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EDITORIAL

We would like to open this issue, which marks nearly the end of the second year of our tenure as MJE co-editors, and of the second complete MJE volume that we've shepherded through the publication process, by thanking our reviewers. Over the journal's almost fifty years, our reviewers have come to number almost two thousand (as we learned through a recent count). It is not the faceless two thousand that we wish to acknowledge here, but the individuals behind that daunting number: the ones who, over the course of the last two years, we, as 'green' editors, have relied upon to give of their time in providing appraisals of pieces in various states of being ready (or not yet) for publication. These individuals are academics (established and emerging) who work or conduct research at various universities, English and French, across North America and around the world. As newcomers to journal editing, we hadn't given a great deal of thought to reviewing; it was something that we understood was important to do as academics but that we very much took for granted. In two years, we have learned a great deal from our reviewers, lessons that have no doubt informed our own practices as reviewers for other journals, including "being good" by respecting deadlines: a small but crucial part of the review / publication process. As Anthony Paré, previous editor of the MJE, has remarked (45, 1), the amount of time most reviewers give to thoughtful and often long and detailed reviews is chastening, especially when we consider that reviewers perform this service for a given piece not once but frequently twice, and when we also consider that the value ascribed to academic reviewing (a cornerstone of the publication process, on which we all rely) is rapidly being eroded in favour of other so-called priorities; where even reviewing has become the focus of "cherry-picking:" of being implicitly or explicitly encouraged to undertake only those guaranteed to stand out on a CV or for the purposes of securing merit. And yet we would not be able to exist as a peer-reviewed, open access journal—a common space for scholarly dialogue and exchange on issues important to education locally, nationally and internationally—without that "essential service." All the more reason to take the time to heartfully say: thank you, reviewers! We at the MJE appreciate the work that you have done for all of us, and hope to be able to call on you again in the future. All the best for the new year!

This edition of MJE features eight articles and three book reviews that contribute diverse and enlightening perspectives on a wide spectrum of issues in education. Continuing MJE's tradition of sparking lively debates on various facets of education, these contributions advance our thinking, research, and praxis in relation to supporting teacher development and induction, the creative nexus between community, education, and learning, and prevailing gender discrepancies in educational leadership in the 21st century. At the same time, we draw attention to the diverse theoretical and empirical approaches and tools that these articles contribute to the field of educational research. The research paradigms and methodologies span: qualitative, action research, mixed-methods design, and quantitative research; critical analysis, extended reflective conversations, and focus group dialogues. Three of the articles are situated in Australia but, as with the other articles, with implications worldwide for other communities or jurisdictions.

A number of contributions underscore the importance of cultivating effective values in the context of curriculum and program change. While McGregor argues for creating curricula that are situated in their respective communities reflecting community knowledge and values, Stewart and Altruz illuminate the value of combining community service with reflective activities to foster students' cognitive and emotional mindfulness. Extending this notion to teacher education, Harrison, Lautensach and McDonald elucidate how values inspire attempts to create culturally safe teaching and learning experiences in teacher education. In this context, they point to the importance of employing action research to engage teachers in investigating and reflecting on their experiences of cultural safety. Action research also features as an effective tool to achieve authentic praxis in teacher education in Loughland and Bowen's article. In a similar vein, Anderson and Freebody maintain that a community of praxis approach is vital to merge theory and practice in professional development programs for prospective and beginning teachers. Cummings-Potvin and Sokal also share their perspectives on supporting teacher development through creating meaningful communities of practice. Scaffolding teacher learning and identity through literacy interactions with their children, peers, and experts and collaborative reflections helps to nurture communities of practice. Likewise, Sokal's work illustrates that working in interdependent collaborative teams is a critical factor in supporting beginning inclusive educators' learning and growth. Wallin takes a different tack, drawing back the curtain to point to grave gender disparities in senior leadership positions in education, of the kind that can inhibit the kinds of praxis and community attained or aspired to in the other articles in this issue. Wallin specifically raises concerns about the unduly low representation of women in senior leadership positions. Brief abstracts of each of the articles follow.

Heather McGregor in "Curriculum Change in Nunavut: Towards Inuit Qauji-matatuqangit" opens a window into curriculum change in Canada's North

in the critical period of 1985 to 2007, during which time Nunavut separated from the Northwest Territories and created its own self-government. McGregor, who is white but grew up in the North and calls it home, shows how with each successive change, curriculum content has moved towards a deeper appropriation of Inuit knowledge. The 2007 curriculum is most explicit about how elders will help young people not only understand the past but navigate the present. McGregor emphasizes the importance of entrenching Inuit beliefs and values in the curriculum, articulation of values being one of a six-pronged approach to actualizing and sustaining an Inuit vision of curriculum; the other five are: long-term mandate, sustained community involvement, articulation of knowledge, material development, and attention to pedagogies.

Stewart and Altruz draw our attention to the importance of creating holistic learning experiences aimed at cultivating meaningful connections between action and reflection in their article, "Comparison of the Effects of Reflection and Contemplation Activities on Service-Learners' Cognitive & Affective Mindfulness." This research looks at the effects of individually directed contemplation and reflective dialogue activities on elementary students' conceptual and affective mindfulness. Study participants were 5th-grade students who had completed an environmental science, service-learning program as part of their science curriculum. Stewart and Altruz were particularly interested in investigating the extent to which service-learners' mindfulness is affected by engagement in reflective dialogues with their peers and individual contemplation activities (e.g., labyrinth tracing). Although they did not find any statistically significant differences between the two treatment groups, the authors report that each group's mindfulness score increased on the post-test. Given the current emphasis on high-stakes testing and accountability, these kinds of holistic learning experiences are important to support children's affective and social development. Stewart and Altruz suggest that infusing contemplative and reflective practices into the curriculum would promote students' reflective thinking and mindfulness.

Harrison, Lautensach and McDonald's "Moving from the Margins: Culturally Safe Teacher Education in Remote Northwestern BC" uses three different perspectives from which to contribute to culturally safe places in a Northwestern British Columbia teacher education program, in which 55% of the school population is Indigenous and 7 of the 29 student teachers in the cohort under consideration were Indigenous. By culturally safe, the authors mean "growing beyond reflecting on one's own cultural identity and the impact of that identity on one's practice, into acknowledging the dynamics in cross-cultural identities over time, and appreciating the diversity of the lived experiences in Northwest BC." They arrive at this definition through reflection on three 'program interventions': one involving space (re-conceiving the territory on which course content is taught; re-conceiving the occupation of space in the university classroom), one involving discussion of how values influence teach-

ing and learning through the hidden curriculum, and a third involving the use of action research projects to help teachers address issues and questions arising from their own experiences of cultural safety within the teacher education program. The article addresses various "on the ground" ways in which programs can become more accountable to the populations they serve while also deepening and extending the learning process for all.

Loughland and Bowen reflect upon the deployment of action research in pre-service teacher education at the University of Sydney, Australia, where student teachers completed an action research subject simultaneously with their 9-week internship. Their article, "Action Research Built on Uncertain Foundations: The Internship and Action-Research in a Graduate Teaching Degree" results from a teacher-student / colleague conversation sustained over two years. The authors, from their respective perspectives as a graduate of the Master of Teaching program (Bowen) and the program coordinator (Loughland), analyze structural factors that constitute what they view as "uncertain foundations" of the action research capstone. In doing so, they also interrogate the sustainability of action research as a method, goal or underpinning foundation for teacher education in an age of increased compliance enforced through the audit culture of the graduate teacher standards in Australia. In reflecting on the implications for the use of action research as a pedagogy of teacher education, Loughland and Bowen argue that action research would be more authentic if a phronetic model of teacher education underpinned the entire program rather than just the final internship.

In their article, "Developing Communities of Praxis: Bridging the Theory Practice Divide in Teacher Education," Anderson and Freebody outline the development and evaluation of a professional experience program run in the Drama Curriculum units, also at the University of Sydney. They contend that teacher education, like all professional disciplines, is in a constant struggle to remain relevant to the profession it prepares students for. The program discussed here was developed to respond to the concern that there is a dichotomy between educational theory and practice in supporting the development of beginning teachers. The program, known as the *community of praxis* approach, is informed by the community of practice model (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and understandings of praxis (Freire, 1972). The authors explore the evaluation data to make comments about the ability of the approach to: reconcile theory and research in education with the everyday practice of teaching, help pre-service teachers develop their identity as drama teachers, and build understanding of the importance of reflective practice in Drama education.

In "Negotiating Worlds, Words and Identities: Scaffolded Literacies for Pre-service Teachers and Children," Cumming-Potvin critiques current "back to basics" literacy policy and curriculum changes, also in Australia, and advocates for deeper and more complex conceptualizations of pre-service teacher identity

in light of the multiple contexts in which they encounter literacy. In particular, she identifies the importance of scaffolding to identity construction: scaffolding of pre-service teachers by one another as well as by teacher educators; pre-service teachers' scaffolding of their learning through literacy interactions with their children (by extension, their students). Cumming-Potvin uses Gee's theory of multiple selves to show how teachers negotiated their identities across three situations created by the study: scaffolded face-to-face learning, on-line learning, and interactions of the teachers (as parents) in shared-book reading experiences with their respective children. While all three situations yielded interesting results, Cumming-Potvin identifies asynchronous online discussion as most conducive to reflection over time as the teachers constructed a community of practice.

The current emphasis on inclusive and equal learning opportunities for all students in Canada inspired Sokal to investigate the attributes of inclusive educators in her contribution, "What are Schools Looking for in New, Inclusive teachers?" Through focused conversations with school administrators and inclusive educators from various school divisions (inner-city, suburban, and rural) in Manitoba, Sokal hoped to illuminate the essential knowledge base, skills, and dispositions that are deemed desirable in novice inclusive teachers. Strikingly, study participants did not identify any essential knowledge-base for inclusive educators. Rather, they emphasized the development of particular skills and attitudes, such as flexibility ~ the ability to develop strategies that are effective within specific contexts in response to student needs; working as members of inter-dependent teams; and effective communication with colleagues and parents. Finally, the participants highlighted the importance of fostering a life-long learning and growth-seeking attitude in teachers. Sokal contends that a "specific knowledge base exclusive to inclusive teaching is non-existent" (p. 416) as "good inclusive teaching is simply good teaching intensified" (p. 416). Therefore, these skills and attitudes constitute vital elements of teacher education programs for inclusive educators.

In her article entitled, "An Empirical Study of the Career Paths of Senior Educational Administrators in Manitoba, Canada: Implications for Career Development," Wallin looks at the career paths of senior educational administrators in Manitoba. In exploring the various factors that shape senior administrators' career trajectories, Wallin highlights the disproportionately low representation of women in senior administrative positions (i.e., superintendency). In her complex portrayal of this issue, Wallin reveals the intricate manner in which context, sex, and position interact to create career disparities between male and female administrators. Notably, these factors work together to "form queues based on leaves from service, and create discrepancies on the experiences of career supports and work challenges" (p. 421) The gendered norms and their implications are exemplified by various trends illuminated by this study. For instance, men avoided taking parenting leaves and were more likely to make

career decisions independently. Women administrators, on the contrary, were more likely to utilize "maternity leave clauses" and also tended to "follow their husband's careers." Further, women constantly struggle to find ways to balance family and career demands, while their male counterparts can focus more exclusively on their professional careers.

We hope that you will enjoy these scholarly perspectives on educational research and praxis and will consider contributing to these discussions either through your own submissions to the MJE, or by participating in the MJE Forum.

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ÉDITORIAL

Nous désirons débuter cette édition, dont la publication coïncide presque avec la fin de notre deuxième année de mandat comme corédacteurs de la Revue des sciences de l'éducation (RSÉ) – ainsi qu'avec le second volume de la RSÉ dont nous pilotons le processus de publication – en remerciant nos réviseurs. Au cours de la cinquantaine d'années d'existence de la Revue, près de 2 000 réviseurs ont collaboré à la RSÉ (c'est ce que nous avons appris via un récent décompte). Or, ce n'est pas cet anonyme « 2 000 » dont nous désirons souligner la contribution aujourd'hui, mais bien chacun des invididus composant ce nombre impressionnant. Ces collaborateurs à qui nous avons pu faire confiance, nous, les rédacteurs « inexpérimentés » durant les deux dernières années pour consacrer une partie de leur temps à fournir leurs commentaires sur des articles plus ou moins prêts pour publication. Ces chercheurs universitaires (reconnus ou émergents), anglophones ou francophones, travaillent ou poursuivent des travaux de recherche au sein de diverses universités en Amérique du Nord ou autour du monde. Nouveaux venus dans le domaine de la rédaction journalistique, nous avons consacré bien peu de temps à réfléchir au processus de révision. Pour nous, il s'agissait d'un processus important du domaine universitaire, mais que nous tenions comme acquis. En deux ans, nous avons énormément appris grâce à nos réviseurs, acquis des connaissances qui ont sans nul doute orienté nos pratiques comme réviseurs au sein de d'autres publications, incluant « être gentil », en respectant les délais, une petite mais fondamentale dimension du processus de révision/publication. Comme Anthony Paré, un ancien rédacteur de la RSÉ, le soulignait (45, 1), « la majeure partie des réviseurs consacrent un temps impressionnant à produire une révision réfléchie, souvent longue et détaillée, particulièrement dans un contexte où les réviseurs effectuent ce travail pour un même article non pas une, mais souvent deux fois. Un contexte où la valeur accordée à la révision académique (un fondement du processus de publication et duquel nous dépendons tous) perd rapidement son importance au profit de d'autres « priorités ». Un contexte où les réviseurs ont avantage à être sélectifs, dans lequel ils sont encouragés implicitement ou explicitement à choisir uniquement les mandats qui pourront avantageusement apparaître dans leur curriculum vitæ ou leur donner de la visibilité. Or, nous ne pourrions exister comme

revue accessible à tous, révisée par les pairs – un espace commun invitant au dialogue académique et aux échanges sur des problématiques importantes en éducation au plan local, national et international – sans ce « service essentiel ». D'où l'importance de prendre le temps pour dire du fond du cœur : merci, réviseurs! Nous, à la RSÉ, apprécions tout le travail que vous faites pour nous et espérons pouvoir faire appel à vous dans le futur. Nos meilleurs vœux pour la prochaine année!

Cette édition de la Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill (RSÉ) comporte huit articles et trois critiques de livres offrant des perspectives diverses et éclairées sur un éventail de problématiques en éducation. Fidèle à la tradition de la RSÉ de susciter des débats animés sur de multiples aspects de l'éducation, ces articles font évoluer notre pensée, nos recherches et nos pratiques. Ils permettent donc de mieux supporter la formation et l'intégration des enseignants et le lien créatif entre la communauté, l'éducation et l'apprentissage ainsi que de mieux comprendre les disparités existantes entre les sexes lorsqu'il est question du leadership dans le domaine de l'éducation au 21ᵉ siècle.

Par ailleurs, nous attirons votre attention sur la variété d'approches théoriques et empiriques et d'outils présentés par ces articles, tous des contributions au milieu de la recherche en éducation. Les paradigmes et les méthodologies de recherche couvrent la recherche qualitative, la recherche-action, les méthodologies diverses, la recherche quantitative, l'analyse critique, les longues conversations réflexives et les groupes de discussion. Bien que provenant d'Australie, trois des articles présentent – comme tous les autres articles – des données ayant des implications au niveau international ou encore, pour d'autres communautés ou juridictions.

Plusieurs articles soulignent l'importance de cultiver des valeurs d'efficacité lorsqu'il s'agit de modifier les programmes d'enseignement. Alors que McGregor recommande de créer des programmes ancrés dans leurs communautés respectives et en reflétant les connaissances et les valeurs, Stewart et Altruz mettent en lumière la pertinence de combiner les services communautaires à des activités de réflexion encourageant la conscience cognitive et affective des apprenants. Appliquant cette notion à la formation des enseignants, Harrison, Lautensach et McDonald précisent de quelle manière les valeurs inspirent l'élaboration d'initiatives visant à mettre en place des expériences d'enseignement et d'apprentissage culturellement sécuritaires en contexte de formation des enseignants. En fait, ils soulignent l'importance d'utiliser la recherche-action pour impliquer les enseignants dans un processus d'analyse et de réflexion concernant leurs expériences de sécurité culturelle. La recherche-action constitue également un outil efficace dans l'atteinte d'une pratique authentique en formation des enseignants, comme l'expriment Loughland et Bowen dans leur article. De façon similaire, Anderson et Freebody affirment qu'une approche de communauté de praxis est fondamentale pour allier la théorie et la pratique

au sein des programmes de formation professionnelle destinés aux futurs et aux nouveaux enseignants. Cummings-Potvin et Sokal partagent aussi leurs points de vue sur la manière de soutenir le développement des enseignants en créant des communautés de pratique significatives. Ainsi, soutenir l'apprentissage et la formation de l'identité des enseignants à l'aide d'interactions en littératie avec leurs enfants, leurs collègues et des experts et de collaborations facilitant la réflexion favorise, selon les auteurs, le développement des communautés de pratique. De même, les travaux de Sokal montrent que la possibilité de travailler au sein d'équipes interdépendantes et collaboratives constitue un facteur critique au soutien de l'apprentissage et de la croissance des nouveaux enseignants en milieu inclusif. Wallin adopte un angle différent, levant le voile sur les graves disparités prévalant entre les sexes lorsqu'il s'agit des postes de direction en éducation, disparités de nature à entraver le type de praxis ou de communauté mis en place ou recherché et décrit dans les autres articles de cette édition. Wallin exprime des inquiétudes particulières en ce qui a trait à la representation excessivement faible des femmes dans les postes de direction senior. De courts résumés de chacun des articles suivent.

Heather McGregor, dans son article, « Changement des programmes au Nunavut : vers l'Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit », nous introduit aux changements de programme initiés de 1985 à 2007, une période critique dans le nord canadien, période durant laquelle le Nunavut s'est séparé des Territoires du Nord-Ouest et a créé son propre gouvernement. McGregor, une Blanche ayant grandi dans le Nord et s'y sentant chez elle, démontre comment les changements successifs ont insufflé aux programmes une compréhension de plus en plus approfondie du savoir inuit. Ainsi, le programme de 2007 explique de manière plus explicite de quelle facon les aînés peuvent aider les jeunes non seulement à comprendre le passé mais aussi à mieux vivre dans le présent. McGregor souligne l'importance de refléter les croyances et les valeurs inuit dans le programme, ce qui constitue un des six axes d'une approche visant à actualiser et maintenir une vision inuit des programmes. Les cinq autres dimensions sont un mandat à long terme, une implication communautaire soutenue, l'articulation des connaissances, le développement matériel et une attention particulière aux méthodes pédagogiques.

Quant à Stewart et Altruz, ils attirent notre attention sur l'importance d'initier des expériences d'apprentissage holistiques cherchant à entretenir des liens significatifs entre l'action et la réflexion avec leur article « Comparaison des effets des activités de réflexion et de contemplation sur la conscience cognitive et affective des apprenants par le service communautaire » Cette recherche examine les effets de la contemplation dirigée individuellement et des activités de réflexion par le dialogue sur le niveau de conscience conceptuelle et affective d'élèves du primaire. Les participants à l'étude étaient des élèves de 5ᵉ année ayant complété une expérience de service communautaire en science environnementale dans le cadre de leur programme de sciences. Stewart et Altruz

étaient particulièrement intéressés à étudier jusqu'à quel point la conscience des apprenants est influencée par l'obligation de prendre part à des dialogues axés sur la réflexion avec leurs pairs et à des activités individuelles de contemplation (c.à.d. création de labyrinthes). Même s'ils n'ont pas découvert de différences statistiquement significatives entre les deux groupes expérimentaux, les auteurs signalent que le résultat relatif au niveau de conscience de chaque groupe a augmenté lors du post-test. Considérant l'accent actuellement mis sur les tests standardisés et la reddition de comptes, ce type d'expériences holistiques devient important pour soutenir le développement affectif et social des enfants. Stewart et Altruz recommandent d'intégrer des pratiques de contemplation et de réflexion au sein des programmes, afin d'encourager la pensée réflexive et la conscience chez les élèves.

Harrison, Lautensach et McDonald, dans leur article « Sortir de la marge: une formation culturellement sécuritaire des enseignants dans le lointain nord de la Colombie-Britannique » présentent trois perspectives différentes pouvant contribuer à créer des lieux culturellement sécuritaires au sein d'un programme de formation des enseignants offert dans le Nord-ouest de la Colombie-Britannique. Dans ce programme, 55% des étudiants et 7 des 29 enseignants de la cohorte à l'étude sont autochtones. Les auteurs définissent le concept de « culturellement sécuritaire » comme « aller au-delà de l'image renvoyée par leur propre identité culturelle et de l'effet de cette identité sur leurs pratiques pour reconnaître les forces des identités interculturelles au fil du temps et apprécier la diversité des expériences vécues dans le Nord-ouest de la Colombie-Britannique. » Ils formulent cette définition en analysant « trois initiatives du programme ». Une implique l'espace (repenser le territoire sur lequel le contenu du cours est enseigné; repenser l'utilisation de l'espace dans la salle de cours), une autre fait référence à une discussion de la manière dont les valeurs influencent l'enseignement et l'apprentissage via le programme informel et une dernière concerne l'utilisation de projets de recherche-action pour aider les enseignants à faire face aux problématiques et questions relatives à leurs propres expériences de sécurité culturelle au sein du programme de formation des enseignants. Cet article aborde différentes manières provenant « du terrain » pouvant être déployées dans les programmes pour rendre des comptes aux populations desservies tout en approfondissant et en élargissant le processus d'apprentissage de tous.

Loughland et Bowen effectuent une réflexion sur le déploiement de la recherche-action, telle qu'utilisée dans la formation des futurs enseignants à l'Université de Sydney, en Australie, où les étudiants en enseignement effectuent un projet de recherche-action au cours d'un stage de 9 semaines. Leur article, «Recherche-action élaborée sur des bases incertaines: le stage et la recherche-action dans les programmes de maîtrise en enseignement » est le résultat de conversations fréquentes entre un étudiant en enseignement et un collègue pendant deux ans. À partir de leurs perspectives d'étudiant gradué

du programme de maîtrise en enseignement (Bowen) et de coordonnateur de programme (Loughland), les auteurs ont analysé les facteurs structurels qui constituent ce qu'ils considèrent les « bases incertaines » des fondements de la recherche-action. Ce faisant, ils questionnent aussi la viabilité de la recherche-action comme moyen, but ou fondement sous-jacent à la formation des enseignants, à une époque où la culture de vérification amène les enseignants à la maîtrise en Australie à préconiser une conformité accrue aux standards. Réfléchissant aux implications de l'utilisation de la recherche-action comme méthode pédagogique en formation des enseignants, Loughland et Bowen avancent que la recherche-action serait plus authentique si un modèle phronétique de la formation des enseignants soutenait le programme dans son ensemble plutôt que seulement le dernier stage.

