of all curriculum subjects, the learning of other languages offers perhaps the best opportunities for intensive engagement with cultural diversity and is therefore well placed to foster global-mindedness. Accomplishing this requires commitment to a pedagogy that moves beyond the linguistic and even beyond the communicative, and towards the intercultural in both the content of instruction and in the processes of learning and teaching. It is a reorientation that ties language learning inextricably to education for citizenship (Byram, 2006a, 2006b) and global-mindedness. Openness to diversity, willingness to engage with others and moving away from ethnocentrism in identity construction are all valid and valued outcomes of interculturally informed language teaching and learning, and are highly congruent with the goals of education for global-mindedness. As discussed in this chapter, such a shift involves increasing the opportunities for learners to be involved in genuine social interaction and emphasizing the processes of exploring and constructing cultural understandings, while likewise reducing the traditional emphasis on learning cultural facts. The evidence from the *Citizenship and World-Mindedness* survey suggests that the experiences derived from this kind of interculturally informed pedagogy are formative for the development of global-mindedness.

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Chapter 27

UNPACKING DIVERSITY IN OUTBOUND STUDENT EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this chapter is to look at diversity in relation to outbound international student exchanges. Such exchanges play a role in preparing students for engagement in a complex and diverse world. English-speaking countries such as New Zealand face the problem of an imbalance in the numbers of outbound and inbound exchange students, with low numbers of domestic students going abroad. A research project investigated this problem through case studies of five New Zealand institutions of higher education, and through a survey of undergraduate students. The chapter highlights the barrier monolingualism poses for exchanges and the need to develop diversity in terms of the students participating, the disciplines, and the destinations for exchanges. Examples of effective and innovative initiatives fostering at least one dimension of diversity are provided.

Keywords: *international student exchanges, study abroad, globalisation*

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we look at diversity in the context of international student exchange programmes, specifically in relation to outbound student exchanges. International student exchange programmes enable students to study abroad for credit while paying domestic fees. Usually the exchange is either for one or two semesters. Research on international student exchanges tends to focus on inbound students and issues of inclusion and adaptation (Butcher

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and McGrath, 2004; Kehm and Teichler, 2007; Welikala and Watkins, 2008). This chapter deliberately focuses on outbound student exchanges as a vehicle for educating for engagement with diversity in a global context. Attention is paid to diversity with respect to destinations, participants, and disciplines. The discussion is situated within the context of international education and the imperatives on higher education to graduate students able to engage in global contexts. The problem that monolingualism poses for English-speaking countries is highlighted alongside that of a marked imbalance in numbers of outbound students to inbound students. Material is presented from the research project *Sending our students overseas (SOSO)* on the reasons for New Zealand undergraduates' low uptake of international student exchanges[1]. The section *Implications for teachers and educators and future trends* utilises findings from the review of the literature and the SOSO to advocate for and provide examples of diversity of participation in exchanges including those of previously underrepresented groups and disciplines, and of countries. Particular attention is paid to initial teacher education programmes, ERASMUS[2], and foreign-language learning. The chapter concludes by stressing the importance of educating students to engage in global contexts, and by noting that this must not be at the expense of educating for engagement with diversity in local contexts.

BACKGROUND

Internationally, governments and higher education institutions are working to effectively respond to the pressures of globalisation (Dodds, 2008; Qiang, 2003). Higher education is expected to graduate students with the skills, knowledge, and dispositions to understand and work in international and globally connected contexts (Brustein, 2007). Educators face the challenge of developing citizens with the sensitivity, awareness, and capabilities to engage with diverse peoples (Cushner, 2007). Global competencies are seen as critical for furthering a raft of high level aspirations including peace, security, social and economic prosperity. At the core of such competencies is recognition of the sometimes profound differences between peoples in terms of worldviews, aspirations, values, languages, power, and ways of interacting (Doyle et al., 2009).

Due to pressures to commercialise higher education and increase revenue sources, international education is now integral to the business of universities. At the undergraduate level, international education is about income generation with countries and institutions competing for full-fee paying foreign students (Marginson, 2004, 2006). Governments frequently support local institutions in competing for a share of the international student market. It is estimated that international students contribute US$12 billion to the United States' economy (Altbach and Knight, 2007).

Higher education in Western countries is increasingly international in terms of the numbers of overseas students on campus, local students studying abroad for at least a semester, the academic staff profile, moves to internationalise curriculum, and a growth in

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[2] ERASMUS is a European Commission programme for cooperation and mobility in higher education in Europe, and the ERASMUS student exchange programme is the major vehicle for study abroad for European students.

arrangements such as joint degrees and overseas campuses (Doyle et al., 2008). Typically, international student exchange agreements are one of many initiatives to internationalise higher education and the student experience. It is noteworthy that student exchanges are not driven by financial goals as the students are not paying fees to the host institution.

International student exchanges are part of a tradition of study abroad dating back to the nineteenth century and to an elite model of higher education where, for example, students from the United States (USA) rounded off their education with a period of study in countries such as England, France, Italy, and Germany. Students from New Zealand went to countries with whom New Zealand has historically had close cultural, economic and security ties: Australia, the USA, and the United Kingdom (UK). Today these destinations remain the most popular not only for study abroad students but for outbound exchange students from Australia, New Zealand, and North America. Such experiences extend rather than confront and transform students' world views, understandings and knowledge in the way that experiences in non-traditional destinations would. In contrast to most of the world, these countries are privileged enclaves that share just one of the world's major languages. They include less than 10% of the world's population in contrast to China and India, which combined make up 40% of the world's population.