Dans l'article « Développer des communautés de pratique: combler le fossé entre la théorie et la pratique au sein de la formation des enseignants », Anderson et Freebody passent en revue le développement et l'évaluation d'un programme d'expérience professionnelle proposé à l'Université de Sydney, dans le cadre des unités de son programme d'art dramatique. Ils soutiennent que la formation des enseignants, comme c'est le cas dans toutes les professions, vit un combat constant pour demeurer pertinente en regard du domaine pour lequel elle prépare ses élèves. Le programme dont il est question dans ce texte a été développé pour répondre à l'existence problématique d'une dichotomie entre la théorie et la pratique éducationnelles pour soutenir le développement des nouveaux enseignants. Ce programme, nommé *communauté de pratique*, s'inspire du modèle de la communauté de pratique (Lave et Wenger, 1991) ainsi que des concepts de praxis (Freire, 1972). Les auteurs explorent les données d'évaluation pour formuler des commentaires sur l'aptitude à: réconcilier la théorie et la recherche en éducation avec les besoins de la pratique quotidienne de l'enseignement, soutenir les futurs enseignants dans le développement de leur identité comme enseignants en art dramatique et à élaborer une compréhension de l'importance de la pratique réflexive en enseignement de l'art dramatique.

Dans « Négocier les mondes, les mots et les identités: soutien à l'apprentissage des littératies pour les futurs enseignants et les enfants » Cumming-Potvin remet en question la tendance actuelle de « retour aux sources » prônée dans les politiques de littératies et les changements de programmes et ce, même en Australie. Elle milite également pour des conceptualisations plus approfondies et complexes de l'identité des futurs enseignants, en tenant compte des contextes divers dans lesquels ils sont en contact avec la littératie. De façon particulière, elle identifie l'importance du soutien à l'apprentissage dans la mise en place de l'identité: le soutien des futurs enseignants apporté les uns aux autres ou offert par leurs enseignants; le soutien des futurs enseignants à leur apprentissage via des interactions littéraires avec leurs enfants (et leurs élèves). Cumming-Potvin s'inspire de la théorie des multiples identités de Gee

pour montrer de quelle manière les enseignants négocient leurs identités à travers les trois situations présentées dans le cadre de l'étude: soutien à l'apprentissage face-à-face, apprentissage en ligne et interactions des enseignants (comme parents) dans des expériences de lecture partagée avec leurs enfants. Même si les trois situations démontrent des résultats intéressants, Cumming-Potvin identifie les discussions asynchrones en ligne comme plus propices à la réflexion. En effet, au fil du temps celles-ci permettent aux enseignants d'établir une communauté de pratique.

À l'heure actuelle, l'accent est mis sur l'offre d'opportunités d'apprentissage égales et dans un contexte d'inclusion et ce, à tous les élèves du Canada. Cette tendance a incité Sokal à étudier les caractéristiques des enseignants favorisant l'inclusion dans son article « Que recherchent les écoles chez les nouveaux enseignants dans un contexte d'inclusion? » Se basant sur des discussions ciblées réalisées avec des administrateurs et des enseignants œuvrant dans un contexte d'inclusion et issus de diverses divisions scolaires (urbaines, de banlieue, rurales) au Manitoba, Sokal espère mettre en lumière les connaissances fondamentales, habiletés et attitudes considérées comme des atouts chez des enseignants recrues dans un milieu scolaire inclusif. Étonnamment, les participants à l'étude n'ont pas identifié de connaissances de base fondamentales pour les enseignants dans un contexte d'inclusion. Ils ont plutôt mis l'emphase sur le développement de compétences et d'attitudes particulières telles que la flexibilité – l'habileté à développer des stratégies efficaces dans certains contextes et selon les besoins des élèves – la collaboration en tant que membre d'équipes interdépendantes et la communication efficace avec les collègues et les parents. Finalement, les participants ont souligné l'importance de valoriser la formation continue et une attitude positive à l'égard du développement professionnel chez les enseignants. Sokal soutient qu'une « bassin spécifique de connaissances propres à l'enseignement en milieu inclusif n'existe pas » (p. xx) puisque l'enseignement en contexte d'inclusion est simplement de l'enseignement où l'on redouble d'efforts » (p. xx). Conséquemment, ces compétences et attitudes sont des éléments fondamentaux des programmes de formation des enseignants pour ceux qui œuvrent dans un milieu d'apprentissage inclusif.

Dans son article intitulé, « Étude empirique du parcours professionnel des cadres supérieurs au Manitoba, Canada: Implications pour le développement professionnel » Wallin analyse le parcours professionnel d'administrateurs scolaires senior au Manitoba. Explorant les divers facteurs qui façonnent la trajectoire professionnelle des cadres supérieurs, l'auteure met en lumière la très faible représentation des femmes au sein des positions administratives supérieures (c.à.d. direction). Dressant un portrait complet de cette problématique, Wallin révèle la manière complexe dont le contexte, le sexe et la position hiérarchique entrent en relation pour créer des écarts professionnels entre les administrateurs masculins et féminins. Notamment, ces facteurs interagissent, « formant des files d'attente alimentées par les départs et créant des divergences

entre les outils de développement de carrière et les défis de l'emploi » (p. xx) Les règles liées au sexe de l'employé et leurs implications sont illustrées par des exemples de diverses tendances mises en lumière par cette étude. Par exemple, les hommes évitaient de profiter des congés parentaux et prenaient plus fréquemment leurs décisions professionnelles de manière indépendante. Au contraire, les administrateurs de sexe féminin étaient plus enclines à utiliser les « clauses reliées aux congés de maternité » et avaient aussi tendance à « suivre la carrière de leur mari » Par ailleurs, les femmes recherchent constamment comment équilibrer les exigences familiales et professionnelles, alors que leurs confrères masculins se concentrent plus exclusivement sur leur carrière.

Nous espérons que vous apprécierez les points de vue apportés par nos auteurs sur la recherche et la pratique éducationnelles et que vous contribuiez aux discussions, en soumettant vos écrits à la RSÉ ou encore en participant au forum de discussion de la Revue.

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CURRICULUM CHANGE IN NUNAVUT: TOWARDS INUIT QAUJIMAJATUQANGIT

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ABSTRACT. Between 1985 and the present, curriculum developers, educators and Elders in Nunavut have been working towards reconceptualization of curriculum to better meet the strengths and needs of Inuit students and to reflect, preserve, and revitalize Inuit worldview, language, and culture. This article outlines the development of the 1989 curriculum framework *Piniaqtavut*, the 1996 framework *Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective*, and the 2007 foundation document *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Education Framework for Nunavut Curriculum*. It goes on to describe the cross-curricular principles and philosophies of education in Nunavut, and identify the most important contributing factors in this system-wide curriculum change process. The intent is both to describe the approach taken in Nunavut, as well as to inform comparable work in other Indigenous contexts.

CHANGEMENT DES PROGRAMMES AU NUNAVUT : VERS L'INUIT QAUJIMAJATUQANGIT

RÉSUMÉ. Depuis 1985, des développeurs, des éducateurs et des aînés du Nunavut travaillent à la refonte des concepts des programmes et ce, afin de mieux répondre aux forces et besoins des élèves inuit. Ils veulent également refléter, préserver et redonner vie à la vision du monde, à la langue et à la culture inuit. Cet article explique le développement du programme d'études Piniaqtavut (1989), du programme Inuuqatigiit : Un programme d'études à partir d'une perspective inuit (1996) et du document fondateur Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit : le cadre d'éducation pour le curriculum du Nunavut (2007). Par la suite, l'auteur décrit les principes des compétences transversales et les philosophies de l'éducation au Nunavut. Elle identifie les facteurs ayant le plus contribué à ce processus de transformation des programmes dans l'ensemble du système. L'objectif est d'à la fois décrire l'approche préconisée au Nunavut et de présenter des travaux comparables, réalisés dans d'autres contextes autochtones.

> *Schooling in Nunavut should provide support to students in all areas of their development so that they can achieve personal goals, become well-equipped to contribute and serve their families and communities, demonstrate leadership and healthy attitudes, and be able to actively participate and contribute as Nunavut takes on new roles in the global community.* (Nunavut Department of Education, 2007, p. 17)

The rich history of curriculum change in Nunavut, oriented towards delivery of education based on Inuit ways of knowing, being, doing and sense of place, is relatively unknown to educational scholars. While the call, and need, for quality curriculum and learning materials continues (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami [ITK], 2011), there is much good work to be considered, and many foundational steps have been taken to guide the emergence of new ways of teaching and learning within the school system. Using documentary sources and historical analysis, the question I explore here is: how have Inuit and Northerners in Nunavut gone about creating a curriculum based on local perspectives and *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (*IQ*), which "encompasses all aspects of traditional Inuit culture, including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations" (Nunavut Social Development Council, 1998, p. 1)?

Inuit are an Indigenous people, distinct from First Nations or Metis peoples, who for the most part live across the Canadian Arctic. The Inuit homeland of Nunavut was recognized by Canada in 1999 as a separate territory, in conjunction with the settlement of a land claims agreement specifying rights and benefits for Inuit residing in the region. The mechanisms of the public territorial government have been leveraged to set mandates for services, including education, that privilege Inuit language[1] and culture. Self-determination is now in the implementation phase, unlike many Indigenous peoples in North America whose position in relation to their respective states remains less clear. **It is within this distinctive context that I will outline the develop**ment of the 1989 curriculum framework *Piniaqtavut* (Baffin Divisional Board of Education, 1989), the 1996 framework *Inuuqatigiit* (Department of Education, Culture and Employment, 1996), and the 2007 foundation document *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Education Framework for Nunavut Curriculum* (Nunavut Department of Education, 2007). I will conclude by identifying some of the most important contributing factors to this deep and system-wide curriculum change process, which help to describe the approach taken in Nunavut, as well as inform comparable work in other Indigenous contexts.

LOCATING MYSELF

I am a white Northerner who attended school in Nunavut, my parents are long-term northern educators, and I have worked for the Department of Education coordinating various system-wide change implementation projects associated with the 2008 *Nunavut Education Act*. Having grown up in a region of Canada

where an Indigenous population forms the majority, I have experienced many moments of questioning my role in shifting power dynamics between Inuit and non-Inuit in the Arctic.[2]

For example, I recently participated in writing a social studies module for grade 10 students in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut on the history of northern residential schools (Nunavut Department of Education & Northwest Territories Department of Education, Culture and Employment, 2012). I also contributed to in-servicing teachers on facilitating learning through this difficult topic. Residential school histories bring to the surface the role schooling played in colonization and settlement, and illustrate the intergenerational impacts in northern communities. Current school staff members are being asked to teach northern youth about how government representatives and settlers had a role in disrupting traditional forms of Indigenous education, attempting to assimilate students, and a great deal more. Doing this work raises many questions about identities and legacies, such as: what brought newcomers to the North, what keeps them there, and what effect has that had on northern Indigenous peoples? Particularly on the part of non-Indigenous teachers and education staff such as myself, this work calls for a careful balance of respect and sensitivity in listening, as well as willingness to actively engage in discussions about responsibility, compensation and reconciliation. I have seen and experienced hurt and disagreements in these conversations. Nevertheless, I view the role of schools in supporting this learning as integral to the possibility of nurturing different relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in the present and future.

I believe educational scholarship with Nunavut communities will be strengthened as more Inuit and long-term northern educators take up research questions directly relevant, or vital, to the school system, through respectful cross-cultural dialogue. Educational histories related to residential schools, curriculum reform, or other topics may then become resources useful to historicizing and contextualizing such research. I continue to call Nunavut my home, and I feel a deep responsibility and commitment to the people and place. I would like to recognize all those whose work and knowledge is reflected in telling this story of curriculum change in Nunavut, and from whom I have had the opportunity to learn – including, most importantly, my parents.

SITUATING NUNAVUT EDUCATIONAL HISTORY WITHIN INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN CANADA

The emphasis here on place is intended to distinguish Inuit education in Nunavut from generalizations often made about Indigenous education across Canada. Colonization began later in the Arctic and manifested in different ways. The four Inuit regions are governed under land claims with the federal government, and most persons living in the Inuit homelands experience life

significantly shaped by Arctic conditions. The majority Inuit population in Nunavut maintains relative cultural and linguistic identification and solidarity despite vast geographic dispersal. Inuit educational history in Nunavut is distinct because of: the heritage of regional school board engagement in educational change prior to the creation of the Nunavut government, the political accomplishment of the land claim, and the current territorial mandate for Inuit education within a public system. Fewer compromises or conflicts have resulted from adversarial relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous parents, communities, and expectations as in other Canadian regions. Nunavut history has been marked by huge change, in speed and degree, in terms of education as well as across other realms of society (Simon, 2011; Tester & Irniq, 2008). Inuit have endured this "totalizing" change (Tester & Imiq, 2008), and are now taking significant steps such as passing made-in-Nunavut education legislation privileging Inuit interests (McGregor, 2012).

While I think it is important to engage in theoretical and practical conversations that draw comparisons between Indigenous communities, and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, I will not emphasize that here. Nunavut deserves recognition for the significant educational change efforts that have been a feature of administration, policy-making, and curriculum development since the dream of Nunavut was born. This overview is intended to support more informed discussion and comparison between places and peoples in the future. Lastly, while I focus on curriculum framework documents, there are innumerable other aspects of the education system that warrant further study. Indeed, analysis of northern curriculum development processes with more detailed commentary from those who participated in the work, would add a great deal to this conversation.

Briefly, then, there is considerable resonance between the curriculum development initiatives featured here and the approaches to culturally responsive education advocated by Ray Barnhardt and Oscar Kawagley in the context of Alaska (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1998). This resonance is in terms of the relationship between Indigenous education and place, the balancing act of engaging with both Indigenous and Western systems of knowledge in a "two-way transaction" (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p. 9), the importance of beginning instruction with concepts and activities familiar to the students, and the insistence that students not be required (actively or passively) to give up or leave behind their rights, language, identities, histories and worldviews in order to participate in schools and universities. Marie Battiste and James Henderson have theorized such comprehensive efforts at rethinking, decolonizing and infusing the education system with Indigenous knowledge as "naturalizing" (Battiste & Henderson, 2009, p. 14-16). These educational paradigm shifts gain momentum and solidarity from national and international Indigenous education initiatives, but they are fundamentally local changes that must be conceived and implemented in relationship to place

(Battiste & Henderson, 2009; Marker, 2011). The insights offered in Jo-Ann Archibald's (2008) description of a First Nations story-based curriculum development process in British Columbia share a great deal in common with the work being undertaken to create teaching and learning units in Nunavut. However, the scope of curriculum change in Nunavut is different, involving all public school programs from kindergarten to grade 12, in all subject areas, and with the requirement to teach and learn in two languages.

The curriculum development initiatives led by Inuit in the eastern Arctic have received little attention from scholars, and are rarely framed by Northerners in the language or theory of a greater Indigenous education movement. Nonetheless, I would argue that such work exemplifies the kind of place-based, culturally-responsive, and Indigenous-knowledge based educational change called for by Indigenous education advocates elsewhere in North America (Battiste, 2010; Battiste & Henderson, 2009; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008).

Having survived – and still surviving – colonization, engaged in the struggle towards decolonization, named and begun the deconstruction of cognitive imperialism (Battiste, 2000) in educational institutions, and pursued Indigenous educational decision-making in policy and practice, Indigenous peoples are now documenting and deepening understandings of their knowledge systems. This work serves to enliven and activate Indigenous knowledges in education – contexts where it is necessary to continuously withstand and resist the hegemony of Western knowledge systems (Marker, 2004). Frank Tester and Peter Irniq[3] (2008) have referred to this process as a rejuvenating social history exploration:

> Rediscovering and rearticulating [the Inuit] worldview is a task best undertaken by Inuit, and it contains the possibility of rejuvenating and invigorating Inuit culture and relations between youth and elders. Such an exercise involves an important exploration of Inuit social history, which includes a history of resistance to, as well as compliance with, the edicts of a colonizing culture. (p. 58)

Indigenous curriculum frameworks, the metaphors that often accompany them, and the values-based, holistically-oriented student competencies that emerge from such work may still be questioned and criticized as simplistic, irrelevant or quaint when viewed through often hegemonic Western and Eurocentric lenses. Rather, such frameworks and conceptual tools are fundamental in the hard work of envisioning and continuing to imagine, deliver, and assess education from different ways of knowing, being, and doing. Nunavut has many stories to contribute to this movement across the North and across Canada.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Elsewhere I have described the history of education in Nunavut in more detail (McGregor, 2010). What is important to note here is the condensed

nature of this educational and colonial history. In the early decades of the 20th century, traditional Inuit education was occurring much as it had within hunter-gatherer societies in the North for centuries. Education was integrated into the daily lives, daily responsibilities and daily relationships within families. This approach to education resulted in a set of competencies, worldview and knowledge base now distinguished as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (*IQ*) and will be discussed in more detail below. In simplified terms, the most critical aspects of Inuit education were environmental knowledge, experiential learning, caring between teacher and learner, and family control over childrearing.

In terms of Inuit history in general, Tester and Irniq (2008) have asserted:

> There is likely no other group of indigenous people in the world that has made such a transition – from scattered hunting camps to settlements steeped in the organizational logic and material realities of high modernism – in such a short time (from ca. 1955 to 1965). (p. 57)

The comparatively short colonial period, fast pace of change, and the era in which this change was experienced by Inuit sets their history apart from most Indigenous peoples elsewhere in North America (Simon, 2011).

While the timing and pace of change in the Arctic left Inuit extremely vulnerable, it also offered opportunity. Only approximately twenty years – fewer for some – passed between the time of their permanent settlement, engagement with schooling and the beginning of their political mobilization toward self-determination. The transfer of administrative responsibility for education from the federal government to the Northwest Territories (NWT) occurred in 1969-70. Without a substantial non-Inuit student population or substantial public expectation that schooling be "multicultural" or "culture neutral," public schools in the Arctic could move in the direction of respecting and recognizing Indigenous language and culture with fewer constraints.[4]

Education underwent significant transition after the 1982 report *Learning: Tradition and Change (LTC)*, produced by the Special Committee on Education for the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly. The landmark report involved extensive public consultations conducted in 34 communities; it was the first time parents were formally and systematically consulted on their children's education. What they asked for was more local control. Territorial legislation followed, giving education authorities more flexibility to recognize the vastly different views of education existing between Inuit and other Indigenous peoples within the NWT. By 1985 local authorities with greater responsibilities were organized to form regional boards of education. This combination – of parental and community control over local schools and representation at the regional level to participate in policy decisions and input into curriculum and programs – offered Inuit the opportunity to envision their own system of education. In doing so, they largely chose to identify and integrate the import-

ant aspects of Inuit education, such as traditional environmental knowledge, experiential learning opportunities, and Elders as teachers.

Historically, Canada's northern territories have relied on borrowing curriculum from other jurisdictions (depending on the subject and grade level), with some adaptations and additions, due to their lower administrative and development capacity, and the need to uphold standards recognized by post-secondary institutions across Canada. However, when educational administration underwent the transition to regional decision-making curriculum, developers and community members in Nunavut began to reconceptualize curriculum to better meet the strengths and needs of Inuit and Northern students, as well as to reflect, preserve and revitalize Inuit worldview, language and culture. These long-term political commitments and administrative mechanisms, oriented to reconceptualizing curriculum from local and Inuit perspectives, are crucial to mobilizing the necessary opportunities to facilitate educational change; a process that is extremely time and resource intensive, particularly when using holistic, bilingual, and community-based approaches.

Following creation of the Nunavut government, educational decision-making policy and administration changed again with the closure of school boards and the transfer of responsibilities to district (community) education authorities or regional and territorial Department of Education offices. This division of responsibilities was in flux during the development of new education legislation passed in 2008, which is still in the process of being implemented. During this time local control, or more specifically the ability of parents to have a say in education, has been the subject of some debate (McGregor, 2010; 2012). In the meantime, curriculum development has proceeded with notable participation of educators and Elders from around Nunavut.

The documents chosen for analysis form the major milestones in work completed in the eastern Arctic region of Baffin (now called Qikiqtani) and later Nunavut. I examined them for articulation of knowledge, values and pedagogy, considering to what extent the contents reflected or diverted from ideas about knowing, being and doing informed by *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.* Each, in its own time, was ground-breaking and contributed to subsequent work, but I do draw conclusions about their strengths and limitations in terms of a contemporary view. Each document lists a large development team – dozens of authors and collaborators, most of whom are Inuit – without distinguishing between individual contributions and thereby presenting collective authorship. The names of individual educators and Elders involved therefore do not appear here, because I intend to honour the spirit of collective authorship as I understand it to be practiced by the people involved.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT BEFORE NUNAVUT

Piniaqtavut

In 1989, the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE) published *Piniaqtavut*, a framework document for grades K-9 designed to give shape to a number of northern teaching units. The BDBE was the first Inuit board of education in the NWT. It took a leadership role in establishing policy and programs in support of Inuit education and it served the biggest (population and geographic) region of what is now Nunavut. *Piniaqtavut* was developed in response to what was considered to be "clear direction" from parents in the region that education should centre on topics related to the North, respect for Elders, and maintenance of traditional skills (BDBE, 1989, p. i). The *Piniaqtavut* development committee involved a large number of Inuit educators working bilingually. This group articulated teachers' growing concerns about the southern perspective embedded in most curricula, the large volume and fast pace of mandatory content, and the lack of resource materials for teaching in the Inuit language. To determine what knowledge and skills schools should be teaching according to Inuit, most households in every Baffin community were surveyed and a draft of the resulting document was circulated to each community's district education council. Through carrying out such consultation, and referencing it in their publications, BDBE demonstrated its commitment to cooperatively developing a paradigm for Inuit knowledge to be used in schools, as well as local involvement in educational decision-making.

Piniaqtavut was intended to provide "learning experiences which reflect the cultural and linguistic strength of the Inuit" (BDBE, 1989, p. i). The major goals of education to be realized are listed as: bilingual communication skills, pride in cultural identity, responsibility, and independence. All topics or categories of content that are viewed as important to Inuit are organized under four headings: Community; Land; Sea; and Sky. The narrative around future development of *Piniaqtavut* resources reinforces the importance of Inuit values to program development:

> Whenever possible, units and supporting resource material will be developed from an Inuit perspective, that is, by Inuit in Inuktitut, and translated into English so that teachers who do not speak Inuktitut will be able to use the material. Inuit beliefs will permeate every unit so that the values of Inuit culture will be reinforced. (p. ii).

Unfortunately, the values or beliefs of Inuit culture referred to in the preceding quotation are not listed in the *Piniaqtavut* document. Therefore, while this suggested process of program development sounds ideal in terms of grounding curriculum in Inuit ways of knowing, being, and doing, the implications of this process and the entire program itself, particularly in a context where a majority of teachers are non-Inuit, remained somewhat unclear when Inuit values were not identified or described fully. This lack of specificity about the

Inuit values being promoted by the BDBE was a limitation, particularly with regard to expectations for classroom practice.

Nonetheless, *Piniaqtavut* demonstrated a commitment to the development of programs which are not only northern-oriented, but also locally and Inuit oriented in content. *Piniaqtavut* identified many of the ingredients which must go into a system of schooling in order to achieve culturally responsive ways of knowing, being and doing. These include the development of programs by Inuit in Inuit language, employing teaching methods like hands-on learning, and encouraging a student-centered rather than standard-centered approach to achievement. The intention to build a program around a core of Inuit-specific values, rather than assimilative, multicultural, or universal ways of engaging with the world, indicates the vast difference between the approach of the BDBE to formal schooling and that which students would have been exposed to previously or in other jurisdictions. As well, the stated intention to involve parents, Elders, and community members in development and delivery of culturally-relevant learning experiences reinforces the opportunity for local control.