> Universite Laval realized a few years ago that 90 percent of its students going to a university abroad for a semester did so to a developed country – gaining a rather incomplete view of the world. (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 2005, p. 4)

There is a danger of the term global coming to signify convergence or commonality, for example, a global company, and thus leading to a lack of engagement with difference. The growth of English as a *lingua franca*[3] exacerbates this problem. Internationally, education has seen high numbers of overseas students studying in English-speaking countries and there are concerns that the internationalisation of higher education is more about marketing and income than about pedagogy or curriculum (Doyle et al., 2008; Marginson, 2006).

Despite the imperatives that exist for countries to have more multilingual citizens, English-speaking countries tend to be stubbornly monolingual with significant declines in the proportion of students studying foreign languages in Australia, New Zealand, and the UK (Doyle et al., 2008; Findlay, King, Stam, and Ruiz-Gellices, 2006; Group of Eight, 2007).

The profile of study abroad students has not shifted to reflect that of the general student population as universities have moved from elite to mass participation. In the United States of America, despite African American, Native American, and Hispanics comprising 30% of the college student population, they represent just 9% of study abroad students. There is a growing recognition that study abroad needs to open up to better reflect the demographic and socio-economic profile of the student body. In the USA as elsewhere there are increasing numbers of mature students, part-time students, students with disabilities, and students with family and employment responsibilities.

A major UK study found that study abroad students were more likely than non-mobile students to be white, young, female, from higher socio-economic backgrounds, have previously been abroad, and to come from a pre-1992 university (higher status, with nearly all

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[3] *Lingua franca* is a term used in business and other contexts for a common language shared among people who are speakers of other languages.

academic staff being research active) with comparatively high numbers of students enrolled in language courses (Findlay et al., 2006). The two most popular destinations for UK study abroad students are the USA and Australia (Sussex Centre, 2004).

A STUDY ON BARRIERS AND INCENTIVES FOR OUTBOUND STUDENT EXCHANGES

A recent research project, *Sending our students overseas: (SOSO),* investigated the low uptake of international exchanges by New Zealand undergraduate students (Doyle et al., 2008). New Zealand has an imbalance of inbound and outbound exchange students with regions the government has identified as important for New Zealand's economic and social futures, including Asia, the Middle East, and South America. Similar problems exist in Australia, the UK, and the USA (Daly and Barker, 2005; Findlay et al., 2006; Olsen, 2008).

The SOSO researchers reviewed a combination of research, policy, and practice literature related to outbound student exchanges in Australia, the European Community, North America, New Zealand, and the UK. Data collection included a survey of first and second year undergraduate students, interviews with outbound students and with staff from five New Zealand universities.

There were 625 respondents to a postal survey of a randomly selected sample of undergraduate students, a response rate of 42%. Two thirds of the respondents were female with 80% being New Zealand European, 8% Māori, 7% Chinese, and 18% "Other" (participants were able to identify with more than one ethnic group). Most were monolingual. Students were asked whether they were fluent in another language and their responses suggest that 90% of the European respondents were monolingual. Even when the criteria were relaxed from fluency to "some ability to read or write in a language other than English", 84% of New Zealand European students remained in this category. The most common other languages spoken were French, German, Spanish, and Japanese.

Less than a third of the sample had seriously considered going on an exchange. Not surprisingly, one of the perceived obstacles to going on exchange was that of studying in a language other than English. In a related vein, when asked to nominate countries that might interest them as exchange destinations, English-speaking and traditional destinations dominated: the USA, Canada, England, Australia, and Western Europe. In terms of geography and population the potential destinations represent a quarter of the world, but are likely to be places and cultures that the students are most familiar with through schooling, the media, and popular culture. Yet exposure to a different culture or language was identified as the most important benefit for an exchange by the students.

Competence in a foreign language clearly influences participation in exchanges. The English-speaking countries named have between 1 and 3% of undergraduates participating in study abroad. This contrasts with 7% of European Community students participating in the ERASMUS programme (which is not the sole programme for most institutions and countries). Nearly all ERASMUS students are competent in a foreign language; of respondents to a 2004/2005 survey, 97% spoke at least two languages, 75% spoke three or more, and almost a third spoke four or more (Otero and McCoshan, 2006). Nonetheless, Europe is faced with a similar challenge to countries such as the USA, Australia and New

Zealand as to how to equip their people not only to be citizens of Europe but also of the world.

The barriers to exchange identified by the SOSO study echoed those found in similar studies in the UK and Australia (Daly and Barker, 2005; Findlay et al., 2006). Across studies, the major obstacles to studying abroad include:

- financial constraints (the major barrier);
- lack of integration of study abroad into academic programmes;
- inflexible and overfull curricula (e.g., in teacher education);
- lack of faculty involvement and support for study abroad;
- limited views about potential destinations for study abroad;
- lack of language skills; and
- greater institutional emphasis on recruitment of overseas students rather than on outbound schemes.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS/EDUCATORS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Barack Obama was one of the sponsors for an innovative and far reaching piece of legislation designed to dramatically lift numbers of USA students participating in study abroad, the Senator Paul Simon Study Abroad Foundation Act. The legislation is noteworthy within a discussion on global-mindedness with its intention to develop citizens who are informed about the world beyond their borders. The Act provides for funding to be channelled to increase:

- participation in quality study abroad programmes;
- ethnic, socioeconomic, and gender diversity of students participating;
- the range of disciplines represented particularly mathematics, science, and business;
- the range of major foreign languages studied;
- the diversity of study abroad locations, particularly to include developing countries; and
- the importance of study abroad in higher education.

Diversity of Students Participating in Study Abroad

The profile of study abroad and student exchange students rarely reflects the diversity of the student body at large in terms of demographic and disciplinary characteristics. The massification of higher education has led to a more diverse student profile in terms of class, gender, ethnicity, age, and employment status. There has been a growth in the numbers of part-time students who have employment and family responsibilities. There are some promising initiatives which seek to increase either the participation of specific types of students, or to generally increase the participation of groups that have been traditionally underrepresented in study abroad.

The University of Minnesota is one institution that has developed international study opportunities that provide credit and a viable opportunity for students who in the past would not have participated in international education because of their age, family and financial circumstances. These include a short (three weeks) low cost programme based in Ecuador which explores health care issues and is open to students from a range of disciplines.

A number of small scale partnerships have focused on indigenous student exchange. The University of Saskatchewan has a strong programme for Canadian indigenous students and this included a partnership arrangement with Canberra University where Australian Aboriginal Students came to the University of Saskatchewan. The University of Minnesota has a similar arrangement with Curtin University in Australia.

Diversity of Study Abroad Destinations

A programme involving non-traditional destinations for study abroad may also be a vehicle for facilitating the participation of groups underrepresented in study abroad. A good example is that of the University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire which successfully developed programmes to meet the needs of groups it identified as being underrepresented in study abroad opportunities. These groups included students of colour, ethnic minorities, and education and nursing majors. Several hundred of its 10,000 plus student body participate in exchange programmes in education and nursing in Thailand, South Africa, and Costa Rica.

Beyond Borders is a partnership between the University of Florida and three universities in Costa Rica, Germany, and Jamaica. It provides short-term immersion experiences for small groups of students (10-12) which involve volunteer activities aimed to develop cultural competencies and leadership skills. Cultural learning is used to raise awareness of social, political, and environment issues as they exist in the host community. As well as their immersion experience abroad, the students are required to be involved in preparing for and hosting groups from the partner institution.

Diversity of Disciplines Providing Study Abroad Experiences

Integrating study abroad into programmes and freeing up the curriculum enables access to international experiences for a wider range of students. Science students are underrepresented in study abroad and exchange programmes due to strict programme requirements, so institutions need to design programmes to address these barriers (Brenn-White, 2005). Yale University, as part of an ambitious programme aiming to ensure every undergraduate has at least one international experience, identified very low participation in study abroad among science majors as an issue. One of Yale's initiatives has been to include undergraduates in a joint astronomy programme with the Universidad de Chile.

The German Government works with industry to sponsor an academic exchange service (DAAD[4]). One of DAAD's programmes is the Summer Internships in Science and Engineering which pairs North American undergraduate students with German doctoral

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[4] Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD) is the German Academic Exchange Service.

candidates. The interns spend three months working in a laboratory on a science or engineering project, and receive assistance with living costs and accommodation.

Initial Teacher Education Programmes and Overseas Student Exchanges

> A key role for higher education institutions must be to graduate future P-12 teachers who think globally, have international experience, demonstrate foreign language competence, and are able to incorporate a global dimension into their teaching. (Heyl and McCarthy, 2003, as cited in Quezada and Cordeiro, 2007, p. 3)

In New Zealand, as in many other countries, teacher education programmes are untouched by trends to internationalise the campus, the curriculum, or the student experience (Cushner and Mahon, 2002). The education of primary school teachers is usually heavily structured around the national context and curriculum. Countries prefer to train their own primary teachers (Furlong, Barton, Miles, Whitty, and Whiting, 2000). This decreases the likelihood of interactions between international student teachers and local student teachers within teacher preparation. Typically, the curriculum and requirements of teacher education programmes are not conducive to student exchange or other study abroad programmes. Curriculum reform would be required to support the implementation of an active international student exchange programme in teacher education and this would be a worthwhile avenue to pursue. In the New Zealand context geographically close, affordable, and appropriate opportunities for student teacher exchange and placements may be through the University of the South Pacific.

Another promising option is that of overseas student teaching placement. Overseas placements are arrangements that exist within a variety of existing teacher preparation programmes. One long established programme provides student teaching placements in 15 countries for students from a consortium of universities in Canada and the United States (Cushner and Mahon, 2002). Approximately 60-75 students participate annually with most going to English-speaking local schools in countries such as Australia, England, South Africa, and New Zealand. Some students choose American or international schools in non-English-speaking countries including: Costa Rica, Greece, Mexico, and Turkey. The findings from research evaluating the student teaching placement experience suggest that the experience had important benefits for personal and professional development. The most significant impacts were on:

- students' beliefs about self and others;
- improved self-efficacy and self-awareness; and
- professional development in terms of global-mindedness.

ERASMUS as an Exemplar for Student Exchanges and Mobility

The European Commission (EC) funded ERASMUS programme is the largest and most significant of the international exchange programmes. In 2008 about 7% of students from the EC were participating in ERASMUS exchanges, and the EC has set 10% as the target for

2012. It is noteworthy that the UK is moving against the trend and while it has high numbers of inbound ERASMUS students it has significantly lower numbers of outbound students (Findlay et al., 2006).

ERASMUS has contributed significantly to academic cooperation and mobility in Europe. The aims and outcomes of ERASMUS differ from exchanges in other regions in that it contributes to the development, not just to the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), but to Europe and the identity of a citizen of Europe – where being European may sit alongside nationality (Findlay et al, 2006; Osler, 1998). These have been significant shifts for most of Europe, and have required individuals, faculties, institutions and governments to actively engage beyond national borders and to articulate what is non-negotiable and what is open to either diverse perspectives or to change. Education has been a major force in the movement to Europeanisation.