Inuuqatigiit

Inuuqatigiit: The Curriculum from the Inuit Perspective[5] is a curriculum issued by the Northwest Territory's Department of Education, Culture and Employment in 1996 and involved collaboration with Inuit groups across the Northwest Territories, though the project was initially spearheaded by staff of the BDBE. The document lays out the framework outlining the objectives, knowledge, and experiences that have been deemed essential to each set of grades (K-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12) in fulfilling a curriculum reflective of Inuit ways of knowing, being, and doing.

The introductory section of the document provides a great deal of context to the vision of schooling articulated through *Inuuqatigiit*. The vision of education, and by extension the purpose of the document, was to reinforce Inuit identity in future generations and address the loss of Inuit language and culture. "Traditional beliefs and values are still felt to be important to the communities and the elders would like to see them revived through the schools" (NWT Dept of Education, 1996, p. 2). At least 55 elders and many more Inuit are named in the credits for this document, and it is filled with direct quotations from those participants.

The document includes a discussion of the goals of education, an orientation to the values and beliefs of Inuit, a description of traditional Inuit educa-tion, a vision of learning and child development, a justification for bilingual education, an approach to pedagogy and evaluation, and the philosophical foundation of the curriculum. The introductory portion of the document is laid out according to topics such as language or evaluation, and each includes

a summary of the traditional knowledge or belief around that topic followed by a short recommendation about how it may be applicable to the school environment. Points such as these indicate awareness of the cultural negotiation which constantly occurs in northern schools, even if a commitment to reflect Inuit culture has been established by policy-makers. *Innuqatigiit* attempts to educate teachers about Inuit education and provide adaptations of it to the modern school setting, rather than copying it exactly (which would be nearly impossible within school structures recognizing, for example, that traditional Inuit education almost always take place between one or two learners and one teacher).

The curriculum itself proceeds according to two sections: "Relationship to People" and "Relationship to the Environment." Within these two sections are topics, and each topic includes a summary according to Inuit knowledge and at least one direct quotation from Inuit Elders before describing that which should be accomplished to cover the topic in grades K-3, 4-6, 7-9 and 10-12. "Relationship to People" includes such topics as the family or laws and leadership. "Relationship to the Environment" includes topics like land and weather predicting. Each of these two sections is also built around a foundation of three cycles: Cycle of Life, Cycle of Seasons, and Circle of Belonging. In the summary for each topic, *Inuuqatigiit* offers a rationale for why that topic has been included, the values around that topic, the beliefs held by Inuit, the major understandings expected of children, and the student attitudes that should be nurtured. Following this summary, each topic is broken down by grade set, and the objectives, knowledges, traditions, and key experiences/ activities are outlined in point form for each. Key experiences and activities recommended by *Inuuqatigiit* often involve invitations to community members to address the class, experiential learning opportunities, and topics for research or discussion are also suggested.

Inuuqatigiit provides teachers, especially new teachers, with the background information and broad context necessary to begin developing their classroom activities to reflect culturally responsive content and values. The information offered regarding each topic not only incorporates northern content, but consistently reflects an orientation to Inuit ways of knowing, being and doing. The following paragraph is one of the most concise articulations of the vision of education promoted through *Inuuqatigiit*:

> Instruction must incorporate not only a sensitivity to the Inuit perspective, but actual learning experience in Inuit language and culture. Instruction should always relate subjects to Inuit history, knowledge and experience. Every school, ideally, every classroom, should have elders adding their living wisdom and skills to our children's education. Positive learning can happen whenever there is an educational partnership between the child's family, the community, educators, and the school system. (p. 15)

Here again is the emphasis on the role of the local community and an education driven by the local culture and language rather than an abstract construction of Indigeneity or multiculturalism. This is evidence of an intentional effort to engage aspects of Inuit education through schooling.

The implementation of *Inuuqatigiit* in Baffin schools involved a crucial regional and local component. While the BDBE participated with the Department of Education in developing *Inuuqatigiit,* they also developed BDBE-specific implementation documents in anticipation of additional support required by educators in their schools. The basis of the planning for implementation of *Inuuqatigiit* is cited as resulting from a high level of input through or "community visioning" meetings with teachers, principals, district education council members, parents, community members, students and elders.

Even with the supplement of the implementation documents by the BDBE, the weakness of *Inuuqatigiit* overall lies primarily in the great deal of further work needed to provide teachers with sufficient classroom resources and orientation. While the curriculum provides an overview of the knowledge and skills for every grade set, and covers a wide range of topics, it does not provide the level of detail required by teachers, nor does it provide specific teaching tools. There remains an assumption that educators would know how to engage with the content of Inuit values and beliefs within the appropriate cultural frame, and know how to balance this content with other, more familiar programs and materials. Lastly, the articulation of the relationship between students and teachers and the ways in which teachers can create student-centered learning experiences within an Inuit framework are underdeveloped in this document.

Inuuqatigiit offers a close articulation and reinforcement of Inuit education within a public school system. With access to *Inuuqatigiit,* educators had more guidance in translating aspects of Inuit education into school contexts. The challenge remained: to undertake new ways of teaching and learning without letting the formal system or non-Inuit structures change those ways so much that they lose their meaning, and still prepare children to attain a standard level of education at the 12th grade level. The complexity of curriculum implementation should not be underestimated, but Lynn Aylward's (2009; 2012) research has shown that development of Inuuqatigiit marks a crucial phase in what she calls the place-based "IQ Conversation," "an anticolonial, intellectual, and social movement in Nunavut education that resists the polarities of biculturalism and engages with more culturally relevant discourses of decolonization and transformation" (Aylward, 2012, p. 227).

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN NUNAVUT

IQ foundation document

Since the creation of the Government of Nunavut in 1999, the momentum of educational change has continued, with responsibility for change processes managed primarily on a territorial basis rather than the previous regional board administration. The landmark document *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Education Framework for Nunavut Curriculum* (referred to hereafter as the "*IQ* foundation document") published in 2007 by the Nunavut Department of Education articulates a more detailed vision of education from Inuit foundations. The Minister of Education at the time, Ed Picco, stated: "It is the responsibility of educators to ensure graduates have a strong sense of Inuit identity and clear knowledge of their unique personal strengths and skills and how to use them to serve family and community. To assist each student to achieve these goals will require a fundamental shift in the way we do business in schools" and he goes on to say, "Made-in-Nunavut curriculum, teaching materials and learning resources, which combine Inuit knowledge with the best of western educational thought and practice are essential to achieving this shift" (Nunavut Department of Education, 2007, p. 5).

Under development since the year 2000, the *IQ* foundation document is the source of nearly all policy, curriculum and programming undertaken by the Department of Education concurrent with, and since, the production of the document. The document states that Nunavut educators are expected to understand *IQ*, how the document affects the basic elements of curriculum, and what implications that has for the practice of learning and teaching in Nunavut schools (p. 3).

The *IQ* foundation document credits more than 55 Inuit Elders, 65 Northern and Inuit educators, 12 community experts, and 18 government staff as contributing to the questions: "What's worth knowing? How should it be taught? What are the values behind what we are teaching?" (p. 18). It also references curriculum development done by the school boards prior to Nunavut - *Piniaqtavut* in 1989 and *Inuuqatigiit* in 1996. The *IQ* foundation document came about because policy-makers within the Department of Education recognized the importance of Elder knowledge, Inuit knowledge and the lack of source material to turn to in informing the curriculum, arguably necessary for creating real change in schools. Those involved in the *IQ* foundation document development and promotion were actively addressing the same problem Verna J. Kirkness (1998) identified in First Nations education:

> Not properly acknowledging the Elders is probably the most serious mistake we make as we attempt to create a quality education for our people... How can we learn about our traditions on which to base our education if we don't ask the Elders? Little is written by our people that we can turn to for this information. (p. 13)

Two statements found within the *IQ* foundation document give a strong sense of the perspectives and approaches endorsed:

> Elders are articulating how and why *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* – beliefs, laws, principles, values, skills, knowledge and attitudes – are so well suited to Inuit today. In doing so, the Elders are not advocating a return to the past, but a grounding of education in the strengths of the Inuit so that their children will survive and successfully negotiate the world in which they find themselves today. By entrenching *IQ* beliefs and principles within the system and curricula, the aim is to provide a learning environment where *silaturniq* (becoming wise) is fostered, and within which the strength of *inummarik* (a capable person) can develop. (p. 21)

> The development of *Sivuniksamut Ilinniarniq* [Nunavut / *IQ*] schools requires extensive consultation with District Education Authorities, educators, parents and students in each community about *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* education. It requires collaboration with Inuit Elders, Inuit organizations, and Government of Nunavut departments to translate the core *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* values and beliefs into working models and goals for school improvement. Each school must work with the community to articulate a vision for how community members want to educate their children. The Department of Education will support each community in designing school(s) that meet the needs of their children. (p. 56)

The document offers a source of Inuit Elder knowledge and an application of that knowledge to the context of schooling, including: a vision for the purpose of education based on an Inuit story; explanation of the Inuit beliefs that provide a foundation for *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, including referring directly to the laws of relationships, cycle of seasons, cycle of life, and circle of belonging already described in *Inuuqatigiit*; the philosophy of a learning continuum and stages within the continuum, described in traditional Inuit terms of individual life-long learning and development; cross-curricular competencies based on principles of *IQ*; and Inuit educational philosophies regarding inclusive education, language instruction, assessment and pedagogies. Also important to note, rather than numerous subject areas, the Department of Education curriculum work is being conceived within four integrated curriculum "strands", facilitating closer approximation of the holistic nature of Inuit knowledge:

- *Nunavusiutit*: heritage, culture, history, geography, environmental science, civics, economics, current events, world news.

- *Iqqaqqaukkaringniq*: math, innovation, problem-solving, technology, practical arts.

- *Aulajaaqtut*: wellness, safety, society, survival, volunteerism.

- *Uqausiliriniq*: communication, creative and artistic expression, critical thinking.

As a result of this work, Nunavut's curriculum competencies are now drawn from Inuit laws, principles and values. The definitions of these Inuit concepts were agreed on through consensus decision-making by a group of respected Inuit Elders from across the territory, and have also been interpreted by Elders in the context of curriculum development for the Department of Education. Elders describe *maligait* (natural laws) as the most fundamental laws that respect one's place in the universe, the environment and in society. These laws speak to the interconnectedness of the world and the supports available to aid in survival:

- Working for the common good.

- Being respectful of all living things.

- Maintaining harmony.

- Continually planning/preparing for a better future.

The natural laws are supplemented by the "communal laws" or what is more commonly referred to as the "*IQ* principles":

- Inuuqatigiitsiarniq – respecting others, relationships and caring for people.

- Tunnganarniq – fostering good spirit by being open, welcoming and inclusive.

- Pijitsirniq – serving and providing for family or community or both.

- Aajiiqatigiinniq – decision making through discussion and consensus.

- Pilimmaksarniq – development of skills through practice, effort, and action.

- Piliriqatigiinniq – working together for a common cause.

- Qanuqtuurniq – being innovative and resourceful.

- Avatittinnik Kamatsiarniq – respect and care for the land, animals, and the environment.

These eight principles are described in more detail and interpreted or adapted as cross-curricular competences at all levels and through all activities both within and outside of the school. Teaching units being developed within the integrated curriculum content strands incorporate more specific concepts (although most are still based on *IQ*) in order to more effectively reflect Inuit holistic approaches and help students understand connections between learning in various contexts. Because instruction in the Inuit language is mandatory, many new teaching units are also being developed bilingually. Over the last ten years the Department of Education has been working closely with Nunavut schools to identify ways to make *IQ* part of everyday teaching and

learning within school-communities. These principles are also supported by other initiatives to document Inuit ways of knowing, being, and doing that have are being continuously contributed to, and further defined by, Inuit Elders and educators. Definition of these principles and application of them to multiple layers and branches of curriculum, programs, pedagogy, assessment and school climate represents a deepening of the work begun with *Piniaqtavut* and *Inuuqatigiit.*

CONCLUSION

Schools in Nunavut are now administered under comprehensive legislation calling for bilingual education that uses curriculum and pedagogy in accordance with *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit.* Nunavut is the only jurisdiction in Canada with education legislation calling for all public education to be based on Indigenous knowledge. This means schools cannot rely on borrowing curriculum, teaching units and learning materials from other jurisdictions, or securing them from the commercial educational publishing industry. Instead, they are in the depths of reconceptualizing education from K-12 and in all areas of the system.

What conclusions can be drawn about factors contributing to the success of this significant work? I have summarized them in Figure 1. Long-term government commitment is the first crucial factor. Educators and curriculum development staff have been given the direction and resources to work with Elders in Nunavut to actively reconceptualize schooling based on Inuit foundations. This level of deep, ongoing community involvement, rather than cursory or fragmented consultation, is the second factor essential to the Nunavut process between 1985 and the present. Creating a cohesive understanding of the relationship with knowledge as it is conceived in the Indigenous community or nation in question is another key piece of this work; it is crucial to informing a place-based vision for education that can be articulated in meaningful terms.

However, the experience in Nunavut also shows that an effective curriculum framework requires detail, especially at the relational level. It is not enough to say schools will operate using "Inuit values;" those values must be articulated, specified and interpreted in context, they must be modeled through content and they must form part of the required pedagogy and student competencies. Of course, this work will not be sustainable without high quality, culturally-responsive, locally-relevant and linguistically-appropriate teaching units, learning materials, and assessment tools. Lastly, while a curriculum framework is essential to this work, change happens in the ways students and teachers and the community engage each other in learning.
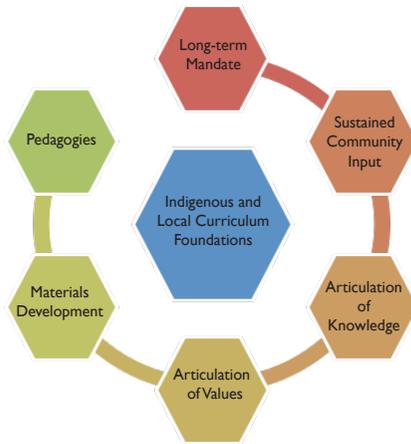
FIGURE 1. Factors contributing to the process of reconceptualizing curriculum towards Indigenous and local foundations.

Full redevelopment of K-12 curricula that can fulfill a new vision of education is challenging in terms of time, human resources, and funding. As the Inuit organization Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) has described, "the process of developing new Inuit-centered curriculum 'from scratch' is costly and time-consuming. It requires collaboration between Inuit educators and elders to develop new learning modules, new Inuit-language terminology, and to mentor the new generation of younger teachers in appropriate methods" (2011, p. 82). A potentially greater challenge is the change associated with implementation in classrooms and other learning spaces, which requires considerable staff training, leadership and ongoing mentorship. Sustainable school change in Nunavut is burdened by many other demands resulting from the geographic dispersal of communities, high staff turnover, the need for more staff with Inuit language skills, and infrastructure requirements such as more staff housing. Nevertheless, the importance of curriculum change is not only linked to increasing educational achievement amongst Inuit youth, but also with continuing to support Inuit self-determination. Echoing ITK again, I hope that: "As the implementation of the new curriculum evolves, new best practices emerge and need to be shared" (2011, p. 82). The return of the land, the creation of a public government exclusively within Inuit territory, and the protection and promotion of Inuit linguistic and cultural vitality constitute the dream of Nunavut. The curriculum change process outlined here indicates that the Nunavut Department of Education is undertaking initiatives to realize this dream, and while outcomes may take more time than all involved would like, those who have contributed should be acknowledged for their courage, hard work, and persistence.

NOTES

1. Inuit language is the term used in Nunavut legislation and educational policy to refer to Inuktitut, indicating inclusion of various dialects of Inuktitut, and/or Inuinnaqtun.

2. I have briefly described some memories and experiences in this regard elsewhere (McGregor, 2010, p. x-xi; 13-15; 2012, p. 29) and have engaged in some deeper analysis in several other forthcoming works.

3. Peter Irniq (he also spells his first name Piita) is an Inuit public figure, was Commissioner of Nunavut from 2000-2005 among many other political positions held, a speaker and advocate for Nunavut in a number of realms including the history of residential schooling and the promotion of Inuit culture.

4. I use the phrases "move in the direction" as well as "respecting and recognizing" intentionally, but tentatively, here. I acknowledge great variation and inconsistency in where and when such initiatives occurred. My point, however, is that the opportunities and dynamics involved in making policy and program changes are different in jurisdictions where Indigenous families form the population majority. For example, public opinion was not a significant constraint in making such change in the North, as it might be in other parts of Canada.

5. As stated in the document, "the name of the curriculum, *Inuuqatigiit,* means Inuit to Inuit, people to people, living together, or family to family. It implies togetherness and family unity between people. This is the foundation of the curriculum: a unity of Inuit philosophy for the benefit of children, teachers, schools and communities" (Department of Education, Culture and Employment, 1996, p. 3).

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COMPARISON OF THE EFFECTS OF REFLECTION AND CONTEMPLATION ACTIVITIES ON SERVICE-LEARNERS' COGNITIVE & AFFECTIVE MINDFULNESS

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ABSTRACT. This study investigates the extent to which service-learners' mindfulness is affected by engagement in reflection (e.g., dialogue) and contemplation activities (e.g., labyrinth tracing). The results are compared within and between treatment groups, while covarying for participants' initial levels of mindfulness. While both dialogue and contemplative labyrinth treatment groups reported increases in mindfulness as measured by CAMS-R, neither within or between group overtime-changes were significant. Contemplative labyrinth tracing as a reflection activity does not appear to be better than dialogue at increasing mindfulness in service-learners. However, contemplative reflection performed as well as traditional dialogue reflection.

COMPARAISON DES EFFETS D'ACTIVITÉS DE RÉFLEXION ET DE CONTEMPLATION SUR LA CONSCIENCE COGNITIVE ET AFFECTIVE DES APPRENANTS PAR LE SERVICE COMMUNAUTAIRE

RÉSUMÉ. Ce projet de recherche explore dans quelle mesure s'engager dans un processus de réflexion (c.-à.-d. le dialogue) et dans des activités contemplatives (c.-à.-d. créer des labyrinthes) influence la conscience de ceux qui apprennent par le service communautaire. Les résultats sont comparés à l'intérieur des et entre les groupes expérimentaux, covariant les niveaux initiaux de conscience des participants. Si les participants des groupes expérimentaux de dialogue et de création de labyrinthes ont connu une augmentation de leur niveau de conscience, tel que mesuré par le CAMS-R, aucun des deux groupes n'a connu de changements significatifs à l'intérieur et entre les groupes au fil du temps. Le traçage contemplatif de labyrinthes comme activité de réflexion ne semble pas être plus efficace que le dialogue lorsqu'il s'agit d'augmenter le niveau de conscience des apprenants. Cependant, la réflexion contemplative a eu d'aussi bons résultats que la réflexion effectuée à l'aide du dialogue traditionnel.

John Dewey consistently criticized the segmentation of seemingly opposing themes into dualistic relationships. Dewey particularly loathed the mind/body dualism and advocated for treating the mind-body as an "integral whole" (Dewey,

2008, p. 27). He strongly condemned the established divisions between theory and practice (Shusterman, 2008) and even utilized new compound words in his work, such as "body-mind" and "mind-body," to avoid the trappings of linguistic traditions. Based on this philosophy, Dewey proposed that experience (body) is key to learning (mind). His pragmatism remains a foundational reference in service-learning, and offers encouragement for holistically engaging students.

Bringle & Hatcher (1999) defined service-learning as "a course-based, credit-bearing educational experience" (p.112) that is focused on organized service activities with community partners. These organized activities are designed to meet an identified community need, while offering students experiential learning opportunities that connect directly to their course work. Students work to address a community need, while professional partners share their expertise with students and enhance classroom learning. In addition to real-world and hands-on learning experiences, service-learning relies on reflection as a key tool for deepening students' understanding of course content, developing their appreciation of the discipline, and fostering a sense of civic responsibility (Bringle & Hatcher, 1999, p. 112). Reflection serves as a conduit through which volunteer service and academic coursework are aggregately encoded for learning. This liaison between mind and body, action and reflection, enables one to influence the other and results in a more enhanced understanding of each.

However, several limitation have been levied against the (over)use of reflection in service-learning, including its sole focus on past events ("bend back"), its advocating of more traditional, narrative strategies (e.g., journals, discussions; see Stewart, 2010), and its lack of reference to spirituality, including a discounting of contemplative practices "merely because they do not produce a durable record" (Radecke, 2007, p. 23). Apffel-Marglin and Bush (2005) advocated for new learning strategies that utilize inward inquiry to complement traditional extrospective modes of investigation. Given service-learning's focus on mind-body integration, it seems reasonable that service-learning could embrace methods that allow for the development of interiority through a more complete integration of the self.

In contrast to reflection, contemplative practices attempt to develop a heightened awareness of the present moment by observing the contents of one's consciousness, body, senses, and emotions. In these moments, our consciousness becomes open to flowing, temporal, and non-linear content thereby deepening and expanding awareness and insight. Such individuality makes a single conceptualization of what it means to contemplate, or a single means by which one engages in contemplation, unrealistic.

Using a two-group, randomized quasi-experimental research design, this study investigates the extent to which service-learners' mindfulness is affected by engagement in reflection (e.g., dialogue) and contemplation activities (e.g.,

labyrinth tracing). The results are compared within and between treatment groups, while covarying for participants' initial levels of mindfulness. All study participants took part in an environmental science, service-learning project as part of their fifth-grade science curriculum. Treatment group 1 also participted in group reflection activities, specifically group dialogue and discussion with a facilitator. Treatment group 2 participated in contemplation activities, indviduually engaging with a hand-held finger labrynth (see Figure 1).

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Reflection in service-learning

Service-learning literature seems to embrace written and oral forms of reflection (Eyler, Giles & Schmiede, 1996). Morton (1996) observed that journals are a commonly used form of reflection in service-learning. He noted several formats to journals and also mentioned that more formal assessment methods, like papers, are often assigned for reflection as well. Ramsay (1990) also cited journals as more widely recognized tools for making meaning from experiences. Rice and Pollack (2000) supported journals as an effective tool for service-learning reflections, citing the student-teacher dialogue that comes about in the assessment phase of reflection. Moreover, a journal essentially acts as a safe space where students may air controversial opinions in a medium that allows teachers to help them explore and challenge those controversial opinions discretely. In a critique of journals, Anson (1997) argued that while journal writing may offer a concrete record of students' experiences, it often "falls short of encouraging the critical examination of ideas, or the sort of consciousness-raising reflection, that is the mark of highly successful learning" (p. 169).

Service-learning literature also suggests a strong presence of oral forms of reflection within service-learning models. Waterman (1997) found that oral reflection, as part of a full class, smaller unit, or one-on-one, can be a successful tool for further engraining the written reflection in journals and papers. Stanton, Giles, and Cruz (1999) pointed to group discussions as a particularly effective means of engaging in reflection, as peers in groups often help to bring out one another's biases and beliefs, brought about by what he calls a state of structured disequilibrium - something unsettling to them, yet still structured in a way to help the students learn from it. In this way, group discussions promote meaning-making, or learning, in a way that goes beyond individual reflection activities.

Despite widespread support for written and oral reflection in service-learning, Stewart (2010) warned that these traditional product-oriented approaches to learning and assessment place educators in role as "intelligence adjudicators" (p. 41) who interpret and enforce correctness. Pre-determined outcomes and expectations entrap students in ontological mindsets and existing categories,

which can limit possibilities, bind us to the past, and result in mindless approaches to problems or situations (Langer, 1989). In his review of the most often recommended reflection guides in service-learning, Stewart found that only three of the guides reviewed (Fletcher, 2002; Northwest Service Academy, 2006; Reed & Koliba, 2001) included methods that are definitively contemplative in design, meaning that they are designed to focus on the present, are introspective in nature, and are not product- or results-oriented. Practices include guided imagery, visualization, and stream of consciousness, with the first two repeating across more than one of the guides.

Mindful / mindlessness

Discussions on mindful/mindlessness suggest a variety of implications for teaching and learning, and specifically service-learning as a pedagogical approach. Mindlessness is the result of actors engaging in automatic behavior or approaching situations myopically, narrowed by assumptions, or "premature cognitive commitments" (Chanowitz & Langer, 1981, p. 1051). Moreover, mindlessness is associated with "passive information-processing in which the individual rather automatically relies on distinctions previously drawn, instead of engaging in active categorizing and new distinction making" (Langer, Bashner, & Chanowitz, 1985, p. 113). In other words, when mindless, we approach situations as routine, as if the process and end result have been determined prior to our engagement. We surrender our agency and are subsequently transformed into "automatons," operating without conscious self-direction or purpose. Similar to driving a well-known path to work, one might arrive at their destination with little consciousness of details from the journey. Familiar habits and situations in service-learning can similarly allow us to pay minimal attention to the process and focus instead on ends. While repetition can assist in making us more familiar with concepts, saturation may occur and result in our inability to apply the learned concepts in novel contexts.

Mindlessness also means approaching situations context-free or "as though [knowledge] has a single meaning and is available for use in only that way" (Langer & Piper, 1987, p. 280). A domino effect of escalating cognitive inflexibility and narrowed perspective-taking ensues. When faced with information that does not fit within our existing schema, we accept an outcome orientation, discriminating among the information based on its perceived function (Mezirow, 1994). In other words, we fail to consider new possibilities or results that live outside of our expectations and current understandings.

Overuse of particular reflection strategies runs a similar risk. Kellermann (1992) contended, "...most strategies are automated in both their acquisition and enactment...they are learned and used tacitly" (p. 239). Weimann and Daly (1994) echoed this viewpoint by acknowledging that overlearning a particular strategy will cause it to drop from conscious awareness. Individuals' mindless responses (i.e., without conscious control or intention) when accommodat-

ing familiar and frequent requests have been documented through numerous empirical studies (see Langer,1989, for various examples).

Ostensibly aware of these discussions on mindfulness, proponents of reflection have warned against repetitive and routine acts of reflection. Schön (1983) argued that a practitioner may miss opportunities to think about what s/he is doing when a practice becomes more repetitive and routine. If the individual "learns, as often happens, to be selectively inattentive to phenomena that do not fit the categories of his knowing-in-action, then he may suffer from boredom or 'burn-out' and afflict [the people around him] with the consequences of his narrowness and rigidity" (p. 61). Specific to this latter point, Mezirow (1991) warned that overuse of certain forms of reflection, particularly those that are already broadly used in commonly accepted pedagogies, can run the risk of becoming further entrenched in, or an indirect proponent of, the broken system that it initially aimed to change.

In contrast to mindlessness is mindfulness, or the non-judgmental, non-reactive, conscious awareness of, and attention to, experiences in a present, contextualized reality (Brown & Ryan, 2003; Kabat-Zinn, 2005). The concept of mindfulness originates from Buddhism and involves the practice of meditation to develop the skill of mindfulness, which has been described as an awareness of being aware (Hirst, 2003), as well as "moment-by-moment awareness" (Germer, Siegel & Fulton, 2005, p. 6). The Buddhist definition of mindfulness states that it "requires both attention and concentration to be present in the current moment" (Hirst, 2003, p. 360). Moreover, it results in a more objective view of the process of experience (Germer, Siegel & Fulton, 2005).

Mindfulness practice differs from mindless approaches in that it does not attempt to make meaning from external stimuli and past experiences by cognizing them into pre-conceived categories (Brown & Ryan, 2003). Acknowledgement and acceptance of stimuli, rather than meaning-making, remains the aim. The focus of attention is unrestricted; rather, individuals are left to explore and thus gain insight into thoughts, feelings, or sensations as they consciously arise (Bishop et al., 2004). Gunaratana (1990) argued that mindfulness requires a less goal-oriented approach to endeavors and stated:

> In mindfulness, one does not strain for results. One does not try to accomplish anything. When one is mindful, one experiences reality in the present moment in whatever form it takes. There is nothing to be achieved. There is only observation. (p. 84)

Such mindful practices could train learners to be present in the moment, open to all stimuli, observing and acknowledging them without intent to understand or change. For service-learners, traditional reflection activities are not a viable path toward mindfulness since, by definition, they are goal oriented (e.g., assignment for a grade, making meaning) and ask students to attend to something that has already transpired.

Contemplation, mindfulness & outcomes

Contemplative practices attempt to develop a heightened awareness of the present moment by observing the contents of one's consciousness, body, senses, and emotions. Contemporary examples of contemplative practice include sitting in silence, guided imagery, visualization, labyrinth walking, recitation, Tai Chi, meditation, and yoga. These endeavors do not attempt to change or control the content according to externally-defined categories. Rather, contemplation cultivates an epistemology of interiority (Hart, 2007). By quieting external stimuli, the mind looks inward and detaches from "patterns of conditioned thinking, sensation, and behavior" (Varela, Thompson, & Rosch, 1993, p. 122). In this instance, our consciousness becomes open to flowing, temporal, and non-linear content thereby deepening and expanding awareness and insight. All things are seen as interconnected. Contemplative practice therefore advocates non-attachment so that we do not become absorbed by content: "This opening *within us* in turn enables a corresponding opening toward the world *before us*" (Hart, 2007, p. 2). When properly practiced and not encased by external parameters, contemplation leads to mindfulness through an attitude of equanimity and de-automatization (Deikman, 1966).

Table 1 highlights empirical findings from engagement in contemplative practices. These outcomes, namely those highlighting cognitive / academic performance and whole person development, parallel documented outcomes from engagement in service-learning. Most clearly, service-learners have demonstrated / reported increased social, cognitive, and interpersonal skills (Klute & Billig, 2002), improved moral reasoning and problem solving (Eyler, Root, & Giles, 1998), more respectful attitudes and caring toward diverse groups (Yates & Youniss, 1996), growth in personal development (Giles & Eyler, 1998; Yates & Youniss 1996), reduced risk behaviors (Billig, 2000; Meyer & Sandel, 2001), and, increased general self-efficacy (Billig, 2000; Furco, 2003).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. To what extent are service-learners' mindfulness affected overtime by engagement in reflection and contemplation activities?

2. How does the mindfulness of service-learners who are engaged in reflection and contemplation activities compare within and between treatment groups, namely those participating in reflection activities and those participating in contemplation activities?

3. How does the mindfulness of service-learners in the two treatment groups, namely those participating in reflection activities and those participating in contemplation activities, compare when covarying for their initial level of mindfulness?

TABLE 1. Select outcomes from engagement in contemplative practices

Cognitive and academic performance	Increased ability to reduce distractive thoughts and behaviors, capacity to focus attention, and greater self-awareness (Woolacott, 2007; Zylowska et al., 2008)
	Increased attention levels (Jha, Krompinger, & Baime, 2007; Miller, 1994; Slagter et al., 2007)
	Thickened brain regions associated with attention and sensory perception correlated to amount of meditation (Lazar et al., 2005; Narr et al., 2007)
	Increased academic achievement as measured through GPA scores (Hall, 1999)
Anxiety / stress management	Reduced stress and anxiety, and enhanced psychological well-being (Baer, 2003; Broderick, 2005; Brown, Ryan, & Creswell, 2007; Jain et al. , 2007; Shapiro, Brown, & Biegel, 2007)
	Lowered anxiety, depression, anger, fatigue and stress-related cortisol (Tang et al., 2007)
	Lessened reactivity to stimuli perceived as threatening, better emotional regulation, lowered anxiety/stress (Baer, Smith, Hopkins, Krietemeyer, & Toney, 2006; Brown & Ryan, 2003; Creswell, Way, Eisenberger, & Lieberman, 2007)
Whole person development	Fostered psychological, social, and spiritual growth (Davidson et al., 2003; Shapiro, Schwartz, & Santerre, 2002)
	Enhanced emotional awareness, management, and sensitivity (Goleman, 1995)
	Enhanced empathic tendencies (Shapiro & Brown, 2007; Shapiro & Walsh, 2003)
	Increased compassion for self and others (Shapiro, Astin, Bishop, & Cordova, 2005; Shapiro, et al., 2007; Walsh & Shapiro, 2006)
	Strengthened meta-cognition (Segal, Williams, & Teasdale, 2002)
	Increased feelings of benevolence, common humanity, lessened feelings of difference/discrimination, enhanced self-concept/self-esteem, handle stress, impulse control (Emavardhana & Tori, 1997)

METHODS

Design

A two-group, pre-test / post-test, randomized quasi-experimental research design was conducted to determine the extent of changes in mindfulness within and between treatment groups overtime.

Sample

The 90 participants in this study were fifth graders at a public school in the southeast of the United States. The ethnicity of the sample was composed of 56% Caucasian, 6% African-American, 13% Hispanic, 1% Asian, 1% Native

American, 10% bi-racial, 11% other, and 2% of participants did not know their ethnicity. There were 50 (56%) female and 40 (44%) male students in the sample. All students were under 18 years of age, so both parental consent and informed assent were collected per Institutional Review Board guidelines.

Procedures & treatment groups

The participants were fifth grade students enrolled in a suburban public school in the southeast of the United States in 2009. Each fifth grade class was engaging in a service-learning project as part of their environmental science unit. Eligible participants in each class were randomly assigned to one of two treatment groups, although attention was made to have gender parity between treatment groups.

Participants completed a paper form of the pre-survey (Appendix A) during the first meeting with the research team. They completed an identical post-survey after all visits and treatments were complete. Pre- and post-responses on the surveys were matched by a student identification number assigned by the teachers in order to ensure anonymity.

The research team visited the school seven times over a three month period. The first and last visits were dedicated to pre- and post-test administration. The other five hour long bi-weekly visits were explicitly for treatment sessions. Students assigned to Group 1 (dialogue reflection) met in the same small groups during each visit with the same member of the research team. In these meetings, the researcher guided students through a set of five reflection questions using group discussion / dialogue. Dialogue groups progressed through the reflection questions, with the researcher asking follow-up, probing questions. These sessions were held in the students' original classrooms. Sample questions follow.

1. Think about some times when you felt connected to the environment.

2. Think about the last time you sat outside on a lovely sunny day. How does the sun make you feel? How does the sun affect things that happen in nature? What are some specific changes that the sun affects?

3. Think about how different populations interact in a community. Now think about what populations make up your own community. What happens when one part of your community is "sick" or in danger of extinction? What can you do to help?

4. Define symbiosis (mutualism, commensalism, and parasitism). Now, think about how humans interact with our environment. How are these relationships examples of symbiosis?

Students in Group 2 (labyrinth contemplation) were gathered in a separate classroom space by one member of the research team. These participants were provided with an individual laminated, 9 x 12" paper finger labyrinth laid out the shape of Reims labyrinth in France (see Figure 1). This labyrinth model has five stops which were linked to the same five questions used by the dialogue group. During the first gathering, the research representative explained to participants the process of using the handheld labyrinth. These directions included using their non-dominant hand to trace a pathway through the two-dimentional labyrinth, pausing at each stop to read the matching question, taking three deep breaths before and after reading each question, and continuing at their own pace to move through the labyrinth. The lights were dimmed at the beginning of each of the contemplative sessions. Soothing music and deep breathing exercises led by the researcher representative preceded the individual finger tracing. Students were asked not to talk or make noise. They were invited to place their labyrinths on the floor face-down when they were finished. Participants were told that they were welcome to retrace the labyrinth at their own pace and revisit the questions as many times as they wished before exiting the labyrinth.

(Source: http://www.labyreims.com/e-reims.html)
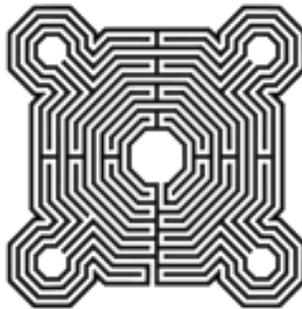
FIGURE 1. Reims labyrinth.

Measure

The Cognitive and Affective Mindfulness Scale - Revised (CAMS-R) (Feldman, Hayes, Kumar, & Greeson, 2003) is a 12-item measure of four areas of mindfulness: attention, orientation to present experience, awareness of experience, and acceptance / non-judgment towards experience. The CAMS-R offers fewer measurement questions than the original CAMS measure, while maintaining accessible language, as well as a comprehensive and broadly applicable approach to mindfulness (Feldman et al., 2003). Items are rated on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (rarely / not at all) to 4 (almost always). Ratings on the items are summed. Higher scores reflect greater mindfulness. Typical items include, "I am able to pay close attention to one thing for a long period of time," "I am able to accept the thoughts and feelings that I have," and "I

am preoccupied by the past" (reverse scored). Scores on the CAMS-R range from 12 to 48. Authors of the scale report internal consistency alphas ranging from 0.74 to 0.77.

Data Analysis

Descriptive analyses, including measures of central tendency and dispersion, were conducted to determine general information about the pre-test and post-test scores of the measured variables for both treatment groups. A 2 (Time) x 2 (Treatment Group) mixed-model ANOVA was calculated to determine relationships between dependent variable scores and the fixed independent variable of intervention.

Limitations

1. Given that students in the labyrinth contemplation treatment group were asked not to speak to one another during the treatment session, and were not allowed to ask questions of the researcher, it is assumed that students understood each question to a sufficient degree. Although students were asked not to share with one another, the degree to which students might have actually discussed the questions with one another after they were reunited in their respective classrooms remains unknown.

2. Students in the labyrinth contemplation group were gathered from different fifth grade classes. Unlike their dialogue group peers, who stayed in their original classroom settings, Group 2 students were in an unfamiliar environment. However, the treatment setting was another similar classroom at the host school.

3. Each dialogue reflection group had a different researcher leading the reflection discussion. As a result, their participation and understanding might be linked to their comfort with the dialogue leader.

4. While the CAMS-R has been tested with student, community, and clinical groups, the measure has not been validated specifically for a fifth-grade population (Feldman, Hayes, Kumar, Greeson, & Laurenceau, 2007). Our research team slightly adjusted the CAMS-R to account for reading level; adjustments were made in consultation with the authors of the tool. Further research needs to be conducted to fully understand the relationship between results on the CAMS-R and potential participants' age, context, and education level.

5. Non-Hispanic, White students were over-represented in this study. The generalizability of the study's findings across more diverse populations and other non-White sub-groups are limited for this reason.

6. Additionally, limited demographic information was collected from participants in this study. Further information on participants' socio-economic status, learning abilities, and other identity markers could potentially impact generalizability of the study results as well and requires additional attention.

RESULTS

Descriptives

Each treatment group's mindfulness score increased from the pre- to post-measure (see Table 2). The mean mindfulness of students from the dialogue group increased from 29.87 (SD = 4.39) to 30.11 (SD = 4.34) for an overtime change of 0.24 (SD = 4.82). Labyrinth group students' scores also increased from 29.27 (SD = 4.33) to 29.59 (SD = 4.81) for an overtime change of 0.32 (SD = 3.71). Dialogue group students reported higher mindfulness scores on both the pre- and post-test scores by 0.60 and 0.62 points, respectively.

TABLE 2. Paired samples mindfulness scores by treatment group

Scale	N	%	Pre-Survey		Post-Survey		Paired Differences	
			Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Diff. Mean	SD
Mindfulness	90	100	29.58	4.35	29.86	4.56	0.28	4.29
Dialogue	46	51.1	29.87	4.39	30.11	4.34	0.24	4.82
Labyrinth	44	48.9	29.27	4.33	29.59	4.81	0.32	3.71

Mixed-model ANOVA

A 2 (Time) x 2 (Treatment Group) mixed-model ANOVA revealed a non-significant main effect for Time, $F(1, 88) = .376$, $p = .541$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$. A significant effect of Time x Treatment Group was not obtained, $F(1, 88) = .008$, $p = .931$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Main effect between dialogue and labyrinth Treatment Groups was also not significant $F(1, 88) = .456$, $p = .501$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$.

To control for initial group differences on the mindfulness pre-test score, ANCOVA were conducted. Analyses found that the covariate significantly predicts the post-test dependent variable (see Table 3). Therefore, the participants' mindfulness after the intervention is influenced by their mindfulness before starting, $F(1, 87) = 34.92$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .29$. The treatment group was not found to influence the participants' mindfulness significantly when controlling for the pre-test scores, $F(1, 87) = .05$, $p = .824$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Because the value of the fixed factor treatment group is not significant at the critical alpha .05 level, no further analyses (e.g., parameter estimates) were conducted. In summary, by taking into account the pre-test, we can conclude that the treatment group did not have a significant effect on changes in mindfulness. The effect of a student's level of mindfulness prior to service-learning engagement did have a small effect.

TABLE 3. Multivariate tests results on time and treatment group

Effect	Wilks' Lambda	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	p	η^2
Time	.996	.376	1	88	.541	.004
Time * Group	1.00	.008	1	88	.931	.000

Note. *p < .05

TABLE 4. Mixed-model ANOVA on treatment group variable

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Pre-Test				
Between Groups	8.011	1	8.011	.421
Within Groups	1673.945	88	19.022	
Total	1681.956	89		
Post-Test				
Between Groups	6.029	1	60.29	.288
Within Groups	1841.093	88	20.922	
Total	1847.122	89		

Note. *p < .05

TABLE 5. Analysis of covariance summary

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	η^2
Group	.748	1	.748	.050	.001
Pre-Test	527.362	1	527.362	*34.924	.286
Error	1313.731	87	15.100		

Note. *p < .005

DISCUSSION & IMPLICATIONS

This study examined how service-learners' mindfulness was affected overtime after engaging in either reflection or contemplation activities. While both dialogue and contemplative labyrinth treatment groups reported increases in mindfulness as measured by CAMS-R, neither within or between group overtime changes were significant. Contemplative labyrinth tracing does not appear to be better than dialogue reflection at increasing mindfulness in fifth grade service-learners. However, contemplative labyrinth tracing performed as well as traditional dialogue reflection.

At first consideration, readers may dismiss contemplative activities based on this study, at least their potential utility in service-learning. However, a non-significant overtime change may not be unlikely given that participants were not

practiced in these contemplative practices. Education as an institution continues to ignore contemplative practices as viable pedagogical tools because they have been historically connected to all of the world's major contemplative spiritual and philosophical traditions; yet, many of these practices may be introduced in secular form (Duerr, 2004; Kabat-Zinn, 1996). Others have advocated for a more balanced education that includes a simultaneous cultivation of the tangible and intangible aspects of human existence – mind, body, and soul, thereby addressing both the intuitive and analytic side to learning (Slattery, 2006). Proponents explain that the aim is not to replace the rational with the spiritual, but rather to allow each to inform the other. This point carries additional weight when we consider that the contemplative group fared no worse statistically than those learners who engaged in one of the most familiar and practiced reflection techniques.

An additional point to consider is that the infusion of contemplative strategies may add value beyond the parameters of the immediate investigation. Given that contemplation has been linked to a reduction of stress and anxiety, such methods may help to balance and act as a coping tool for young learners burdened by a product-oriented school culture, exemplified by standardized tests and the No Child Left Behind policy. Contemplative practices have successfully been employed in schools to reduce sadness, anger, inertia, stress and anxiety (Brooks, 2007; Khalsa et al., 2012; Mendelson et al., 2010; Napoli, Krech, & Holley, 2005; White, 2012). This point partially rests on the assumption that researchers, practitioners, and policymakers are concerned with the development of young learners' mindfulness. We are cogently aware that in the current culture of accountability that pervades our schools, this assumption may be obtuse. However, research findings across various fields and disciplines of study warrant our consideration if we are, in fact, interested in supporting the holistic, whole-person development of today's students beyond content knowledge and test-taking aptitude. Further, Dewey affirms that "the integration of mind-body in action" is a pressing and practical concern for civilization (Dewey, 2008, pp. 29-30), one that demands social reconstruction as well as individual efforts to achieve better unity in practice.

Regardless of stakeholder buy-in, we cannot discount the developmental stage of the fifth-graders, who may be considered either elementary or middle schoolers depending on their county / district. As pre-adolescents, social interaction for this age group is paramount. Peers become a powerful influence on social behavior which may play a role in the excitement about, level of engagement in, and meaning acquired from group vs. individual pedagogical strategies. In contrast, sensitivity to emotions increases at this period, which may give credence to embracing more introspective methods. Gender roles may play a mediating role as well. Boys tend to become more proactive in whole-group settings, like class discussions. Girls, in contrast, have shown greater aptitude in more individually-directed tasks such as reading. Intellectually, fifth-graders

are increasingly curious. While they want to be independent, supporting contemplative strategies, they continue to seek emotional support from adults. These learners straddle Piaget's concrete and formal operational stages. Those in the latter stage may be better attuned to abstract learning modalities that require significant processing "in their heads" (e.g., labyrinth tracing).

Developing a process-orientation and a keen sense of self and one's thoughts, feelings, and physiology may be dependent on duration and personal development. It may be argued, then, that contemplation deserves further exploration and study as a viable tool in the service-learning classroom. After all, "every method has its limitations, so given the diversity of human needs, problems, aims, contexts, and temperaments, it would be foolish to advocate one method as always superior or always helpful" (Shusterman, 2008, p. 213). Tucker (1999) acknowledged service-learning's eclectic epistemology, which could allow for new approaches and position it to contribute to other ways of knowing (Yankelovich, 2005) – a trend conjectured to radically transform education in the next decade.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Given the relative homogeneity of the sample, replication would provide additional sets of data on which to draw more definitive conclusions. While somewhat antithetical to the use of contemplative methods, future research may also consider conducting focus groups with labyrinth group participants. This would provide clarity on how learners are approaching, interacting, and making meaning from the novel contemplative activities.

Future research should compare the use of labyrinth tracing with other individual reflection activities (e.g., journal) that may present a less immediate and more internalized process of reflection. These investigations should also extend across age levels, with purposeful consideration to the development of intellectual and emotional maturity of the participants.

Lastly, other measures associated with service-learning should be included. For example, civic responsibility and content knowledge are central to the service and learning goals respectively. In addition, self-efficacy and other psychological constructs have been linked to effective service-learning and thus may warrant direct attention on how reflection or contemplation activities mediate these outcomes.

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APPENDIX 1. Cognitive and affective mindfulness scale - Revised (CAMS-R) (Feldman, Hayes, Kumar, & Greeson, 2003)

Directions: People have a variety of ways of relating to their thoughts and feelings. For each of the items below, circle ONE answer that best describes that statement for you. There are no correct answers. Please answer honestly.