Foreign Language Learning

The monolingualism of New Zealand students and the resulting barriers this creates for engaging in study abroad experiences was highlighted in the SOSO study. There is clearly a need to increase the opportunities for students at all levels to learn other languages. A useful model to support students in the acquisition of another language is the *Erasmus Intensive Language Courses (ELCS).* This initiative was designed for students entering an ERASMUS placement in a country with what is deemed a less common language, that is a language other than English, French, German, or Spanish. Often the student is going to a country such as the Netherlands where their university studies will be English but participation in social and cultural life will be enhanced by language skills. The six-week courses are free to the students and are held in the host country, with some countries providing additional financial support.

Efforts by monolingual countries such as Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom to increase initiatives to support the learning of languages other than English in the school system will contribute to preparing citizens of the future to engage with people with other languages. However, such initiatives do little to address the monolingualism of current students in higher education or of those citizens who have already graduated from the school system. This is where innovative and bold initiatives are needed to increase second and third language learning and fluency among those who have completed their schooling but who will be in the labour-force for many years. A 20-year-old undergraduate student is likely to be in the workforce for forty or more years. Many of the people who will be future leaders of countries, regions, cities, industry, companies, sport, and culture have already exited the school system. The imperatives of the twentieth-century world call for language learning opportunities for not only all students but for all citizens.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined diversity in an international setting paying particular attention to student exchange programmes. Student exchange programmes can contribute to developing citizens with the intercultural knowledge and sensitivies and foreign language competence

required in a more globalised world. A more expansive approach to study abroad would see increased numbers of students studying in non-traditional destinations and participation that reflected the diversity of the student body. Ideally study abroad would be a component of all programmes regardless of discipline, including the sciences and teacher education, and would include options that took account of diverse circumstances. A concerted effort is needed in New Zealand and other English-speaking nations to increase foreign language learning in order to enhance communication and engagement with diverse cultures and peoples.

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Chapter 28

LOCAL, REGIONAL, AND PROVINCIAL STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OPEN LEARNING STRUCTURES FOR RURAL COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

Rural schools in New Zealand and Atlantic Canada pioneered the development of open learning structures to facilitate collaborative teaching and learning preceding and following the introduction of the internet. This chapter outlines two stages in the development of rural education provision in New Zealand based on institutional collaboration followed by the export of the model to Canada where it was extended. Institutional collaboration provided a foundation for the development of e-learning in and between rural schools in both countries and, thereby, the enhancement of educational opportunities in communities located beyond major centers of population.

Keywords: *collaborative teaching, correspondence school, e-learning*

INTRODUCTION

Most countries have to make provision for the education of young people who live beyond major centers of population (Bell and Sigsworth, 1987; Skene, 1990). Responses to this policy issue have been diverse and, accordingly, rural education has changed over the last two decades. The introduction of the internet and, through it, the creation of new structures and processes for the delivery of teaching and learning to small schools in remote communities, has facilitated increased access to both teaching and learning (Brown,

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Sheppard, and Stevens, 2001). Nowhere has this been more apparent than in rural New Zealand.

New Zealand is one of the most isolated countries in the world and within it there are many small schools in its diverse rural communities. It could be argued that young people educated in rural New Zealand are doubly isolated: first because of the location of their country and second, because of the location of their homes that are often distant from major centers of population. The issue of educational isolation has been met in New Zealand by the introduction of internet-based structures and processes that link schools and turn the space between them into extended teaching and learning environments (Ministry of Education, 2006). A significant feature of rural education in New Zealand that has characterized its development over the last two decades has been its connectivity. To an increasing extent schools in small and isolated communities have developed and maintained teaching and learning links with a range of other educational institutions so that today, while many are small in terms of the number of students who attend them, in person, on a daily basis, many are, in fact, large educational institutions when the range of learning experiences they can provide is considered.

The development of open learning structures in rural communities, or schools that are linked to other schools for teaching and learning, can be considered in three dimensions: locally, at the regional level in New Zealand, and, in the case of Canada, provincially. At the local level there have been two dimensions to rural education in New Zealand: the provision of community schools and the presence of the New Zealand Correspondence School. At the regional level intranets have enabled classes to be linked within and between districts preceding the advent of the internet in New Zealand, and later enhanced by it. At the provincial level there has been a move from closed to open teaching and learning structures in Atlantic Canada that has been shaped by innovations in rural regions of New Zealand (Stevens, 2000, 2003).

THE FIRST STAGE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL CONNECTIONS

Many New Zealanders have been educated in small schools in rural communities. Rural schools are often central to the life of their communities and in addition to the provision of formal education, often serve as meeting places and social centers. As well as reflecting and strengthening the life of their communities, these schools mediate the non-local world that is not based on primary production such as agriculture, forestry, fishing or mining, thereby introducing young people in sparsely-populated areas to other ways of life based on different economic activities.

A policy issue facing governments in many parts of the world is the provision of education in sparsely-populated areas that is at least as good as that available to students in urban centers. A related policy issue has been the viability of small schools in rural communities, many of which have declining enrolments. It becomes difficult to justify the appointment of teachers, particularly subject specialists at the high school level, when small schools are becoming smaller as families leave rural communities to settle in urban centers. The local school has always been, and remains, the cornerstone of rural education for

communities located beyond major centers of population. However, some young people have to travel considerable distances to attend these schools.

The Correspondence School has a unique role in New Zealand education and provided the initial stage of open learning in this country. The Correspondence School is the largest school in the country in terms of student enrolment and it has diverse functions, one of which is to supplement the education of small schools in rural communities if classroom instruction is not available on-site on a regular basis because of lack of staff or lack of sufficient numbers to constitute a class. The New Zealand Correspondence School also provides education for the very isolated for whom attendance at a rural school is not possible, for people who want "second chance" education, for itinerants, for New Zealanders who are traveling overseas and for those who are incarcerated. The Correspondence School is therefore an important national institution with a significant role in the education of rural New Zealanders.