1. It is easy for me to concentrate on what I am doing.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

2. I often worry about the future.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

3. I can deal with painful feelings.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

4. If something cannot be changed, I tell myself it is OK just the way it is.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

5. I can usually describe how I feel at the moment in a lot of detail.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

6. I am easily distracted.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

7. I think about things in the past over and over again.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

8. It's easy for me to keep track of my thoughts and feelings.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

9. I try to notice my thoughts without judging them as bad or wrong.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

10. I am comfortable with the thoughts and feelings I have.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

11. I am able to focus on the present moment.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

12. I am able to pay close attention to one thing for a long period of time.
    Rarely/Not at all *Sometimes* *Often* *Almost Always*

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MOVING FROM THE MARGINS: CULTURALLY SAFE TEACHER EDUCATION IN REMOTE NORTHWEST-ERN BRITISH COLUMBIA[1]

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ABSTRACT. In 2007 the University of Northern British Columbia initiated a two-year elementary teacher education program at the Northwest Campus in Terrace, British Columbia. The program was designed to meet specific community needs in the North that arise from inequities in the cultural safety of Indigenous teachers and students. The authors share three collegial inquiries into the program's contribution toward improving cultural safety in K-12 schools and meeting social justice challenges in the region's communities. Culturally safe allocation of space became better understood, affective learning outcomes were recognized as important determinants of cultural safety, and teacher action in classrooms towards cultural safety was scaffolded for various settings.

SORTIR DE LA MARGE: UNE FORMATION CULTURELLEMENT SÉCURITAIRE DES ENSEI-GNANTS DANS LE LOINTAIN NORD DE LA COLOMBIE-BRITANNIQUE

RÉSUMÉ. En 2007, l'Université du Nord de la Colombie-Britannique a mis sur pied un programme de formation des enseignants à l'élémentaire d'une durée de deux ans, à son campus nord-ouest, situé à Terrace, en Colombie-Britannique. Ce programme a été conçu pour répondre aux besoins spécifiques de la communauté du nord, dont les inégalités existantes en termes de sécurité culturelle des enseignants et des élèves autochtones. Les auteurs partagent trois collaborations entre collègues issues du programme. Celles-ci ont contribué à améliorer la sécurité culturelle dans les écoles maternelle à secondaire 5 et à relever les défis de justice sociale présents dans les communautés de la région. L'attribution culturellement sécuritaire de l'espace a été mieux comprise, les conséquences affectives de l'apprentissage ont été reconnues comme des déterminants importants de la sécurité culturelle et les gestes des enseignants valorisant la sécurité culturelle dans leur classe ont été soutenus dans divers contextes.

Local school districts in British Columbia's northwestern region are characterized by a high percentage of First Nations students (Coast Mountain School District [CMSD], 2011). Meeting student needs arising from the current sociopolitical context, which includes a formal federal apology for the harmful

effects on First Nations of forced residential school attendance, a three year controversy prior to the 2010 Canadian endorsement of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous peoples, and continued treaty negotiations in BC for autonomy on traditional territories, requires a great deal of attention to an agenda of cultural safety. Hence, in this article, the central concept on which the three authors' program case studies converge is *cultural safety in teacher training*. We define cultural safety as:

•   The effective teaching of a person / family from another culture by a teacher who has undertaken a process of reflection on his / her own cultural identity and recognizes the impact of the teacher's culture on his / her own classroom practice (adapted from Nursing Council of New Zealand [NCNZ], 2011, p.7).

•   "Unsafe cultural practice is any action that diminishes, demeans or disempowers the cultural identity and well being of an individual" or group (National Aboriginal Health Organization [NAHO], 2006, p. 3).

Thus, cultural safety may be identified with effective cross-cultural teaching or the absence of unsafe practices, actions, and reactions. In the context of public education, the definition of cultural safety refers primarily to the cultural identity and well being of groups.

In this collaborative paper we investigate three of the cultural safety dimensions that emerged from the UNBC teacher training program for elementary teachers we teach; they concerned the allocation of physical space in the classroom, the roles of affective learning outcomes in the hidden and formal curricula, and strategies for strengthening cultural safety in the community context.[2] We focus specifically on the program's progress in facilitating cultural safety for student teachers. Cultural safety can transform power imbalances, neutralize institutional discrimination, and address the effects of colonization. Efforts to achieve cultural safety necessitate respect and trust, and they proceed in a non-linear continuum through the stages of cultural awareness, cultural sensitivity, cultural competencies, and ultimately to cultural safety (Ramsden 2005).[3]

At the very heart of classroom practice is the issue of how a university classroom environment could be structured to optimize cultural safety for the fifteen student teachers from under-served groups. Hence, our first focus area was the physical classroom environment. We first describe events that promoted cultural safety in the teacher education program. Our observations are presented on the role of space and place in defining and asserting cultural identity in the classroom, using the example of our two cohorts of teacher candidates.

Accommodating the needs of diverse groups in light of cultural safety necessitates that educators and students openly discuss and respect the values and dispositions that each culture brings to the classroom. This accords with Madsden's (1996) dictum that "all action is goal-directed and all goals are value-selected"

(p.80). Our second focus area addresses the affective learning outcomes (values, attitudes, motivations and interests) pursued in the program and their contribution to promoting cultural safety. Standards of professional practice subtly limit the influence a particular value can have (BCCT, 2008). This reasoned attention to tolerance and respect represents in itself a value – an important affective learning outcome that too often receives limited attention.

Much of the educational distress for students from cultural minorities is caused by inadequate consultation and sporadic follow-up between the educational institution and their communities. The main concerns of those communities with respect to schooling and professional training are often not taken into account in institutional policy. Cultural safety requires that those gaps be closed. In the third section we identify avenues to cultural safety explored through action research projects begun by experienced teachers and our School of Education faculty.

The need for new ways of teaching cross-culturally is evident across the province in high rates of high school non-completion for First Nations students. The northern rate of incompletion has been variously described as 40 per cent, as half of the students, and as approaching 60% (the latter was reported by BC Stats, 2011). For some local bands incompletion is closer to 80 per cent (C. Guno, Education Director, Kitsumkalum band, personal communication, June 18, 2011). The data on completion rates indicates a real need to address cross-cultural dynamics and cultural safety.

> Forty-six per cent of 18 year olds in the area's Coast Mountain School District didn't graduate in 2006-2007, compared to a provincial average of 26.2 per cent. Across B.C., First Nations people are much less likely to graduate - 43 per cent of First Nations people between 25 and 64 years have not completed high school. (Hyslop, 2011, para. 26)

Sleeter (2005) stated: "Failure of students to learn or participate may say more about students' resistance to the curriculum (or to the teacher) than about their ability to learn" (p. 65). A lens of cultural safety allows teachers and teacher educators to deconstruct the school context from the student's perspective and partner with communities towards student completion.

PROGRAM CASE STUDY 1: MOVING FROM THE MARGINS: SHIFTING PLACES AND SPACES

Beginnings

In an address to music educators in 1990 Ted Aoki said the following:

> There are two questions we would like Bobby Shew to speak to, sing to or play to. The first question is "When does an instrument cease to be an instrument?" and the second question is, "What is it to improvise? What is improvisation?" (p. 367)

Aoki (1990) went on to ask: "could improvisation be a way to create spaces to allow differences to show through?" (p. 369). The Aboriginal group in the UNBC Teacher Education Program became a reflection of Aoki's vision of improvisation.

Most students in this cohort were of European background. Of the twenty-nine students, seven were self-identified Aboriginal, and of those, six were Gitxsan people from Hazelton (Gitanmaax, Gitanyou and Kispiox). Their presence in the program raised two important questions. First, how do we support the First Nation people in the program? "Support" encompasses the concept of providing a culturally safe environment where First Nations students feel their cultures are recognized and accepted within the program and their contributions are of value to the class. Second, how do we support all the other teacher candidates to comfortably work with all First Nations teacher candidates in the program?

While the program team strove to integrate First Nation values and knowledge into the various courses, the First Nations students themselves were also working to create a space and place in which they could feel comfortable. This section of the paper considers how that was achieved.

Opening day: Education 390. On the very first day the instructor organizing the introduction to the practicum course in schools took the students to Kitsumkalum reserve. There, on the banks of the Kalum River, two First Nations leaders spoke to the students of the important task they were embarking upon. This event took the familiar and made it unfamiliar (Tuan, 1986). Students usually expect to stay in the classroom, be handed syllabi, and be told what will occur throughout the courses. It was a surprise to the teacher candidates to be wrenched from the safety of the Terrace Campus building and transported to the banks of a river: a journey to a "foreign place." The river bank was "foreign," since many students had passed by the place without really seeing it. They had travelled this road in their cars many times before, and it had become familiar . Now here, amid pouring rain, they gathered on the banks of this place with two strangers walking up to greet and engage in a short dialogue with each student in the circle. The instructor described this as a "magical moment"; "magical" for here the local First Nations had experienced their ancestors coming and going in their canoes over the centuries. In the 1890's steamboats came to this place and took away wood to burn. Twenty years later, a railway demanded right of way through the graveyard, and still later a highway bisected their land. Now here were the students, partaking in part of the healing process as traditional welcoming to the territory was being re-instated.

Dividing the group. To underline the importance of the First Nations in the region, most students took a course entitled *Introduction to First Nations Education*. Three of the First Nations women took this course. The other four Gitxsan

women had taken UNBC's Culture and Language program and started an Early Childhood Education Degree. This meant that Gitxsan students would take some courses in common with the full group but others would not since they had already taken these as part of their other program. The other four would take Education 396. This course was listed as a seminar course, but it still needed development of an outline and focus. This was my (the instructor's) first contact with the four Gitxsan women. When Aoki asked those two questions – what is it to improvise? what is improvisation? – he was speaking directly to me that night. After the introductions, I really wasn't sure where the course would lead.

One of the first lessons, I decided, was to listen carefully to what was being said. It was clear by the end of the two hours that these women knew what they wanted: to run or open elementary schools in Gitxsan territory where Gitxsanimax would be the foundational language. We began a journey that would weave itself through their program for two years. Within this journey food would become one of the main connecting elements. We would all come with our offerings for the night. Other students would often pass by the room as our Thursday night banquet was laid out. Food plays an important role in Gitxsan society. "Family and food are a priority. When we get together we all bring food" (Audrey, February 22, 2009). One does not exist without the other. As one student commented: "Where there is a gathering of people, there is always food as it helps us to keep focused on the issues that we have come together to address" (Audrey, September 6, 2009).

The Gitxsan students later commented that they would bring food to share with the whole group, usually on Fridays but that the other students in the class didn't contribute. Whenever food was needed for other student led events "we organized the food basically" (Audrey, February 22, 2009). Three of the non-First Nations students "got it" and so they would move physically and socially closer to the group. They were "adopted," that is, accepted as if they were a First Nations person in the class. This opening across cultural identities was visible, yet remained invisible in the dynamics of the whole group, until the inquiry went to the instructors and was articulated. As one First Nations student commented: they "were being trained and groomed in our ways because they already had some of the components that were essential to thrive in our society" (Audrey, February 22, 2009). These components included a willingness to freely share notes and ideas with others.

Establishing a territory within a place. What becomes important is the way in which the back of our double size classroom emerged as a "place": an area where the values and traditions of the six Gitxsan women in the course became established and recognized as "their territory," their sense of place and belonging. Tuan (1991) reminded us, "what [we] do not see and hear are the discussions and commands crucial to the process of making anything that is not so routine as to be almost instinctive" (p. 684).

At first glance, the row of tables across the back of the room is like any other back row (of a classroom arranged in a U shape). But as one of the women said: "Back of the room is our turf"... "it was territory because Gitxsan's are territorial" (Audrey, March 18, 2009). The territory came with unspoken rites and traditions. To understand the traditions we need to understand how the back of the room, became a "territory" and how that territory became linked to overall student success in understanding First Nations generally within the teacher education program. As one First Nations student commented:

> The back is where we feel comfortable and it has a homelike environment, then there is a sense of belonging within a group, then it becomes our territory. We feel a close bond with each other and, like our ancestors we closed the circle to enhance everyone and protect them in our traditional ways as family. (Julie, February 22, 2009)

The territory emerged from the need not to turn one's head back and forth to see speakers. The sides of the room required this motion. Audrey Woods described it in this way:

> Visually we had a view of all sides.... Others at the back say it's just comfortable.... As a Gitxsan person, we are trained and groomed to observe, listen and be sure of what we say before we say it. This is also a liability in a university environment because we are considered not to be participating. We are taught not to say things unless we mean it because we don't get a second chance and we can never take back our words. Also we are taught to only speak once on a topic. (Audrey, March 18, 2009)

The back of the room actually began as a "tradition of the back room," since in the beginning there was a row in front of this row. The "back row phenomenon" was explained this way: "In church my Grandmother would always sit in the back to listen.... We have a humble modesty" (Audrey April 10, 2009). The back row suited the situation.

Over time, however, the original front row was folded into the two sides. The back row became the front row on that side, now visible to all. But its existence was practical and pedagogical. As mentioned earlier, the four women didn't take all of the courses in the program at the same time the other students did.

At first glance this wasn't important, but in fact was very significant for the missing course was often blended into the next course they took. The four found they needed to understand the missing course in order to make sense of the current course. So they had to buy books and borrow notes in order to catch up. The two non-First Nations students, one on each wing of the territory, freely lent them their notes. They understood, and so they became part of the territory. They were adopted.

A third non-First Nations student was also adopted. "She had the traits we have- like our own life style, beliefs and function" (Audrey, February 22, 2008). They would laugh and playfully call her by a Gitxsan variation of her name.

Beyond this they supported her and helped her to gain the confidence to speak out when she needed to.

The students at the back always sat at the same place.

> Our seating arrangement is like at the feast hall – you were designated where you would sit... We liked to come early so we had our place.... If we didn't sit together we 'didn't feel the strength when we didn't sit in the same place.' (Audrey, April 10, 2009)

The significance of the territory is not to be underestimated. Tuan (1975) suggested its power when he states:

> To know a place fully means both to understand it in an abstract way and to know it as one person knows another. At a high theoretical level, places are points in a spatial system. At the opposite extreme, they are strong visceral feelings. Places are seldom known at either extreme: the one is too remote from sensory experience to be real, and the other presupposes rootedness in a locality and an emotional commitment to it that are increasingly rare. (p. 152)

Over time, even if a few were late, their seats wouldn't be occupied. "This showed a mutual respect from the other students" (Julie, February 22, 2009). At the same time there might have been a feeling of fear at play. As one First Nations student suggested: "Respect or fear? We all definitely have a very powerful aura in the way that we conduct ourselves. Many times we don't even have to say a word. Our presence speaks volumes." (Julie, February 22, 2009)

The classroom space as territory was recognized by the group. Was it resented? "I don't think so. I had so much on my plate. I just don't have time to think about it" (Audrey, April 16, 2009). This left the Gitxsan students with the security they needed to feel welcome within the group. It had over the course of the two years become "their space". From their territory they openly shared their knowledge and food with the rest of the group. It permitted them to speak out, in powerful ways, about their views on teaching and learning. That the stability of the territory was important to the women is reflected in the following comment: "No one would occupy that space even if we [Gitxsan students] were away" (Audrey, April 10, 2009).

Shifting spaces

These next few months revealed shifting spaces. There were two events that uncovered this. One was the death of the father of three of the women. This man was a world renowned carver. All of the Gitxsan students would travel for the funeral. Two returned to the class briefly to pick up a flower arrangement and a card. They were surprised that some of the remaining students had "occupied" their seats, their space. "They didn't even let them get cold." The occupiers would have moved for them but "we were only there for a few minutes" (Audrey, February 22, 2009). This event raises the question of how secure the back territory really was within the class, or whether or not the

rest of the students understood its significance to the First Nations students. Although, as Audrey commented,

> It really didn't matter because we know who we are and where we come from. When some of our group were away, it felt like a link was missing and that we were not complete. This is the reason we all left to go to the funeral. We felt like we were sisters and needed to be there to provide support for our sisters. (Audrey, February 22, 2009)

The second event occurred in a Fine Arts methods course. Students divided into two groups for their presentation. One group presented a series of individual talents. The other group presented a First Nation legend contributed by one of the Gitxsan students. Only six European background students were involved. To the Gitxsan students this suggested that "many were getting tired of First Nations" as a theme. (Audrey, February 22, 2009). The class seemed to divide.

Thoughts

The space that Aoki foresaw as a possibility opened up, but not in the way some might imagine. The Gitxsan students certainly improvised in a way that the instructors could not have predicted at the beginning of the program. There were few open reactions to the creation of the territory within the classroom. Their point of view could be viewed as follows: "united we have strength and no one can abuse us, but divided we can be conquered" (Audrey, April 16, 2009). Further, the Gitxsan students didn't feel there was hostility to "their territory." From the instructor's point of view the emergence of a functioning territory in the cohort meant that the program provided the necessary, culturally safe environment, to not challenge its existence. As the program moves forward the values and lessons related to creating a culturally safe environment have encouraged the instructors to move forward in very positive and open ways. In many ways the heart of the program is the on-going dialogue between the UNBC School of Education (Terrace) and the First Nations communities.

PROGRAM CASE STUDY 2: AFFECTIVE LEARNING OUTCOMES FACILITATING CULTURAL SAFETY

At the center of the dialogue between UNBC and the First Nations communities are values, attitudes, dispositions, motivations, and interests that constitute affective learning outcomes (ALOs). Many educationists (e.g., Stiggins, 2008) classify all ALOs under the concept of dispositions, as do we in this paper. Characteristic action verbs include appreciate, become interested in, engage with, value, defend, advocate, choose, adopt, identify with. In Bloom's taxonomy (Bloom, 1956; Anderson et al, 2001) the affective domain is organised into the five levels of receiving, responding, valuing, organizing, and characterising. While the taxonomy of ALOs in its original form did not specifically take into account cultural diversity, much of its content is primarily

defined by cultural influences, both in the curriculum and in the background behaviour and learning of each student. Cultural safety requires educators to take into account the values and attitudes of all learners when implementing an educational program.

In recent years, the curriculum debate has moved away from ALOs and focused primarily on the cognitive domain (Bebau, 1993). One possible reason may lie in the emergence of a certain moral pluralism that moved educators to perceive moral instruction as too problematic and to make greater efforts to steer clear of ideological conflicts. Other reasons may be the widespread partiality for the logical positivism that accompanies modernity (which tends to marginalise alternative values) and the general obsession with individual autonomy and rights (Lickona, 1991). As well, ALOs have always been notoriously difficult to teach and to assess. This has caused many ALOs to move into the hidden curriculum (Contenta, 1993), which makes it more difficult to address the affective side of cultural safety issues.

The hidden curriculum is responsible for the implicit transmission of ideological content that serves to reproduce and perpetuate dominant power relationships (Contenta, 1993; McLaren, 1994), as well as ideologies and cultural traditions (Giroux, 1985). The hidden curriculum includes assumptions, beliefs, values, and ideals that exert their influence between the lines of curriculum documents and learning materials, and from unspoken rules and practices in school culture and beyond. Its significance cannot be overstated. Many ALOs are transmitted through implicit assumptions, priorities, judgments, prejudices and expectations. It seems appropriate to target the hidden curriculum as a major source of those ALOs that compromise cultural safety, to render those implicit messages explicit and subject to appropriate revision.

As stated above, the widespread inattention to dispositions has caused many ALOs to move into the hidden curriculum as implicit parts of behavioural outcome statements. For example, a grade 5 science unit on renewable and non-renewable resources directs students to "analyse how BC's living and non-living resources are used" and to "identify methods for extracting or processing and harvesting" those resources (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 29). The objectives imply the materialist commodification of nature in a narrow commercial sense and the dominant, cornucopian view of progress (Lautensach & Lautensach, 2011). Thus, they represent an attempt to inculcate a specific value orientation (that of the dominant culture) without allowing for an open discussion of any values, let alone alternative ones. Clearly this move of ALOs towards the hidden curriculum contravenes the priorities of cultural safety that necessitate their explication.

In addition to the hidden curriculum, ALOs are found in explicit form in official curricula such as the one mandated by the British Columbia Ministry of Education (2005). For instance, the BC elementary curriculum features ALOs

such as "identifying thoughtful, caring behaviour in families" (Kindergarten Health & Career Education, p. 30) and "developing attitudes that support the responsible acquisition and application of scientific and technological knowledge" (goal 4 of scientific literacy, Grade 7 Life Science, p. 11). Action verbs such as evaluate, show respect, appreciate, while not exactly abundant among the profusion of cognitive objectives, occur in most units. This explicitness gives a sense of direction to teaching and it guides assessment. Yet, their vagueness prevents teachers from using them to strengthen cultural safety.

The role of ALOs in curricula for teacher education has been quite different. The BC College of Teachers established eight standards of professional practice, three of which consist largely of dispositions that are explicitly described (BCCT, 2008). Specific, affective action verbs appearing in the Standards include to value, care, respect, act ethically and honestly. The BCCT requires teacher education programs to assess teacher candidates on those ALOs. To a much greater extent than in the school curriculum, ALOs are part of the explicit teacher education curriculum and addressed directly in the assessment process. However, the cultural diversity of values and attitudes, and the diversity of culturally contingent interpretations of ALOs, are still not sufficiently emphasised.

Predictably, those discrepancies created considerable confusion among our teacher candidates, which manifested in prolonged and lively discussions. The question to what extent to teach and assess ALOs in public education while strengthening cultural safety was mirrored by similar uncertainties about ALOs in teacher education. We pursued those issues through class discussions and in an essay.

Class Discussions

In class discussions it became clear at an early stage that the conflicts surrounding cultural safety are primarily ideological. Ideologies, consisting of beliefs, assumptions and values, inform people's interpretations of the world around them, and thus also their interpretations of curriculum and of professional standards (Felluga, 2003). Furthermore, the curriculum in all its manifestations contains ideological messages that people of different cultural backgrounds react differently towards. In their essays (described below), the students described specific areas where cultural safety is jeopardized by ideological conflict and identified ALOs mandated in the BCCT Standards upon which counterstrategies could be devised. A sample of themes is shown in Table 1.

Specific counterstrategies included modeling some ALOs, teaching other ALOs explicitly, interaction and communication with all students and their families, and community involvement. To implement those counterstrategies effectively, teacher candidates, through their lesson plans, deliberated on four key questions. We summarise here the conclusions from those deliberations.

TABLE 1. Using the BCCT Standards to offset the hidden curriculum on cultural safety

Hidden Messages from the mandated curriculum and from traditional mainstream practice	ALOs mandated by the BCCT Standards (numbered) of professional practice (BCCT 2009)
Domination by Judaeo-Christian traditions	Inclusion of and respect for all cultures (#1)
Marginalisation of Aboriginal forms of cultural expression, of efforts to affirm identity, and of efforts to assert self-determination	Build cultural self-image of Aboriginals (#1, #4)
Informal streaming and ranking of students and of schools along unidimensional scales through standardized competitive assessment	Facilitate and encourage personal growth of all children along idiosyncratic paths (#1, #3)
Modernist ideology advocates 'reason over ignorance', 'order over chaos', 'science over superstition'	Respect for the diversity of cultures, their beliefs and values (#1, #2)
Conform to established practices and norms in school culture without explicit questioning	Contribute constructively to the profession (#8)

Can specific ALOs be taught effectively? Which ones can, and which cannot? The acquisition of dispositions during the formative years is in fact inevitable and well characterized in various stage models by Piaget (1932), Kohlberg (1973), Ornell (1980), Coles (1997) and others. It occurs in the family and community, in peer groups, through religious activities, through the media, and during general enculturation and socialisation, and it favours the values of the hegemonic culture. Teaching methods for ALOs, including role modeling, experiential learning, interpretation of narratives, and value clarification have been published and practiced extensively (Caduto, 1983; Freakley and Burgh, 2000). A formal educational effort towards certain desirable dispositions renders the process more explicit and controllable than it would be under those informal influences listed above. Moreover, formal ALOs can counterbalance the hegemonic influence. However, some values cannot be taught (such as the ones requiring years of modeling by a parent), and many probably should not be assessed, yet need to be explicated.[4] To ensure cultural safety, the assessment procedure and the subsequent evaluation of the student should take into account cultural differences on the definitions and applications of values.

What are the benefits for cultural safety of teaching ALOs explicitly? In the absence of a formal educational effort, the acquisition of values is merely relegated

to the implicit (the hidden curriculum) and other avenues mentioned above. The process also becomes less reliable. Certain dispositions that are primarily transmitted through peer contact and entertainment media are now widely considered counterproductive (e.g., the students' attitudes towards violence, or prejudices about aboriginal identity). In contrast, explicit value education can bring considerable benefits (Goodlad, Soder, & Sirotnik, 1990), including targeted support for developing cultural sensitivity, awareness, and competencies. Striking the right balance between moral universalism (e.g., with respect to human rights or sustainability) and moral pluralism (e.g., concerning spiritual beliefs) obviously represents a challenge in that context. The BCCT Standards help define the lines along which compromises might be achieved.

Besides the need to outcompete counterproductive default dispositions, several other considerations warrant formal efforts to promote certain values over others. Many students from cultural minorities arrive in the classroom with perfectly adequate cognitive skills but low cultural self-esteem; teachers would be remiss if they did not make deliberate efforts to help them use those cognitive skills to build self-esteem (at the individual and cultural levels). This requires explicit discussion and deliberation about values. In the context of increasing dominance of a modern global culture, Aboriginal nations are struggling to maintain their cultural identity. Their efforts towards cultural sustainability deserve what support the education system can contribute, including promoting critical thinking and discussing culturally diverse alternatives. Its success hinges on finding the right methods as much as defining the right outcomes.

To what extent are teachers' attitudes towards value education contingent on their cultural background? Both cohorts of teacher candidates communicated frankly and frequently across cultural boundaries. Differences of opinion were freely expressed and accepted, without exempting them from academic scrutiny. Although disagreements frequently arose along cultural lines, few of those disagreements ended up unresolved, and almost all were addressed. An issue where one cohort decided to disagree concerned the teaching of respect for personal property and for truth telling in elementary classrooms; the Aboriginal teacher candidates favoured a more relativistic view of those ideals. While the disagreement on an ALO precludes attempts at teaching it, it should not impede further deliberation.

Essay on Addressing the Hidden Curriculum

Teacher candidates wrote a short essay on the influence of the hidden curriculum on any one of the following issues: gender relations, cultural hegemony, cultural preservation and reassertion of cultural identities, Aboriginal self-determination, or another issue relating to cultural safety. These topics seemed appropriate for two reasons: Conflicts were evident on these issues between the BCCT Standards of Practice (BCCT, 2008) and the curriculum (BC Ministry of Education, 2005) in its explicit and hidden forms; and the

conflicts appeared to be mainly ideological and related to modernist assumptions (in the curriculum) contradicting the principles of cultural safety (as represented in the Standards).

The application of critical theory to ideological conflicts can direct educators towards productive questions and towards promising transformative strategies to promote their own cultural safety and that of their students. Accordingly, the content and quality of the essays submitted by the two cohorts confirmed that values and ideologies of hidden curricula took a central role in those novice teachers' conceptualisations of dangers to cultural safety. They invariably sharpened their critical skills of analysis and expressed their findings concisely.

In their essays, the teacher candidates agreed that, to the extent that cross-cultural agreement can be achieved, the teaching of certain ALOs can bring great benefits for the cultural safety of students. This potential translates into a moral obligation for the teacher to make the attempt. Among these ALOs, the cohort prioritised those that addressed the negative effects of the hidden curriculum. Table 1 lists those effects and shows how the BCCT Standards for Professional Conduct mandate the mitigation of those negative effects.

PROGRAM CASE STUDY 3: TEACHER ACTION RESEARCH FOR CULTURAL SAFETY

In the third focus area for cultural safety in the B.Ed. program, McDonald led three teacher educators in a one year, teacher-action research project with ten teachers. The teacher educator's purpose was to discuss teachers' questions around Indigenous student success and to brainstorm classroom interventions. The project design included each teacher participating in brainstorming questions, focusing on a specific question, developing an intervention, collecting pre- and post-data, and presenting their findings at the closing meeting in June.

Background on the need for change

Teachers enthusiastically discussed Leroy Little Bear's (2007) presentation on Indigenous epistemologies and the new quantum sciences at a local conference. The three project leaders wanted to build on questions raised at the conference by teachers and leaders: How do teachers experience cultural safety, their own professional safety, and action in their classrooms for indigenous student safety and success? New discussions needed to continue on items from residential schools and identity changes, to terminology (schools and government use of the term aboriginal, and First Nations leaders use of the term indigenous, for example).

Approximately 55% of the 5,050 students are identified as Aboriginal in the school district (CMSD, 2011). Conducting research on educational change and teacher action research, Kaser and Halbert (2009) found that "persistent work

on combining intense purpose, a focus on deep-learning, informed evidence-seeking, genuine inquiry-mindedness, and thoughtfully designed professional learning in the context of respectful and trusting relationships" (p. 3) results in strong outcomes for both Aboriginal students and the school community. Teacher action research was chosen as a method of inquiry because the process "treats teachers as capable of playing active roles in their own professional development and of creating new knowledge about effective approaches to instruction" (Caro-Bruce, Flessner, Klehr, and Zeichner, 2007, p. x).

The majority of teachers and administrators in northern districts are Euro-Canadian. This continuing mismatch for Indigenous children has cultural safety implications for students and families. Egbo (2009) commented on the need for teachers in cross-cultural classrooms "to create alternative visions of their classrooms. These go beyond the orthodox practices and pedagogies that are, more often than not, incompatible with the socio-demographic realities of their teaching environments" (p. 155). Oakes and Lipton (2007) called for leadership in reforming "absolute certainties and universal truths as mined from the depths of white, Western culture [which are] weak and limiting guidelines for deciding what and how students will learn in the twenty-first century" (p. 95).

The school district we teach in is unique as it is situated in the traditional territories of the Gitxsan, Haisla, and Tsimshian First Nations (CMSD, 2008). There are indigenizing efforts already underway in many schools – often following requests made by leaders of First Nations. Hopkins (quoted in Koshy, 2010) described teacher inquiry as "action research [that] combines a substantive act with a research procedure; it is action disciplined by enquiry, a personal attempt at understanding while engaged in a process of improvement and reform" (p. 8). For example, 'Na Aksa Gila Kyew adult school is based on cultural relevance in language, health and parenting events, the arts, community service, spirituality, experiential learning on the territories, and continuous academic scaffolding. Indigenous content and pedagogy in the northwest is needed in both indigenous and mixed classrooms. This need is being responded to by local teachers who are advocates of traditional knowledge. "I am advocating for attending to, valuing, learning from, and passing on a much wider array of knowledge than that which resides in traditional bodies of school knowledge only" (Sleeter, 2005, p. 8).

Seeking culturally congruent and community based change

The work of bringing to light oppressive patterns and making institutional dynamics visible is central to teacher action research. Teachers work within an "institutional discourse" and must contend with the unique ways it "subsumes and renders 'institutional' the particularities of everyday experience" (D. Smith, 2005, p. 105). One example we discussed was parents' experiences in "open" school district meetings on Aboriginal needs and concerns. The parents shared their immediate concerns and were silenced several times with comments

indicating that their topics were not on the agenda. Teachers participating in the meetings as parents had strong feelings and described incidents of retaliation against their children. All wanted to remain anonymous because of this fear. Researchers of community relationships have advised that "one's first commitment as an institutional ethnographer is to an investigation of 'what actually happens' as those who live it experience and talk about it" (Campbell and Gregor, 2004, p. 52).

The combination of residential school histories and the related inter-generational impacts comprise the lived experience of many in the Northwest. Both experiences make interventions pivotal to student success – and also daunting if teachers are inexperienced. "While systematic, multidirectional attacks on educational inequities are most desirable, individuals do not have to wait for these to happen before taking action on their own" (Gay, 2000). When the project changed from discussions of teacher action research, to implementing action in one's own classroom, dissonance occurred. This stress was most apparent for many of the inexperienced teachers. The projects slowed down with the additional effort required to implement action, rather than just read about possible action.

Linda Smith (2006) stated in *Decolonizing methodologies*: "The problem is not just that positivist science is well established institutionally and theoretically, but that it has a connectedness at a common sense level with the rest of society" (p. 189). The impact of perceived "common sense" over decades, with similar types, formats and concepts of knowledge and learning, is that educators may "take for granted the hegemony of its [positivist science] methods and leadership in the search for knowledge" (Smith, 2006, p. 189).

Institutional ethnographer Dorothy Smith commented on "common sense" and the need for opening "up to empirical investigation aspects of power operating in social life that otherwise lie hidden and mysterious" (as quoted in Campbell and Gregor, 2004, p. 32). Research using more culturally congruent methods, deconstructing 21st century economic and resource colonialism, and building Indigenous trust takes time and experience: often time beyond what is deemed reasonable in the structures and policies of either universities or school districts.

In-service teachers action research projects

Social justice literature includes colleagues' insights, breakthroughs and struggles in the face of macro political and economic change. "Micro level changes, such as those that take place within classrooms, are important, too" (Gay, 2000, p. 202). Once the idea of micro level change was welcomed, teachers' questions were developed in meetings with facilitators using a critical realism lens: "What is needed and why? What is in the way? Where is it working? How do we get there from here?" (Clark, 2008, p.13).

Some of the early research questions the ten participant teachers explored were:[5]

•   What district efforts have increased Indigenous student successes? For example, Thornhill primary students singing for a full auditorium in the Tsimshian language!

•   What are the factors involved in the success of Indigenous students with Grade 12, full credits?

•   What are the characteristics of successful cross-cultural teachers?

•   What are some of the efforts to prevent Indigenous students falling through the cracks?

•   Does the daily use of Indigenous curriculum materials, language, role models and strategies increase student achievement when compared with scores in traditional classrooms in similar contexts? For example, English 12, First Peoples.

After a specific question was chosen, each of the teachers continued individual project development by choosing their own pre- and post-data collection, intervention and methods. New outcomes occurred when inquiry questions and connected interventions included the salient dynamics impacting student success. For example, the special services' students who were pulled out of regular classes were genuinely welcomed. Students were then presented with an engaging activity with embedded and indirect behavior coaching, instead of dealing with past behaviors immediately and directly. The teacher saw successful students return to class ready to learn. In a second teacher's project, students in conflict created learning events with elders, with traditional protocols and foods used throughout the process. Conflicts were resolved, and learning as healing became a new focus for the class.

Change towards cultural safety occurred with the special education teacher and the teacher working with conflict resolution after these teachers linked specific dynamics with purposeful interventions. Both teachers clearly articulated the dynamics, their questions, the pre- and post-data, and the intervention results for the final program meeting.

The other eight teacher action research projects were incomplete due to many factors. Economic constraints in the schools and in the community led to frequent tensions. Dropping enrollment, changes in leadership, school closures, reconfigured campuses, new grade levels, reduced budgets, lay-off notices, and reduced special education support staff were some of the concerns. In addition, facing many end-of-the-school-year tasks meant teachers described themselves as overwhelmed and unable to complete the data collection, but "maybe next year."

Thoughts. Sleeter's (2005) work on "un-standardizing curriculum" addressed the dominance of "one size fits all" Euro-traditional knowledge and behavioral systems. Sleeter describes alternatives in thinking more complexly about multicultural curriculum, and going from "1) task definition, to 2) perspective taking, then into 3) self-reflexivity, and to a different 4) locus of decision making in successive growth stages of emerging, developing and accomplished practitioner responses" (Table 2.1, p. 33). The building of an internal locus of decision making requires the willingness to step out of one's usual zone of cultural safety as a teacher – and move into a new learner role in cultural self- reflexivity. This move can often feel like *no safety* for the teacher in an institutional tradition of power hierarchies and assumed compliance. There is a considerable difference between individual psychological safety zones developed in acculturation processes by dominant groups and cultural safety as negotiated by self-defining groups regarded as equals. The willingness to be *unexpert* in the process of re-negotiating schooling with students and community requires considerable commitment to equity and social justice outcomes. We were asking for this commitment in an era of accountability measures, increasing technology demands, eroding resources, economic threats, closing schools, newspaper publication of student achievement results, and increasing complexity in many areas of daily life.

The cultural self-efficacy required of teachers, both intra-culturally and inter-culturally with daily stresses and the challenges of working within cross-cultural contexts, would need to be strengthened and supported for more of the teachers to follow through to completion - for example, supports for the stressors impacting children from poverty backgrounds. In order for Indigenous education directors and families to see the success rate of children steadily increase, the direction of change towards cultural safety that is most needed may be support of teacher cross-cultural self-efficacy.

CONCLUSION

The three areas of focus in exploring cultural safety in the B. Ed. program were: the students' use of classroom space, affective learning outcomes and the hidden curriculum with students, and teacher action research projects in the local school district oriented towards Indigenous student success. The broader intent for cultural safety development continues with the teacher educators now conducting workshops with in-service teachers, with student teachers, with Indigenous leaders, and with college and university professors.

The working definition of cultural safety in teacher education we started from has changed through the learning with our students. Now our definition is: "growing beyond reflecting on one's own cultural identity and the impact of that identity on one's practice, into acknowledging the dynamics in cross-cultural identities over time, and appreciating the diversity of the lived experiences in

Northwest BC. Concurrent with the explorations of identity, cultural safety also necessitates that teachers continue to strengthen, define, and empower their teaching of the affective domain, individually and collectively, in order to take action in their context".

Compared to the definition given at the onset, this one is complemented by a sense of purpose and a focus on competencies. As our findings indicate, this purpose and focus should include considerations of autonomy in the allocation of learning space, informed deliberation on the affective influence of the hidden curriculum, and classroom action for the inclusion of the community context into the educational process.

Our collaborative work as teacher educators will continue until students from all cultural groups are showing evidence they are both strong, engaged, and successful learners, as well as active advocates for cultural safety around them.

NOTES

1. The authors would like to acknowledge the contributions of Audrey Woods and Julie Morrison. Audrey Woods, a Gitskan woman, was a member of the cohort who largely acted a spokesperson for the group. She viewed and consented to all the comments as they occur in the first case of this paper. The case in fact emerged through an informal discussion (2009) with Audrey about "the back row." Subsequently, these comments were gathered at a short meeting, with her permission, as we talked about her experiences of being in the cohort. A second Gitskan member of the group, Julie Morrison, was also present. She also has read and agreed with the comments. She has, as well, given permission to use her name. Audrey and Ed Harrison discussed her thoughts on a number of occasions as we reflected on the experience together. These thoughts were then brought together and presented in case one.

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2. To orient the reader more clearly, there are three pedagogical questions in this paper which were the result of team inquiry questions. The three questions were: 1) What is going on with the positioning of students at the tables? 2) Given there are multiple ethnicities, house groups, and languages represented in the class, how can we facilitate both strong connections across diverse backgrounds, and strengthening of cultural, bi-cultural, and multi-cultural identities as pre-professional teachers? 3) Will stronger connections and identity clarification help experienced teachers take action to engage educational / social justice issues in their communities?

3. The three faculty involved in these collegial inquiries consist of two males and one female, one multi-lingual and two monolinguals (with conversational language skills developing in traditional Sm'algyax language), two first generation university graduates, three middle class lifetime teachers, and three European immigrant families (first generation, third generation, and seventh generation).

4. Examples include honesty, respect for personal property and for authority, tolerance of drudgery, and conforming to implicit social norms. Reasons why these should not be assessed include lack of reliability or validity, and potential stigmatization.

5. The teachers in the teacher action research project did not want to be described as our small schools and communities make recognition easy from even minimal descriptions.

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ACTION RESEARCH BUILT ON UNCERTAIN FOUNDATIONS: THE INTERNSHIP AND ACTION-RESEARCH IN A GRADUATE TEACHING DEGREE

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ABSTRACT. This paper analyses action research's uncertain foundations in graduate teaching degrees. This analysis focuses on one Master of Teaching program in Australia, and is conducted by the program coordinator in partnership with a recent graduate of the program. Uncertainty is traced to the structural incoherence of the program that is created by the influence of disparate philosophies of teacher education. The philosophy and practice of the program is informed by both the *scholar teacher* and *reflective practitioner* models of teacher education. It is argued that these models are incommensurable and lead to a poor use of action research during the internship of the program. The action research would be more authentic if a phronetic model of teacher education underpinned the entire program rather than just the final internship. This phronetic model will remain an ideal because of the prevailing hegemony of neo-liberalism that supports a means-rationality associated with performing to the graduate standards rather than a values-rationality associated with developing a lifelong habit of phronetic practice.

RECHERCHE-ACTION ÉLABORÉE SUR DES BASES INCERTAINES: LE STAGE ET LA RECHERCHE-ACTION DANS LES PROGRAMMES DE MAÎTRISE EN ENSEIGNEMENT

RÉSUMÉ. Cet article explore les bases incertaines sur lesquelles repose la recherche-action dans les programmes de maîtrise en enseignement. Il cible son analyse sur un programme de maîtrise en enseignement offert en Australie, analyse pilotée par un coordonnateur du programme et un étudiant récemment gradué de ce programme. L'incertitude trouve son origine dans une incohérence structurelle du programme, incohérence créée par l'influence de diverses philosophies hétéroclites de la formation des enseignants. La philosophie et la mise en pratique du programme s'inspirent à la fois du modèle de l'*enseignant chercheur* et du concept du *praticien réflexif*, approches du domaine de l'éducation. Les auteurs soutiennent que ces modèles sont incommensurables et engendrent une mauvaise utilisation de la recherche-action lors des stages faisant partie du programme. La recherche-action serait plus authentique si un modèle phronétique de la formation des enseignants soutenait le programme dans son ensemble plutôt que seulement le dernier stage. Ce modèle phronétique demeurera un idéal puisque l'hégémonie néo-libérale actuelle préconise une action rationnelle en finalité, associée à l'atteinte de normes de graduation,

plutôt qu'une rationalité spécifique aux valeurs, nécessaire au développement d'habitudes de vie propres à la pratique phronétique.

Action research and pre-service teacher education have a long and interesting history. Action research has served a variety of purposes during this history. Ax, Ponte and Brouwer outline (2008) the different purposes of action research, pivoting on the question on whether it is positioned as a means or/and an end in teacher education. As a means, it is a method whereby pre-service teachers can integrate theory and practice, most commonly in professional experience units. As an end, action research is a disposition or skill that is to be learnt as a lifelong attribute of a teaching professional.

Ax, Ponte and Brouwer (2008) describe teacher education programs that go beyond using action research as a method or a goal and are founded on the principles of action research. These three purposes for action research, as method, as goal and as foundation, outlined by Ax et al. serve as our framework for the discussion in this paper on how action research is employed in our program.

In the program that is the subject of this paper, student teachers complete an action research subject simultaneously with their 9-week internship. The action research is intended to be a capstone experience for these graduate students completing a 2-year program. Unfortunately, the action research capstone is laid on what we regard as being uncertain foundations. From our perspectives as a graduate of the program (Margo) and the program coordinator (Tony) we analyse what we consider to be the structural factors that contribute to this confusion. The main factor identified is the lack of coherence amongst the different elements of the degree program, which is compounded by the late introduction of action research in the final semester. We then move past our own malaise to ask questions about the sustainability of action research as a method, goal or underpinning foundation for teacher education in an age of increased compliance. The increased compliance is enforced through the audit culture of the graduate teacher standards in Australia.

The audit regime in teacher education in Australia has been acting in concert with the narrow scientific orthodoxy of evidence-based practice, which places further restrictions on the ideological territories of teacher education. The evidence-based model is the favoured approach of all political parties in Australia and has received generous government funding for its implementation in one university.

The Graduate School of Education at Melbourne received six million dollars of federal government funding to establish a teacher education program based on a clinical or evidence-based model. The Melbourne Graduate School is

touted on the Teach for Australia website as being "Australia's best school of education" (Teach For Australia, 2009, par. 2), presumably a claim that might be verified by evidence.

We are not piqued by institutional envy but are more intrigued by the impact that the Melbourne Model might have on the deployment of action research in teacher education. One of the creators of the Melbourne program has publicly outlined her position on action research, stating that she believes it is not a suitable method for pre-service teachers (Ure, 2010). However, some of her fellow travellers on the evidence-based train espouse pedagogies of professional learning that seem very similar to the type of action research that we teach in the Master of Teaching Program. Petty (2009) and Marzano (2003) both encouraged teachers to conduct what they call experiments in order to trial new pedagogies in their classroom. These experiments help teachers to apply scientifically proven pedagogical strategies in their own classrooms. That is not too far away from the model of action research that we use and demonstrates how far we have moved away from phronesis acquired through action research to a practice that is closer to the clinical model advocated by the graduate school in Melbourne.

This paper is a result of a sustained teacher-student / colleague conversation between the authors over a two-year period, a tentative step towards Tony's phronetic reawakening. Margo is both participant and author in this paper. The paper uses Margo's narrative reflection of her experiences in the MTeach program to launch an analysis of the position of action research in this program. As such, the narrative is a historical timeline in the evolution of this paper as it was this reflection that prompted Tony and Margo to begin their interrogation of the program. We ask the reader, therefore, to consider the narrative to be the empirical data upon which this study was created.

THE POSITION OF ACTION RESEARCH IN THE MASTER OF TEACHING

In this section of the paper, Tony, as the program coordinator of the Master of Teaching (MTeach) program, presents the philosophical foundations of the program. These foundations are still easily discernible in the program documentation that was created for the establishment of the MTeach degree in 1995.

The Master of Teaching program and its 17-year history is a relative newcomer at this University that has a 100-year-old Bachelor of Education program. Even though there is a large time lapse between the creation of the two, they were both built on similar humanist foundations (Connell, 2009). The differences, according to Connell (2009), lie in the expression of these humanist ideals in the program methodologies and philosophies. Connell argued that the original Bachelor of Education was built on the scholar-teacher model:

> this provided a basis for an idea of the good teacher who not only knew how
> to run a classroom but also learned how to think for herself, apply disciplined
> knowledge, and act as an agent of cultural renewal. The quality of teaching
> and the purposes of democracy were linked by a mass humanism, embedded
> in common-learnings curricula, and translated by a workforce of intellectually
> autonomous, university-educated teachers. (Connell, 2009, p. 216)

Connell (2009) went on to argue that programs developed later in the 20th
century with the same humanist ideas produced the reflective practitioner
model. She associates the reflective practitioner model with "the initiatives
for school-level democracy and teacher-developed curricula, which became
powerful in the 1970s" (p. 216). More pertinently for the focus of this paper,
Connell argued that the reflective practitioner approach "focused on how
occupational knowledge can be developed in teachers' practice" (p. 224). In
contrast, she argued that the original scholar-teacher model gave a "clear ac-
count of Education as a field of knowledge" (p. 224).