As well as providing education for diverse New Zealanders the Correspondence School has been a pioneer in the development of inter-school teaching and learning. From its central location in Wellington, the Correspondence School has enrolled students who attend schools all over New Zealand, providing them with educational opportunities that would not otherwise be available to them. Traditionally, lessons were made available by post, supplemented by radio and television broadcasts and, later, audio and video recordings. The internet has added a new dimension to Correspondence School education and made e-learning possible within some of its courses.

A second model has emerged in the last two decades of rural school to rural school instruction, which differs from that provided by the centralized, urban-based Correspondence School. In the second approach to open learning, the development of regional connections, based increasingly on the internet and an expanding range of information and communication technologies, has brought a new approach to meeting the diverse needs of rural New Zealanders.

THE SECOND STAGE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL CONNECTIONS

Telecommunication technologies have provided ways of sustaining rural educational infrastructures in several regions of New Zealand by enabling teachers and students to electronically link with one another to share resources. The development of e-learning in New Zealand has taken place at a time when many rural schools have been under threat of closure because of their small enrolments and, in accounting terms, their relatively high overheads. A feature of telecommunications technologies in these schools has been the realization by teachers and administrators of their potential to connect one site with another, thereby challenging educational considerations of institutional size, location, and access to human, curriculum, and technological resources.

Almost two decades ago, in pre-internet times, some rural schools in New Zealand were provided with an additional, dedicated telephone line by Telecom New Zealand to enable them to take advantage of developments in the application of information technologies for teaching and learning. By linking computers to telephone lines through modems, audio-graphic technology was developed in several parts of rural New Zealand. Audio-graphic

teaching, as the name suggests, enabled teachers and learners to hear one another and to share print and graphic material on a screen. This elementary form of e-learning served many small communities very effectively. In the Canterbury region of the South Island and the northeast coast of the North Island of New Zealand, where there is a predominantly indigenous (Māori) community, small rural schools formed virtual classes to collaboratively teach senior students in a range of specialized high school subjects. Both teachers and students in a growing number of rural schools in New Zealand developed tele-relationships across multiple sites during the course of a school day.

E-Learning and the Development of Virtual Classes for Rural Māori Communities

In some areas of the northeast coast of the North Island of New Zealand, the population is almost exclusively Māori and many people speak that language fluently. Senior students in three small rural high schools north of the city of Gisborne had considerable success in national examinations in the Māori language. However, success in other subjects for many of these students was difficult to achieve. It was particularly difficult to attract teachers to vacant positions in schools in this part of New Zealand and it was not uncommon for advertised vacancies to attract no applicants at all. In this situation it was not possible to provide students with on-site teachers in all subjects within each school. Many students in this part of New Zealand were, accordingly, enrolled with the New Zealand Correspondence School in Wellington for those high school courses that could not be provided by a teacher on site. To counter the disadvantage of having few on-site teachers in high schools in this part of rural New Zealand, a small, three-site electronic network was developed to share teaching resources. As well as linking with one another, each site had access to several extranets (external systems): larger urban high schools; polytechnics in other parts of the country; and the New Zealand Correspondence School in Wellington. This northeast coast network attracted the attention of educators in the South Island who collaborated with their North Island colleagues in the development of virtual classes for rural communities in the southern part of the country.

E-Learning and the Development of Virtual Classes for Rural South Island Communities

The Canterbury region of the central South Island of New Zealand has many rural communities, each with its own school. By the early 1990s many of these communities were decreasing in size and school enrolments declined as families migrated to cities. Many schools in rural Canterbury faced closure and parents faced the prospect of considerable disruption in the education of their sons and daughters.

The development of an inter-school network that became known as "Cantatech" (The Canterbury Area Schools Technology Project) brought twelve rural schools together to consider ways in which teaching and learning resources could be shared. Each school was able to provide its students with teaching in the core subjects on-site: English, Mathematics,

and Science, as well as instruction in one or two specialized subjects (e.g., French, Japanese, Economics, and Agriculture). By collaborating in the teaching of specialist subjects between the schools in this part of rural New Zealand, senior students who wished to receive instruction in courses not locally available were able to access them from a participating site in the Cantatech network. By mutual consent, designated schools in the Cantatech network accepted responsibility for a particular area of the curriculum in which they had a qualified teacher. In return, schools that provided specialized expertise on-line in a designated area of the curriculum could expect to receive other subjects for the benefit of their own students. As with the northeast coast network, the Cantatech network developed selected extranets to polytechnics and other educational organizations to extend educational opportunities for rural Canterbury students.

By collaborating in the appointment of specialist teachers on each Cantatech site, to avoid duplication of human resources and encourage the development of a wider range of specialist appointments, each school in the network was able to provide its senior students with access to an extended range of learning opportunities. Teachers appointed to any of the Cantatech schools were expected to be able to provide courses in both traditional face-to-face modes, on-site, as well as on-line, as required. The development of the Cantatech network brought many changes in the administrative and academic life of each school. Each school in the network had to academically and administratively interface with each of the other schools in the region and thereby work collaboratively in the interests of a much broader community than its originally-designated local one.

The need to find new solutions for the delivery of education to geographically isolated senior students required that each school in the Cantatech network had to consider the role of information technology in the curriculum. For teachers, students, administrators, and people in each of the participating communities, information technology became a means to enlarge local educational, and indirectly, vocational opportunities. E-teaching and e-learning in rural Canterbury challenged the competitive model in which traditional schools were autonomous and had their own teachers and their own students. By academically and administratively opening to one another within the Cantatech network a collaborative, integrated virtual organization for senior students was developed. The Cantatech network empowered twelve small and geographically isolated schools to deliver, through collaboration, an extended range of subjects to senior students.