Using the Aristotelian categories of knowledge, Connell is making an argument
for a model of teacher education based on *episteme* (knowing why) and *techne*
(knowing how). The scholar teacher is expected to learn the field of Education
in the academy so that they may apply this "disciplined knowledge" to the
classroom. The delineation of theory and practice in this model was, and is,
reflected in the neat division of labour in the teaching faculty. The professors
impart the disciplined knowledge in lectures, tutors try to make this knowledge
accessible to students, and professional experience is scheduled at the end of
semester when the lecturing is complete. This is the political context in Australia
in which the Master of Teaching program was introduced in 1995.

The four-semester graduate Master of Teaching program is based on the reflec-
tive practitioner model. Case studies are used as a teaching method within a
community of inquiry where students are expected to collaborate. Students
move from analysing cases in the first semester to writing their own reflective
case stories at the end of the first year. In the second year of the program
they build on the reflective case stories to conduct action research on their
own practice whilst on their 9-week internship. This progression from case
analysis to action research seems to embody the development of occupational
knowledge that Connell (2009) identified as being characteristic of the reflec-
tive practitioner model.

The reflective practitioner model would be categorized within the Aristotelian
frame to be an attempt at creating *phronesis* among student-teachers. *Phronesis*
"is a kind of morally pervaded practical wisdom. It could be acquired by a
phronimos, a practically wise person, through experience" (Eisner, 2002,
p.381). Thus, the clear distinction between the scholar teacher and the reflec-
tive practitioner models of teacher education is the positioning of professional
experience within the programs. The MTeach, as an example of the reflective

practitioner model, has professional experience in the middle of teaching semesters rather than at the end. In addition, the case studies constitute an attempt at learning from experience, albeit one that is mediated through the author's interpretation.

Action research is an ideal pedagogy to achieve *phronesis*. In this program, it is positioned at the end so that students can complete an action research project whilst they are on their nine-week internship. It is hoped that the students have developed the kind of *phronetic* thinking required for action research through their analysis and creation of case stories in the previous three semesters.

In the next section of the paper, Margo as a recent graduate of the program (2008) gives her perspective on how the ambitious goals of the program in seeking *phronesis* are received by the students. In this section of the paper, Margo as author becomes Margo as participant as this narrative was written soon after she completed the program. Margo as author has worked with Tony over the last four years to critically reflect on this narrative and what it might mean for the role of action research in this program.

NARRATIVE DATA: MARGO'S EXPERIENCE OF THE MTEACH

"Make good teachers. Not good academics."

This is a very famous quote amongst our cohort. A pre-service science teacher, also a pharmacist, could not believe some of the rhetoric that constituted the MTeach. For him, the rhetoric defied every ounce of his academic and professional experience because it inhibited the creation of a 'teacher.'

For me, my assertion was always "both are possible with the right amount of flexibility." I do not find it acceptable that teachers are not substantially versed in the scholarship of their own subject. Nor do I find it acceptable that people who are extremely immersed in academia, but lack altogether any true potential to teach, should be teachers. Knowledge means nothing without craft.

My experience of the MTeach was, to say the least, not ideal. There were times of genuine consternation and frustration. However, it was also deeply satisfying, intensely interesting, and at times fun.

The use of case studies was pivotal in our core subjects, though for many of us this became a negative experience. Simply put, students see in a case study what they see. They do not necessarily see what the faculty wants them to see. My reflections on the case studies were entirely subjugated to what the faculty wished I would produce for them. The case studies were ostensibly a tool to solicit my reflection, but really they were a way of saying "you come to my opinion in your own time." I failed an assessment task based on a case study where we had to identify three significant issues. My own shortcomings in that assessment notwithstanding, there is no overlooking the fact the three issues

I identified were 'wrong.' The faculty believe that the reflective practitioner can develop at their own pace through the analysis of case studies. However, it seemed that this development must converge to a point that is philosophically acceptable to them.

The broader implications that arise from this experience have little to do with case studies and more to do with how they were used. How they were used is subject to many complicating factors. Not the least of which is the need to use them to ensure students meet certain outcomes over others. As a teacher, I empathize with the need to ensure outcomes are met. As a teacher, I also recognize this is a dangerously narrow perspective of learning. What I gained from failing that assignment was a new perspective on the issues addressed in that case study, and, more importantly, a new perspective on case studies as a whole. I learned a lot from the feedback I was given. Despite this, I failed the assessment without the right to re-submit. If you fail one assessment, you then fail the subject. You pay for the program again, and you have to do the assignment again. These are both painful realities. My exemplary academic record and my exceptional achievement in every other aspect of the subject and program were not compelling grounds upon which a re-submit could be granted. I did not meet the outcomes they wanted, therefore, I did not possess the skills to achieve those outcomes.

Herein lies, for me, the most alarming part of this situation. For all the espousing of student-centred approaches, for all the talk of how crucial it is for the learner to take the driver's seat, when it comes to down to the bottom line, this learning environment was not able to practice what it preached. That assessment became a kind of crucible through which I became a much better teacher and academic. Whether I had passed or failed, it is the act of doing that produced my intellectual quality and teaching practice. Even in the face of being held back in the program, I had enough foresight to value that this experience, though negative, has enhanced me in some way.

Failure shines the way for growth. Humans' relationship with failure is infinitely complex, and this is magnified in the tertiary setting. The unofficial philosophy of my undergraduate degree in drama was to "fail gloriously." The thinking here in drama is, if you take a risk, if you innovate, if you build foundations in unfamiliar places, invest in these foundations with full force and it does not work out, keep persisting until it does. Egos, reputations, and austere conventions were not an ever-present fixture in the landscape of our learning. It can be seen that in my particular undergraduate experience in drama, failure was an impetus for growth.

The high stakes world of the MTeach degree, on the other hand, presented us with plenty of assessment barriers that we interpreted as academic arrogance. The students call it "sandstone syndrome", an allusion to the fact that the university of Sydney is one of a group of eight of traditional universities

characterized by their use of local sandstone in their gothic architecture. For some tutors and lecturers, the thought of making the approach to learning flexible enough to use failure as a meaningful tool somehow degrades the ever-unreachable benchmark of a "world-renowned university." This is ironic because the MTeach uses a pass / fail marking scale that is meant to decrease the competition for grades among the cohort and encourage collegial col- laboration. For some of the program assignments, achieving the magic pass mark was akin to navigating a medieval maze. This maze was forested with the assumptions of the reflexive practitioner model of teacher education, which were quite inaccessible to graduate students who entered the program from diverse discipline boundaries such as drama, science, mathematics, econom- ics, history, business, psychology and philosophy. Perhaps it might have been easier in this first semester to analyse the case studies through the theoretical lens and methods of our home disciplines rather than hastily adopt the cloak of the reflexive practitioner without any real experience of the classroom to draw upon.

I am not suggesting that the benchmark or outcomes within a pre-service teacher program be compromised in any way. It is clear to me, as it certainly was in my time in MTeach, that students who are incompetent and unsuit- able for teaching should not be passed. I am suggesting that if the reflective teacher model is to be executed effectively, it has to be executed with a degree of flexibility that is relevant to that particular student body.

The assessment I have discussed above was one of the defining experiences for my entire cohort. My story of failure seemed to be the rule. The culture of the program became increasingly negative for the students. Perhaps more disturbingly, the culture of the program became something we were not participants in, but victims of. Before this assessment, students were willing to be innovative. After this assessment, they were willing to "give them what they want" at the cost of personal and professional growth as a teacher. All this, in the first semester.

Compounding these cultural crises is the distinct disjuncture between "general foundational subjects in pedagogy" and our "curriculum subjects." In curricu- lum subjects, our experience was often the antithesis of what it was in faculty subjects. In my experience we were invited to be innovative, we were invited to fail, and we were invited to participate in shaping the program. Prior skills and experience were valued and an overwhelmingly positive culture was cre- ated. In curriculum subjects, we used failure as a means to improve ourselves in a genuine and practical way. As such, our reflective practice was robust and purposeful. As students, we lived two lives, only one of which we enjoyed.

These may all seem incidental anecdotes, but all this leads me to the most important point. The culture created in the program created a culture in which we learnt to be researchers. You cannot divorce the "student" from the

"researcher." We began our research after 18 months of immersion in a faculty that prioritized outcomes over growth. Suddenly, we were expected to monitor and invest in our own growth through action research. This demanded we overlook the fact that failure was not an option before and suddenly embrace the possibility we would fail.

Our goal, we were told, was to investigate through this model of research, our teaching practice. In truth, very few people had a developed a sophisticated understanding of what the term teaching practice means. We thought we understood it because we thought about teaching all the time. What we were actually doing was thinking about "strategies," about "tools," about "things" we could use. How we, the actual teacher, use those tools was always left out of the consideration in any meaningful way. This meant many students' research became superficial investigations into what tools they could use, without any genuine investment in how the teacher could use their own practice to implement them. This reflects a program that was, for me, compulsive in its promotion of student-centered learning. What I do as the teacher is not as important as what the students do to learn. Subtly, but steadily, this took me out of the teaching and learning cycle.

The way we were introduced to the model of action research was flawed. We were exposed to the model in the previous semester, though not in a way that prioritized learning about the model itself, but focused on achieving a certain outcome. The philosophical framework of the research was unclear and misrepresented. Action research is as much a mindset as a practice. It is a voyage of conscientious discovery in which you, the teacher, are a litmus test of your own progress. Students still believed, just days before handing in their research, that if they did not establish a "control group" in their research, their data was meaningless. They succumbed to the sandstone syndrome, believing research without certainty is not worthwhile. Seldom did my cohort truly connect to the potency of this research model to uncover findings about their students and their own teaching that they may not have anticipated.

I made this realization about the contingency of action research at the end of my first cycle of research. This realization came about because I was so dissatisfied with the knowledge I had of this model, I took it upon myself to do broader research. It helped me re-design my second cycle to be successful in terms of living up to the Action research model. To get to this realization I had to risk subverting what the faculty wanted from me. Did they want me to improve my students' outcomes? Did they want me to improve my teaching practice? Or, did they want me to learn to use a research model so that I had the skills I needed to improve my own teaching practice some time in the future? I decided that, no matter what they wanted, the last of these questions was most integral and the most useful. I wrote my final research paper claiming my first cycle had been a failure because, despite improving student

outcomes, it was not a concentrated investigation into teaching practice using the model of Action research. At our conference where we shared our research, I was the only person in my group to say I had failed at this research, when in truth, almost everyone had failed to a considerable degree.

The weeks before the due date saw a proliferation of fabricated data and fictional recounts because students were so unclear on what the faculty wanted until it was too late. Confusion reigned and it seemed like a frenzied guessing game. I helped people create their research to prevent them from failing. I understood they were not willing to risk discussing their own failure like I was.

Thus ends Margo's reflection.

DISCUSSION

In this section of the paper, we present two reasons why we think there is a difference between Margo's experience of the program and the intentions of the program designers. These are structural incoherence and the late introduction of action research in the program.

Structural incoherence

Connell's two models of the scholar-teacher and reflective-practitioner outlined in the first part of this paper speak directly to the dilemma of the uncertain foundations of the MTeach. For Tony, as program coordinator and as a teacher in the program that the reflective practitioner or the phronetic model is the dominant influence on the design of the program. However, there are structural impediments to the coherent expression of this model in the teaching of the program. These are the division of the program into three main areas of study, the duplication of cohorts in curriculum subjects, and the imperatives of a research-intensive university.

The MTeach program is divided into three main areas of study. Study One is comprised of a range of compulsory areas of study, such as ICT and Inclusive Education. It also includes a sequence of four subjects that introduce pre-service teachers to sociology, psychology, philosophy, and history in an integrated manner. This sequence of subjects employs the case-based, critical inquiry approach described earlier in the paper and supported by the program designers in various publications (see Ewing & Smith, 2002 & Ewing, Hughes and Goldstein, 2008). As such, it remains the most explicit expression of the reflective practitioner DNA that is embedded in the design of the program. Study Two consists of the curriculum specialization units that each student needs to complete for their areas in which they teach. The prospective primary teachers complete a subject in all of the six primary key learning areas whilst the erstwhile secondary teachers complete units in each of their teaching specializations. Both the primary and secondary curriculum units operate as separate entities from

the Study 1 strand and do not adopt the same pedagogical principles. Study 3 consists of the three professional experience units. Only the last of these experiences, the 9-week internship, has a discernible pedagogical approach in that it is closely aligned with a concurrent action-research unit.

The dislocation of the Study 1 and Study 2 strands of the program is magnified by the duplication of the MTeach and BEd cohorts in the secondary curriculum units. Whilst this has been done for economic reasons, the result is that the lecturer in charge of secondary curriculum units is teaching students who are being taught in either the reflective-practitioner or scholar-teacher mode in their other subjects. This means that even in the unlikely event that the curriculum coordinator subscribed to either of the overall models in their pedagogical approach, it would be near impossible to achieve a cohesive philosophy across both cohorts.

There is also an underlying pressure in a research-intensive university to focus on the type of research that has status in the wider University. Unfortunately, the reflective practitioner model with its focus on classroom-based research is invariably overshadowed by the higher status "theoretical" research of the foundational educational subjects of sociology, history, and psychology that are aligned with the scholar-teacher model. This inferior status impedes the realization of the reflective practitioner model as the Study One subjects in the MTeach that focus on case studies of practice and critical inquiry are not attractive to the foundational scholars in the faculty to teach. In our faculty, the foundational scholars tend to have more clearly aligned research and teaching responsibilities with clear discipline and workload boundaries that enable a more efficient use of their time. In contrast, the reflective practitioner community is as amorphous as the range of disciplines that they cover in their teaching. For an ambitious academic in our faculty, it is not seen as a wise move to join the more eclectic and amorphous community.

Action-research introduced too late in the program

The late introduction of action research in the program sees the students struggling to understand a new method of reflecting on their teaching whilst at the same time coming to terms with the demands of the teaching internship. As Margo has claimed in this paper, this may have led some students to adopt a modified or scaled down version of action research on their internship.

The reflexivity that is built into the Study One sequence of subjects should provide a great preparation for the practice of action research. However, the lack of cohesion among the different strands of the program, or even the explicit signposting of this phronesis to students, means that this reflexivity is not conveyed effectively to the students. Contextualization is everything in phronetic social science (Flyvberg, 2001), and the political context of teacher education has changed remarkably in the 17 years since the MTeach was created.

Standards-driven reform has moved the political compass in teacher education across Australia away from the values-rationality in the original program design to a means-rationality (Flyvberg, 2001) that emerges as the program is subject to the accreditation processes in teacher education.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE USE OF ACTION RESEARCH AS A PEDAGOGY OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Margo's reflection points to the apparent weakness of action research being introduced in the last semester of the program. This leaves us with a political and intellectual challenge to the reflexive practitioner model that is its foundation. The political challenge is that teacher education accreditation in Australia continues to doggedly move towards standards-based frameworks supported by the orthodoxy of evidence-based practice. The intellectual challenge resides in the reality that action research is incompatible with the scholar teacher paradigm and the orthodoxy of evidence-based practice. We conclude by questioning the political naiveté of pursuing phronesis amidst such obvious constraints.

Connell's evocation of the scholar teacher model of teacher education is but a romantic vision of a history where teacher educators were not constrained by the audit regimes of a neoliberalist state (Connell, 2009). The scholar teacher is grounded in the foundationalist tradition where a deep understanding of the episteme of teaching, or education, was seen as a pre-requisite to the mastery of the act of teaching itself (Loughran, 2006). As outlined in this paper, this philosophy is still deeply embedded in the sandstone of the institution where we work and study. Action research is fundamentally about phronesis, or the creation of professional learning, that is contingent, particular and bounded to context. Action research is therefore incompatible with a scholar teacher model of teacher education that promotes a program built on the knowing of a theoretical *episteme* gained on-campus to be applied in the *techne* of teaching practice at schools. This would importantly delimit the objectives of the MTeach by making explicit what approach the program *does not* cover, at the very least, to the teaching staff who are teaching across programs in their curriculum subjects.

The evidence-based approach to education is also philosophically incompatible with action research because of its emphasis on one type of scientific evidence that is procured through the use of the scientific method. However, it is not as easily dismissed as the scholar-teacher because of its prevalence in educational programs. This is more so the case when one considers that action research in our program is actualised as a method of teacher improvement guided by curriculum outcomes, teacher standards, and universal models of pedagogy such as the Quality Teaching / Productive Pedagogies performative frameworks (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2003; Hayes, 2005). This model is not dissimilar to the classroom experiment model proposed by evidence-based

educators such as Marzano (2003) or Petty (2009) and is the structure that we have employed in 2009-2012 in the Internship Action research subject that Margo endured in 2008. This type of action research for teacher improvement can work within the competency frameworks as well as include aspects of data mapping and collection that are promoted within an evidence-based model. This appropriation of action research for the purposes of teacher and system improvement has its critics (Groundwater-Smith & Irwin, 2009) as this model might not lead students to engage in the type of external reflexivity that would lead to system change rather than just improvement. This idea is captured in one of Ponte's criteria for action research:

> Learning for the purpose of professional practice can, according to Ponte (2007), be geared not solely to instrumental knowledge (what strategies do we normally have at our disposal and how can we apply them?), but also to ideological knowledge (what goals do we essentially want to achieve with our strategies and what are the moral-ethical pros and cons involved? (Ax, Ponte & Brouwer., 2008, p.57)

Ponte possibly exaggerates the distinction between ideological and instrumental knowledge; all knowledge is in some way ideological. The argument here is that our students might fail to grasp the phronetic opportunity of the internship in their pursuit of the grades needed to finish the degree. As such, the nature of a teaching internship, with the attendant pressures of certification and the need to impress potential future employers, currently lends itself more to a focus on teaching improvement rather than an induction into a phronetic mode of reflexive practice.

Margo's narrative is a sobering reminder of the power differentials that pertain in tertiary education regardless of the espoused philosophy of the program designers and teachers. The learning experience she described is far from the Habermasian "ideal speech situation" where consensus is arrived by "the force of argument alone" (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p.98). Habermas's utopian humanist construct is blind to the assessment power games of the kind Margo experienced. Instead, it may be more useful to turn to a post-structuralist explication of a phronetic social science that is also geared towards a values-rationality but also addresses the issue of power:

> the purpose of social science is not to develop theory, but to contribute to society's practical rationality in elucidating where we are, where we want to go, and what is desirable according to a diverse sets of values and interests. (Flyvbjerg, 2001 p.167)

Flyvbjerg's three questions of where we are, where we want to go and what is desirable might describe a way forward at both the micro level of the action research project for the students as well as at the macro level for the program instructors. It would at least begin a conversation about the political realities of the current context for teacher education in Australia rather than naively attempting to impose a pastiche of phronesis onto what is an instrumentalist core.

CONCLUSION

We began this paper by introducing the framework of action research as a method, goal or foundation (after Ax, Ponte and Brouwer, 2008) for teacher education. It is clear from Margo's narrative that we are failing on all fronts in the current iteration of the program. We have attributed this failing to significant political and intellectual constraints.

The scholar teacher model is informed by an epistemic orientation to educational knowledge and accompanied by isolated bouts of teaching practice that embody a technical orientation to the practical application of this educational knowledge. In contrast, the reflective practitioner model that informs the MTeach program was founded on a phronetic ideal where practical wisdom is derived from the critical analysis of teaching practice, both of others, via case studies/observation, and the researcher / practitioner's own thorough critical reflection in a community of inquiry. If this orientation is made explicit throughout the program, and if not added as a pedagogical after-thought at the end, action research is a perfect fit within this phronetic model.

The hard political reality of teacher education in Australia is that the dominant program is evidence-based practice in relation to both the conduct of education in schools as well as in schools of teacher education. This hegemony influences the conduct of teacher education programs through audit regimes that enforce instrumentalist goals. This instrumentalism constitutes a fundamental challenge to a phronetic model of teacher education to an extent that it may be futile to pursue methods such as action research in the current climate.

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DEVELOPING COMMUNITIES OF PRAXIS: BRIDGING THE THEORY PRACTICE DIVIDE IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT. Teacher education in universities is under pressure. In many new education policies there is a renewed focus on teacher quality, and therefore quality initial teacher education. In some countries this renewed focus has led to a resurgence of "alternative approaches" to teacher education such as Teach for America / Australia. One of the most persistent complaints about pre-service teacher education is that educational theory presented in these programs does not relate sufficiently to the real work of teachers. In an attempt to overcome these real or perceived divides, tertiary drama educators at the University of Sydney constructed a professional experience program based on both the community of practice model (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and Frierean notions of praxis (1972). The *community of praxis* approach emphasises the importance of integrating theory and practice to support the development of beginning teachers. This article outlines the development, implementation, and evaluation of this approach, including the reasoning behind its foundation and the theoretical and practical significance of such an approach for teacher-educators.

DÉVELOPPER DES COMMUNAUTÉS DE PRATIQUE: COMBLER LE FOSSÉ ENTRE LA THÉORIE ET LA PRATIQUE AU SEIN DE LA FORMATION DES ENSEIGNANTS

RÉSUMÉ. La formation des enseignants au sein des universités est soumise à des pressions constantes. En effet, plusieurs nouvelles politiques éducationnelles réaffirment l'importance d'avoir des enseignants compétents et donc, une formation initiale des enseignants de qualité. Dans certains pays, le renouvellement de cet objectif a provoqué la réapparition « d'approches parallèles », telles que Teach for America / Australia, approches offrant une alternative à la formation des enseignants. Une des plaintes les plus tenaces à l'égard de leur formation est que les théories exposées au sein de ces programmes ne reflètent pas adéquatement la réalité professionnelle des enseignants. Afin de pallier à ce fossé réel ou perçu, des professeurs d'art dramatique en enseignement supérieur de l'Université de Sydney ont mis sur pied un programme d'expérience professionnelle en s'inspirant à la fois du modèle de la communauté de pratique (Lave et Wenger, 1991) et des notions de praxis de Friere (1972). L'approche de la communauté de pratique met l'accent sur l'importance d'intégrer la théorie et la pratique pour soutenir la formation des nouveaux enseignants. Cet article décrit le développement de la

mise sur pied ainsi que l'évaluation de cette approche. Il explique également le raisonnement qui sous-tend sa création et la signification théorique et pratique d'une telle approche pour ceux qui forment les enseignants.

> *He who loves practice without theory is like the sailor who boards ship without a rudder and compass and never knows where he may cast.* (Leonardo Da Vinci 1452-1519, cited in Kline, 1972, p. 3.)

Teacher educators are seemingly in a constant struggle to reconcile the theory of the lecture and tutorial room with the practice of the classroom (e.g Dempster, 2007; Kennedy, 1997; Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Goodlad, 1990; Korthagen & Kessels, 1999). The ideal, of course, is to provide teacher education that seamlessly integrates theory of education and its practice in the "real world of education" so that future teachers can "translate new views and theories about learning into actual teaching practices in the schools" (Lunenberg, Korthagen & Swennen, 2007, p. 586). As Le Cornu and Ewing (2008) suggested, however, a dichotomy has been created where theory is delivered in the university and practice is delivered in school settings. Educational theorists, such as Eisner (2002) argued that a revolution is required to bridge the divide where "universities come to realize that the long-term heart of teacher education is not primarily in the university" (p. 384). Eisner's argument suggests the kinds of knowledge required in teaching is changing in a rapidly shifting school context, and that teacher education should be positioned primarily in the practice of schooling. It is a concern, however, that division into "theory" versus "practice" camps ignore the potential of both in a balanced approach to teacher education. Reconciliation between the two domains is essential if teacher education is to remain significant for pre-service teachers.