The pre-internet collaborative model that was pioneered in these remote areas of New Zealand differed from the centralized Correspondence School model of distance learning which was organized on a (correspondence) school-to-school basis from the central location of the capital, Wellington. The intranets that developed in rural New Zealand were based increasingly on the internet rather than audio-graphic technologies and led to the creation of virtual teaching and learning environments between schools at a regional level. The provision of education in small schools, through the Correspondence School and within regional intranets, added to the diversity of rural education in New Zealand and attracted attention overseas that led to the development of the next stage.

THE THIRD STAGE: THE DEVELOPMENT
OF PROVINCIAL CONNECTIONS

The Cantatech model of rural education provision was exported from New Zealand to the Atlantic Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador when the writer was appointed to an Industry Canada Chair of Tele-Learning (e-learning) in 1997. Newfoundland and Labrador is characterized by its predominantly rural social structure, its distinctive history, and a unique culture. In the 1997-1998 school year, there were 391 schools operating in the province of which 260, or 66%, were located in rural communities. Thirty one percent of schools in the province were designated "small rural schools" (N = 122) and 75 of these had fewer than 100 students. Seventy of these small rural schools are all-grade (kindergarten to year 12, age 5-18), which means that they must offer a senior high school program. The recent re-organization of primary, elementary and secondary education in Newfoundland and Labrador into ten school districts provided an opportunity to develop the first intranet in the province. The concept of schools linking to other schools for collaborative teaching and learning was unknown in this part of the world in 1997. Its introduction signalled a third stage of development of open learning moving from local to regional levels to cross national boundaries from New Zealand to the province of Newfoundland and Labrador in eastern Canada.

In eight schools within the rural Vista School District of Newfoundland and Labrador[1], 55 students were enrolled in Advanced Placement (AP) Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics courses[2]. While AP courses were a well-established feature of senior secondary education in the United States of America and Canada, it was unusual for students to be able to enrol for instruction at this level in small schools in remote communities. Indeed, it was rare to find high school students in small and remote communities anywhere in the world who were provided with instruction in university-level studies. The Vista School District initiative in Canada challenged the notion that senior students in small schools had to leave home to complete their education at larger schools in urban areas. By participating in open classes in real (synchronous) time, combined with a measure of independent (asynchronous) learning, senior students were able to interact with one another through audio, video, and electronic whiteboards. From time to time they met for social occasions and to spend some time with their science teachers in person.

The electronic linking of eight sites within the Vista School District to collaborate in the teaching of AP Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics, and Physics created a series of open classes in rural Newfoundland. The creation of the Vista School District Intranet was an attempt to use information and communication technologies to provide geographically-isolated students with extended educational and, indirectly, vocational opportunities. This was part of a pan-Canadian initiative to prepare people in Canada for the Information Age (Ertl and Plante, 2004; Information Highway Advisory Council, 1997). The development of the intranet within a single school district involved the introduction of an open teaching and learning structure to a closed one consisting of schools that were autonomous entities with their own teachers and

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[1] The Vista School District (District 8) contained 18 schools ranging in student enrolment from 40 to 650.
[2] Advanced Placement (AP) courses are widespread in Canada and the United States of America. They enable senior high school students to begin undergraduate degrees with part of their program completed if these courses are passed at grade levels specified by the university of their choice.

their own students. Adjustments had to be made in each participating site so that administratively and academically, AP classes could be taught.

Research into the organization of senior students who were independent learners in a networked environment in New Zealand (Stevens, 1994) preceded the formation of the Vista Intranet in Canada. Independent learners in New Zealand were found to learn effectively and were able to obtain satisfactory results in national examinations within an electronic network of small rural schools. In the New Zealand situation though, students usually had at least one teacher on site to assist with questions of an academic nature. In the Canadian intranet, this was not always possible. A question facing teachers and researchers in the initial stage of the Vista Intranet in Canada was whether students who were not used to being unsupervised could cope with new freedom and accept increased responsibility for their learning (Sparkes and Williams, 2000). Students were unanimous at the conclusion of the Canadian school year, that to be successful in an AP on-line course, it was necessary to be able to learn independently, cope with a high volume of work, and be willing to ask teachers and other learners questions as they arose (Stevens, 1999).

Intranets had implications for the rural New Zealand and Canadian students who had to interact with teachers and their peers in new ways. In Canada the teaching of four AP Science disciplines in the Vista Intranet took place within classes that were open between participating sites, as in the pre-internet New Zealand audio-graphic networks. The major change for the students in the first intranet in Newfoundland and Labrador was the opportunity to study advanced science subjects, as members of open classes, from their small, remote communities.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The open model challenges the closed model of schooling. The open model is based on schools academically and administratively integrating with one another for at least part of a school day. Information and communication technologies facilitate the linking of classes in schools to share teaching, learning, and resources. In Newfoundland and Labrador and in New Zealand, the open model challenged the closed model of schooling by questioning the need for appointing all teachers to schools, rather than, in appropriate cases, some teachers being appointed to networks of schools. It questions the appropriateness of learners engaging solely with their peers within their own physical classrooms, and it questions the very notion of a school itself.

Intranets had implications for the management of education, based on the need to ensure participating sites collaborate both academically and administratively and that timetables are coordinated. The advent of telecommunications technologies in rural New Zealand schools encouraged exploration of new ways of teaching students. Teachers in the rural New Zealand e-learning networks discovered that teaching across multiple sites is different from teaching in a conventional, face-to-face classroom (Stevens and Moffatt, 2003). Success in teaching students across multiple sites simultaneously, within virtual classes, meant teachers had to engage students in new ways, often by asking many questions during the course of a lesson.

For the teaching profession in both New Zealand and Canada there were three immediate educational implications in the development of virtual classes. First, teaching within the open

structure of an intranet was found to be much more public than teaching face-to-face in traditional (closed) classrooms. One's colleagues could, and frequently did, observe the teaching of on-line classes and were able to observe the teaching methods that were used. Most teachers are not used to teaching in front of their colleagues. This led to considerations of how one communicates, as a teacher, to a virtual class. Second, teaching in an intranet involved the application of a range of information and communication technologies to pedagogy. A decade ago when rural Newfoundland and Labrador schools partially replicated the Cantatech model, there were few guidelines. The initial teachers of AP subjects in the Vista Intranet in Newfoundland and Labrador were conscious of being pioneers, as were the teachers of the northeast Coast and Cantatech networks in New Zealand. Third, the implementation of e-teaching within the open classroom environment of an intranet required the integration of traditional (face-to-face) and virtual classes. With the appointment of lead teachers for selected areas of the curriculum in the Canadian intranet, assisted by on-site colleagues at participating sites, new professional positions emerged (Furey and Stevens, 2008).

CONCLUSION

The changes that have taken place in the organization of rural New Zealand and Canadian classrooms over the last two decades have to be considered in the context of the development of interactive technologies in education (Cavanaugh, 2001; Mathiasen, 2004). Diverse approaches to the provision of education in rural communities were integrated by a common quest for extended learning opportunities for young people whose homes were located beyond major centers of population. As information and communication technologies developed, rural education in both New Zealand and Canada became increasingly open and encouraged innovation (Stevens and Stewart, 2005). The New Zealand Correspondence School pioneered the educational application of radio, audio, and video technologies. The realization that telephone lines could be used in classrooms led to audio-graphic teaching and learning and initial changes in the closed model of schools as autonomous structures. The internet and a growing range of information and communication technologies based on it led to many changes in the organization of rural schools as they academically and administratively opened to one another, facilitating collaboration between teachers and learners across sites.

The integration of virtual educational structures to complement traditional rural schools has led to diverse approaches to the education of young people in small communities that are physically remote from major centers of population (Hawkes and Halverson, 2002). Some schools that are physically small and geographically isolated have become large educational institutions as the range of institutions with which they collaborate expands and, thereby, the range of human and other resources available on-site is extended. As classrooms in traditional rural schools have expanded through the integration of on-site and on-line learning, physical size and location are decreasing in importance.

In the search for ways to extend teaching and learning opportunities in both rural New Zealand and Atlantic Canada, the terms 'rural' and 'school' are challenged. It has become difficult to determine what is meant by a 'school' when some teachers and learners are distant from the physical site that is the focus of a lesson. Should a school include the extent to which

it is electronically open to other educational institutions? Changes that have taken place in the provision of education in geographically-isolated communities in both New Zealand and Atlantic Canada over the last two decades as new technologies have been embraced and integrated in teaching and learning, challenge the notion of 'rural' education. Local, regional and, in Canada, provincial stages of classroom connectivity in the quest for expanded learning opportunities in remote communities, have, arguably, rendered the term 'rural school' obsolete.

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Chapter 29

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This concluding chapter brings together several key themes that have emerged from the chapters in this case-book, including an acknowledgement of the complexity of diversity within educational settings. Furthermore, a number of educator responsibilities are discussed, such as the importance of relationships, individualising teaching, open-mindedness and addressing discrimination.

Keywords: *individualising learning, teacher-learner relationships, discrimination*

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we take the opportunity to highlight and discuss some key themes that are woven through the research presented in each of the preceding chapters. Collectively, this research reveals the complexity that surrounds diversity within educational contexts: both in terms of the many and varied dimensions of diversity that learners bring with them, and in terms of the complex roles and responsibilities demanded in order for educators to be effective teachers of diverse learners.

Our intention in including chapters that focus on many different dimensions of diversity across educational settings from early childhood through to higher education was twofold: firstly, to highlight the breadth of diversity dimensions – and their interconnectedness – that educators might experience within their teaching, and secondly, to provide opportunities for readers to access research that, whilst undertaken in a setting different from their own, could provide insights useful for their own educational situation.

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THE COMPLEXITY OF DIVERSITY

Teachers in educational settings around the world work with children, young people and adults who are individually and collectively increasingly diverse. The chapters contained in this casebook reveal that diversity can be considered over a wide number of dimensions, including cultural and linguistic diversity, family structure, sexual orientation, socio-economic background, and student health and well-being. Every educational setting is likely to include learners with diverse backgrounds from each of these dimensions.

In addition, within each of these dimensions educators are engaging with learners who are increasingly diverse. For example, globalisation has increased the diversity of cultural backgrounds that learners bring to the classroom whilst medical interventions and inclusive educational policies mean that learners with a far greater range of abilities and learning needs are participating in mainstream educational institutions. So, where once there may have been three or four different cultural backgrounds represented within a group of learners in an early childhood centre, school classroom or university lecture theatre, it is not uncommon for there to be significantly more cultures represented in the same centre, classroom and lecture today. Similarly, where educators may once have experienced including one child with a special educational need in their group, it is likely that teachers today will experience working with learners with many different educational needs or disabilities across their teaching careers.

However, considering diversity along a single dimension is, in many situations, simplistic and unhelpful for educators as it implicitly suggests two arguments: firstly, that individual learners are diverse along only one dimension and secondly, that there is homogeneity between learners who share the same element of diversity. As evident from the research presented in this book, both arguments are incorrect. The intertwining of many dimensions of diversity is the reality for children, young people and their families engaged in education across international contexts today. This demands that teachers and educators working in all educational sectors are able to understand and work effectively with learners who present with a complex interplay of diversity dimensions. Even where consideration is being given to a single dimension, such as linguistic diversity or family structure, the research described in this book has highlighted the importance of avoiding stereotypical responses on the basis of that dimension of diversity. Rather it is important to stress the importance of addressing the individual differences and preferences of learners and their families.

Thus, working with diverse learners in educational settings is challenging and places significant demands on teachers. Educators need to have a broad knowledge about diversity as a construct as well as specific in-depth knowledge about the particular dimensions of diversity that are represented within their individual classrooms and educational settings. They then need to be able to translate this knowledge and engage in respectful and positive pedagogical practices (Biddulph, Biddulph and Biddulph, 2003) on a daily basis. The next section of this chapter discusses key points concerning educator responsibilities that have emerged from the chapters in this book.

EDUCATOR RESPONSIBILITIES

The structure of this book includes a focus within each chapter on the implications of the research discussed, in order that educators can consider how the insights gained from the research might be incorporated into their own pedagogical practices as well as into wider educational policies and practices. Acknowledging the responsibility we have, as educators, to support the success of all learners in our educational contexts is a key theme that emerges across the chapters. Our responsibilities as educators cover a number of key roles including the development and maintenance of responsive, inclusive relationships that support diverse learners, individualising learning, being open to alternative ways of being and addressing discrimination.

Relationships

Perhaps the most important role that teachers of diverse learners have involves the development of responsive and reciprocal relationships (Cornelius-White, 2007; Ministry of Education, 1996) that promote a sense of belonging for all members of the learning community. The importance of positive teacher-student relationships and teachers who demonstrate caring for their students has been highlighted as a key mechanism in engaging at-risk students (e.g., Hill and Hawk, 2000). Other research presented here has highlighted the impact of such relationships within specific educational or curriculum contexts, providing readers with practical strategies to support the development of positive teacher-learner relationships.

Individualising Teaching

Several chapters in this case-book have highlighted the importance of individualising teaching to address the specific learning needs of diverse learners. Meeting these individual needs is essential if we are to ensure equitable access to, and engagement in education. Many chapters have provided examples of how teachers, through their commitment to equity, are able to individualise and adapt learning experiences across a range of curriculum content areas in order to meet the needs of diverse learners. In addition, some authors have addressed the common dilemma faced by teachers who, in trying to individualise teaching, feel concern about meeting the needs of the wider group. Applying principles, such as adaptations that do not impact negatively on the rest of the class, is a helpful way for teachers to proceed in dealing with such tensions.

Open-Mindedness

Teaching and learning are located within a socio-cultural context (Hall, Murphy and Solar, 2008) and as such, each educator brings their own understandings, values, beliefs and experiences to their work. Such understandings and experiences have a powerful influence on

how individual teachers interpret their world, including how they interpret the actions and values of learners and their families. Where learners and teachers share similar values and experiences it is considerably easier for both to make connections and develop relationships and less potential for "talking past each other" (Metge and Kinlock, 1984).

Looking across the varied dimensions of diversity discussed by the contributing authors to this book, it is clear that the potential for difference between teacher and learner is great. Many learners will come with experiences, values, beliefs and practices very different from those of their teachers who will, at times, find these differences challenging to understand and to accept. A key challenge for the effective teacher of diverse learners is to be open-minded and accepting of difference in order to build relationships and enable learning to occur. The importance of such open-mindedness is highlighted in a number of chapters within this book, whether in relation to cultural understandings, or new technologies and how they can promote equity and enhance learning in many different situations, or in being open to how non-traditional contexts can combine with educational settings to support learning. In addition, some chapters have emphasised the importance of adolescents and young adults developing their own open-mindedness and broader understandings about the world in order for them to develop into the global citizens of the future.

Addressing Discrimination

In addition to being open to other ways of being and doing, teachers have a responsibility to address discrimination within the learning environment. Several chapters in this volume have reported on the existence of discrimination within educational settings and the negative effects when such discrimination is experienced by learners and their families. Several of the cases presented in this book provide evidence that educators (and at times, learners) were unaware that discriminatory practices existed within the setting, suggesting that on-going work is required to uncover "taken-for-granted" understandings and practices within education and address issues including racism, homophobia and classism.

PRACTICAL STRATEGIES

Collectively, the cases presented in this book demonstrate the complexity of teaching where every learner is representative of different aspects of diversity. Such complexity has the potential to be overwhelming for teachers, especially when considered alongside the other administrative and pedagogical demands that educators face. Thus, reporting on research about diversity is not enough if we want educators to grapple with the issues that arise from such research projects. Rather, teachers need specific strategies that they can consider, adapt and adopt to help them deal with the diversity dimensions present in their particular educational settings. We hope that the framework used within this book, whereby the authors have discussed the implications of their research for teachers, gives the reader some starting points for reflecting on their own practices and some useful ideas for how they might enhance their teaching for diverse learners.

CONCLUSION

As editors, we have been in a privileged position, working with researchers who are deeply committed to equitable and effective education for all learners across all educational settings. The process of editing this book has enhanced our own understandings and knowledge about diversity across a range of dimensions as well as accessing research that we would often not access through our usual networks. We hope that you, as readers of this case-book, have found the research presented here helpful to your own professional development as a teacher in your own educational setting.

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