Critically, as Korthagen and Kessels (1999) reminded us, rivalry between the two corrodes the vital linkages that are central to the growth of competent teachers:

> The polarization that is characteristic of this type of discussion is dangerous as it focuses on the question of whether teacher education should start with theory or practice instead of the more important question of how to integrate the two in such a way that it leads to integration within the teacher. (p. 4)

The theory-practice dichotomy is made and therefore can be un-made if there is the institutional will to do so. Goodson (2003) encouraged teacher educators to "remember the central historical point that theory and practice are not inevitably or intrinsically divorced: it is structures and institutionalised missions that have created the recent divorce. But new structures and institutionalised practices could consummate a new marriage" (p. 9). These issues have come into sharp focus recently with the ongoing debate about the optimal site for training high quality teachers, a debate which has generally dichotomised the university and the school rather than conceptualising them as complementary.

This article outlines the development and evaluation of a professional experience program run in the Drama Curriculum units at The University of Sydney. The program was developed to respond to the concerns explored above: that there is a dichotomy between educational theory and practice. The program, known as the *community of praxis* approach, is informed by the community of practice model (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and understandings of praxis (Freire, 1972). This article aims to provide teacher educators with an example of innovative practice specifically focused on bridging the theory/practice divide. While there are similar programs being undertaken in teacher education programs in Australia and internationally, the continuous evaluation of the approach reported here gives insight into the particular benefits of the program. This allows a deeper understanding of how participants make connections between the practical aspects of the approach and education theory. This article explores the evaluation data to make comments about the ability of the approach to: reconcile theory and research in education with the everyday practice of teaching; help pre-service teachers develop their identity as drama teachers; and build understanding of the importance of reflective practice in Drama education.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

University-based initial teacher education is under renewed and heavy scrutiny internationally. The general trend emerging seems to be an abrupt shift from University-based teacher education to "alternative pathways" such as Teach for America (TFA). In the United Kingdom, initial teacher education is shifting under the Tory and Liberal Democrat coalition. There is a move "back to the chalkface" for the training of secondary teachers (Burton & Goodman, 2011). The mixed results schemes such as these have garnered notwithstanding (Carter, Amrein-Beardsley, & Cooper Hansen, 2011), these alternative approaches have gained currency in the United Kingdom (Teach First, Teach Now), the United States (TFA) and Australia (Teach for Australia). In the USA, data from the National Centre for Educational Statistics cited by Davis and Moely (2007) reported that "A majority of graduates of schools of education believe that traditional teacher preparation programs left them ill-prepared for the challenges and the rigors of the classroom" (p. 283). At the centre of these initiatives is a drive for students to receive more "relevant" contact with the realities of teaching. One of the strategies teacher education institutions have employed is the development of more intensive university school partnerships through internships and other strategies (Dempster, 2009). This paper reviews one such strategy that attempts to diminish the gap between the University and the school and create a space for a community of praxis to emerge. In essence, the approach attempts to implement the call to support the growth of student teachers in university pre-service education (Le Cornu & Ewing, 2008, p. 1809).

In an effort to reconcile the theory / practice divide, a team of university teachers in the Faculty of Education and Social Work at the University of Sydney developed an approach to professional experience influenced by the communities of practice model of Lave and Wenger (1991). The approach acknowledges that quality teaching is generated from successful and collegial communities of practice, and that understanding and developing the teaching community is a crucial component of initial teacher education. Often part of the unrecognised work of teacher educators is the development of pedagogies, models and structures that innovatively close the gap between practice and theory, making praxis possible. Freire (1972) referred to praxis as "the action and reflection of men [sic] upon their world in order to transform it.... Men are not built in silence, but in words, in work, in action-reflection" (pp. 75–76).

The development of praxis outlined by Freire (1972) is central to the program described in this article. Merging understandings of praxis and the community of practice approach (Lave & Wenger, 1991), this program is concerned with building *communities of praxis*, whereby pre-service and in-service teachers work together to reflect on their development as teachers in the ways Le Cornu and Ewing (2008, 2010) suggested. This approach aimed to encourage pre-service teachers to be involved in a community of learning in which they work with the mentor teacher, the university teacher, and their peers to create a reflective understanding of teaching. The approach provided work-based learning experiences for pre-service teachers to reflect on the connection between their university learning and teaching practice.

COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE / PRAXIS

Communities of practice are pervasive in most areas of our lives, but especially in the world of work and schooling. Teachers achieve their work through the development and management of several relationships: with students, colleagues, school leadership, and state / national jurisdictions, just to name a few. Community of practice, as an approach, is based on the work of Vygotsky (1978), recognizing a shift from an individualistic cognitive approach to a sociocultural approach in teacher education (Barab, Barnett & Squire ., 2002, p. 489) as well as theories of learning more generally (Walker, 2003, p. 226). Wenger (1998) defined a community of practice to be the result of collective learning that:

> reflect both the pursuit of our enterprises and the attendant social relations. These practices are thus the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise. It makes sense, therefore to call these kinds of communities, *communities of practice*. (p. 45)

The community of praxis is a particular type of community of practice. A similar approach is the "community of learners" (Brown and Campione, 1994). The difference between the community of learners and the community of praxis

lies in the emphasis on reflection and conceptualising the theoretical aspects of learning in a practical classroom setting. While a community of learners tends to focus on theoretical aspects of knowledge, a community of praxis applies theory to practical situations. The community of praxis is concerned, in Lave and Wenger's (1991) terms, with the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise but critically it is seeking to reconcile the theoretical work done in university settings with the practice of everyday classrooms.

THE SYDNEY CONTEXT

In an Australian inquiry into teacher education, concern was expressed regarding the link between practice and theory in pre-service teacher training. The Australian House of Representatives Standing Committee on Education and Vocational Training (2007) reported "many teacher education students and recent graduates expressed concern about the weakness of the link between the practicum and the theoretical components of teacher education courses" (p. 71).

Another recent shift in education in Australia has been the implementation of "teaching standards" in many states. In New South Wales (NSW), where this program has been developed, many teacher education programs are in the process of accreditation with the NSW Institute of Teachers (NSWIT); a process which ensures all graduate teaching standards are being met within pre-service training programs (NSWIT, 2009). These standards not only incorporate requirements such as effective planning, content knowledge, and communication with students, but also require graduates to engage in professional conversations, accept and offer constructive feedback, and critically reflect on their own practice (Rust, 1999).

The drama education team (the authors of this paper) teach the secondary drama education teacher preparation courses at The University of Sydney. This program serves approximately 90 full-time equivalent students per year in three units of study. The students enter this course through two main paths: as undergraduates enrolled in their third year of a five year combined degree or as postgraduates in their first year of a Master of Teaching. As a result, the students in the course vary in age and life experience and come from a range of backgrounds, including those who have trained and worked as actors and those who have had a more theoretical performance studies approach in their initial studies. A key goal of drama education is to create a community of learners who feel safe, supported, and able to take risks in their learning. With such a diverse group of students this can be challenging.

Previous student evaluations[1] of the drama curriculum courses suggested that students were feeling disconnected from classroom practice. In response to these concerns the community of praxis program was developed in 2003 to

align theory and practice more closely, and to develop a productive, collegial community of learners within the pre-service drama program. To achieve this, the program has a particular focus on theories such as Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice and Schön's (1983) reflective practitioner. While not suggesting that the outcomes of this program can be generalised to all initial teacher education, the community of praxis is one strategy[2] that demonstrates that change is achievable when individuals (students, teachers, and academics) and ultimately institutions (schools and universities) create productive and mutually beneficial partnerships.

METHODS FOR EVALUATING THE COMMUNITY OF PRAXIS PROGRAM

The theoretical and practical reasoning that prompted the foundation of the community of praxis approach has been outlined above. The following sections explore the outline and evaluation of the approach. The program has been in ongoing evaluation since its conception in 2003. A variety of methods were employed to achieve a well-rounded, longitudinal understanding of the success and challenges associated with the program. All methods, however, were participant-oriented approaches (see Stake, 1994; Williams, 2002), aimed at understanding the experiences of the participants or stakeholders in the program. Evaluation strategies were mixed-method, aligning with a broader case study methodology (Stake, 1994; R. K. Yin, 2009) Data collection included:

1. Quantitative student satisfaction surveys administered by the University's Institute of Teaching and Learning. The surveys are conducted triennially unless otherwise requested. The Drama Education team has requested surveys be conducted in 2007, 2008 and 2009. These surveys gathered data on participants' overall satisfaction with their Drama Curriculum subject, but included questions pertinent to the community of praxis program such as the ability of the course to bridge the gap between theory and practice, the relevance of the assessment, and students' overall satisfaction with the course. The surveys include both closed and open-ended questions.

2. A review of the approach in 2005 undertaken by an independent evaluator who interviewed teachers in partnership schools and conducted focus groups with current and past participants.

3. Anonymous questionnaires with open response items were completed by participants in each year of the program. These surveys were specifically about the community of praxis program, including how participants feel the program could be improved.

Informal feedback such as unsolicited letters or emails from pre-service or mentor teacher participants are also included as evaluation data to develop a deeper understanding of the success or otherwise of the program. Before

discussing the beneficial and challenging aspects of working with pre-service teachers in classroom settings, the next section will summarise the phases and purpose of the community of praxis program.

OUTLINE OF THE PROGRAM

The community of praxis program develops partnerships with local secondary schools and seeks to establish ways of integrating university-based teaching with school-based professional experiences. This program strengthens the relationship between students, the workplace (schools), and the university to create an authentic link between the academic components of their study and the practice they will enter as professionals. The program has the following features across three phases:

• Structured observations of diverse schools with teachers demonstrating best practice (2 days).

• Team teaching that integrates into the partnership schools' drama program.

• Intense reflection / evaluation by peers, teachers, and academic tutors on the team teaching experience, the observations and their university studies.

• Reflective and critical assessment that supports individual learning about drama pedagogy

Phase one: Classroom observation

The first phase of the approach asks students to consider the practice of an experienced teacher. In teams, the students observe and reflect on classroom drama practice in different schools. This reflection and observation alerts students to the tacit and craft knowledge central to practice. The craft of drama teaching (Ewing & Simons, 2001), or any teaching for that matter, can begin in theory but requires an understanding of the connection between that theory and practice to give insights into the tacit knowledge of teaching. The processes required for tacit knowledge to be understood by initial teacher education students is detailed by Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002):

> The tacit aspects of knowledge are often most valuable. They consist of embodied expertise — a deep understanding of complex, interdependent systems that enables dynamic responses to context specific problems.... Sharing tacit knowledge requires interaction and informal learning processes such as storytelling, conversation, coaching and apprenticeship of the kind communities of practice provide. (p. 9)

The observations of the first phase allow participants to discuss pedagogy in a critical and engaged way. They also alert student teachers to some of the issues that arise in classroom practice and how these relate to the theoretical

aspects of their study. There is a significant amount of time (approximately 4 months) between phase one (observation) and phase two (classroom professional experience). While necessary due to course requirements, this pause also facilitates student reflection on what they have observed. It allows students time to develop deeper content and craft knowledge through a process of reflection on their practice. These reflections then inform their planning for phase two of the program.

The observation and subsequent discussions with peers and the classroom teacher allow students not only to share their observations with their peers but also to study the particular ways experienced teachers respond to complex, context specific problems. These discussions also provide a crucial frame of reference for their own teaching in phase two and give pre-service teachers insights into how classes can be structured and taught within the curriculum.

Phase two: Classroom team teaching experience

In the second phase of this program the pre-service teachers teach a lesson in teams of 2-4 students in a partnering school. The pre-service teachers are given information about the classes they will teach from the drama teacher in the partnering school. The content of the lesson planned to align with the students' regular classes. Academic staff, the classroom teacher, and their peers critique the lessons the teams deliver. The pre-service teachers then use the team-teaching experience and the subsequent critique from their tutors and colleagues to inform their work on a critical reflection assignment.

Team-teaching encourages the development of critical conversation (Brookfield, 1995, p. 9) amongst pre-service teachers in the planning of, and reflection on, their lessons. As Buchanan and Khamis (1999) argue team teaching and reflection facilitates understanding teaching as a community of practice.

The NSW drama teaching community is a generally successful community of practice (Anderson, 2004), one in which secondary and tertiary educators often work together to develop best practice in teaching and assessment. Korthagen, Loughran, and Russel (2006) suggested that modelling successful communities of practice is a key principle in teacher education. The community of praxis approach aims to both reflect current, and model best, practices when working with a community of educators.

Phase three: Critical reflection

The critical reflection builds on Schön's (1983) reflective practitioner approach and calls for students to reflect on action. Hatton and Smith (1995) argued that a student who critically reflects "demonstrates an awareness that actions and events are not only located in, and explicable by, reference to multiple perspectives but are located in, and influenced by, multiple historical, and socio-political contexts" (p. 48). The critical reflection phase requires students

to reflect upon their experience in a more formalised critical reflection essay that constitutes 50% of their course grades. Student feedback has demonstrated that students find this assessment useful in a variety of ways. One student commented:

> [The assignment] forced me think critically rather than superficially about the experience. It produced insights about my own skills and teaching practice that I can look out for in the future. (2005)

The reflection is proactive and aimed at supporting changes in the students' approaches to teaching as they enter their own classrooms as beginning teachers.

Although when evaluating the approach students have consistently expressed satisfaction with this program, modifications have been made according to the yearly feedback. For instance, students in 2004 expressed a concern regarding the link between peer / self evaluations and the high-stakes nature of tutor evaluations and feedback. As a result we have changed our approach to feedback to be more consistent with the community of practice approach. We now integrate peer feedback strategies before assignments are submitted. This not only provides alternative avenues for students to receive feedback on their work, but also allows students to become accustomed to giving feedback according to set criteria; an important skill for future teachers. The drama education team monitors this process closely to manage the flow of feedback and to ensure the quantity and quality of feedback; it is comparable from student to student.

EVALUATION FINDINGS

The following discussion draws upon the evaluation data to explore the potential of the community of praxis approach for three main purposes:

• Reconciling theory and research in education with the everyday practice of teaching.

• Helping pre-service teachers develop their identity as drama teachers and make connections with the drama education community.

• Building understanding of the importance of reflective practice in drama education.

While these issues are interconnected, in both the evaluation data and quality teaching practice more generally, for the purpose of evaluating the community of praxis approach, they are discussed separately below. The discussion that follows also explores the tensions and problems with the current program and ways these issues could be addressed for future cohorts.

Reconciling theory and practice

Every year since the beginning of the program, students have provided feedback that has been crucial to the evolution of the program. There has been continuous strong support for the approach. Table 1 outlines the results from the unit student evaluation (USE) survey question "I can see how the knowledge and skills I am learning in this unit can be put to use in my future professional work." The high agreement indicates that the unit of study assisted them to reconcile their theoretical understanding with the practical demands of the classroom. It also provided them with practical demonstrations of educational theories such as constructivism and reflective practice.

TABLE 1: I can see how the knowledge and skills I am learning in this unit can be put to use in my future professional work

Year cohort	Agree or strongly agree
2007	92 %
2008	91 %
2009	94 %

In questionnaire responses from 2003-2009, students also made comments about the connection between theory and practice. One student commented that the phase one observations helped her to clarify her understanding of how theory actually becomes practice in the classroom.

> Reflective Practice: this was made more concrete for me. I have always regarded it as a rather fluffy practice, but now I do see its value when applied to teaching. In fact I now see it as essential and invaluable. The experience has made many theoretical ideas clearer as it has allowed me to experience learning and teaching first hand. My observations at schools really confirmed my belief in social constructivism as I watched students learn new ideas and difficult concepts through interaction with one another. (2005)

Another student commented on how the professional teaching experience provided him with an enhanced understanding of the social construction of learning and its links to classroom practice:

> The practical experience has really consolidated the theoretical perspectives on teaching.... Theories such as social constructivism, which includes concepts of modelling and scaffolding really became clear after the team teaching experience. The experience has certainly enriched my theoretical understanding of teaching perspectives because it was experiential and actually made the theories real. (2006)

The community of praxis approach is structured to allow students the opportunity to deliberately and explicitly apply what they have learned in their education and curriculum courses in a safe and supportive environment. To this end, one student commented:

> The day gave me a sense of security I wasn't thrown in at the deep end but I felt able to apply what I'd learned, whereas in tutorial groups as a student [in performance studies] everything is on "acting teaching" not really up there doing it. I felt the feedback session was very helpful and made the experience more real. It wasn't like getting a report just on paper it made the experience more vivid. (2007)

Theory and practice are reconciled as students reflect on this opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of teaching. Our aim as teacher educators is to create a learning environment where this deeper understanding makes future university learning directly relevant to the pre-service teachers' understanding of practice.

In terms of more specific drama curriculum theory and teacher craft knowledge, many students commented on the potential for the teaching experience to uncover the importance of the educational theory learned in university. Through this, students appeared to gain an understanding of the need to apply their theoretical understanding of drama curriculum to the realities of the drama classroom.

> Critical reflection is integral to shifting pedagogical content knowledge bases to suit the needs of your given students. Certainly, I need to shift my decidedly theory-oriented approach to improvisation and incorporate more of an experiential orientation. (2004)

> I think this experience really highlighted for me the need to constantly "read up" on my craft and stay up-to-date with the material and the method of teaching. (2007)

This motivation to engage more thoroughly with theory is an indicator of the success of the program. Students are better able to see the connections between theory, research, teaching practice and reflection.

The students' responses here suggest that there is strong potential for this approach to provide some bridging between theory and practice. Unlike some other professional experience approaches, the feedback from their peers and teachers provides an intense and timely opportunity to link their theoretical understanding with classroom experience. The other heartening aspect of these responses is that elements of these students' theoretical knowledge such as social constructivism and reflective practice were taught to these students at least 12 months before this experience. Many of these students have actually made connections beyond drama curriculum to foundational educational theory and understood how theoretical aspects (including curriculum) operate in practice in the classroom.

Developing identity as a drama teacher and connecting to the professional community

One of the desired outcomes of this program is to encourage students to make relevant connections between their learning experiences and their chosen

careers. The program not only gives students a deeper understanding of the link between their current university work and teaching practices, but also gives students the opportunity to begin to form an identity as a classroom teacher and the confidence to approach their first extended professional experience. Student evaluations and questionnaires suggest that this outcome is often achieved. One student commented:

> I believe this team teaching experience was integral to developing not only my drama pedagogy but also my 'drama' self-concept. Indeed, this was my first drama teaching experience and, certainly, there were apprehensions about my ability as a drama teacher. Consolidating independent thought through collegial dialogical discourse was fundamental to affirming my theoretical knowledge and creative ability. This collegial interaction was also integral to identifying the frailties and gaps in my theoretical and experiential knowledge. (2007)

Within this program, students are given the opportunity to visit and work in diverse schools in Sydney, to meet and develop relationships with practicing drama teachers, and to engage in conversations about current issues in drama education. A key factor of this program is the connection between the university and the professional community. Having supportive and productive relationships with the professional drama education community allows for more effective training of our students, a more holistic understanding of both the connection between theory and practice, and a better understanding of the importance of collegial relationships. The program encourages students to develop this holistic understanding through their engagement in school-based workplace settings. The independent external evaluation of the program in 2005 included the following finding:

> The process simulates a laboratory experience for student teachers assisting them to develop long-term collaborative professional relationships. A teaching experience on this intense, challenging and enriching level can create shared understandings of teacher craft knowledge as well as respect for personal and professional endeavour.

The program was also found to be beneficial for building students' confidence as teachers, building their professional knowledge, and developing stronger collegial relationships amongst all involved, particularly amongst the pre-service teacher peer group. Recently, calls for a more collegial and peer-based approach to teacher education have grown more prominent. Korthagen et al. (2006) argued teacher education must include more horizontal relationships and move away from the vertical teacher-student relationship. They comment:

> If, in teacher education, students get used to learning in collegial relationships, this will help to bridge the gap between what is done in teacher education and what those learning to teach actually need in their future practice. (p. 1034)

One of the strongest responses from the student participants in the evaluation of the community of praxis approach was the value they saw in the feedback they received from, and gave to, their peers. Participants have commented:

> I enjoyed the different types of input from the classroom teacher – which related to how the class responded. This approach is much better than feedback from supervisors on practicum, who normally have very little time to spend with you afterwards. Also those supervisors don't know you and are not seeing you in other contexts. The great strength of the day was the debrief and being watched – and watching my peer group gave me a whole lot of different ideas on how to tackle things. (2008)

> Hearing my teaching approach critiqued was just as important as the teaching itself. Feedback is essential if we are to develop. We are peers in this game and feedback from one another as well as our supervisors allows us to really be open to change, to identify areas we need to work on, and develop as a whole. It is all about creating "you" as a teacher and without feedback it would be easy for superficial and non-questioning teachers to enter the workforce which I think is dangerous. (2008)

> It was very important to reflect on my lesson with everyone else, especially because the teacher and peers would be seeing the lesson with a whole other perspective. Also, being the person giving feedback was a great learning experience, as it gave opportunity to observe, think and reflect. (2008)

These responses suggest that the discussion and feedback aspects of the program were as, if not more, beneficial for these beginning teachers than the actual teaching experience. The evaluations indicate a strengthening of the community in this situation. Consistent with the Vygotskian principles that underpin the community of praxis, students have learnt about teaching through their socially mediated relationships with their peers, the classroom teacher, and their university teachers. Korthagen et al. (2006) suggested that: "Fellow-students can become valuable supervisors, thus taking over part of the role of the teacher educator" (p. 1034). Our experience of ceding some of the supervision to students enhanced the depth of the feedback and provided an enhanced learning experience for students. More importantly, this approach models a process of collegial interaction that students might use when they begin teaching.

Becoming reflective practitioners

The development of reflective practice is one of the most important and effective ways this program influences the practice of pre-service teachers. This program provides students with unique experience of being both inside and outside the experience of teaching and learning. Not only are students actively engaging in teaching themselves, but they are simultaneously analyzing the teaching of their peers. The immediate feedback discussion with the classroom teacher, tutor, and their peers allows for a scaffolding of reflection-in-action that accomplished and experienced teachers engage with daily (Hatton

& Smith, 1995). Teachers are not born as reflective practitioners; it is a skill that needs to be developed, practiced, and explicitly outlined within teacher education programs (Hatton & Smith, 1995). While extended professional learning experiences are important in developing this, the pre-service teacher is often not in contact with their peers or tutors for this extended period of time during these practicums. As a result, scaffolding into reflective strategies does not take place until after the practicum is completed. The community of praxis program provides pre-service teachers with models of reflective practice, engagement in reflective and critical discussions, and, importantly, time and space to begin to critically reflect on their own work in classrooms.

Indeed, we argue that the connection between experience and theory, central to this program, is made possible through critical reflection. Hatton and Smith (1995) argue "the descriptive [form of reflection], it would appear from this study, is more easily mastered and utilised than either the exploratory dialogic or demanding critical forms, both of which require knowledge and experiential bases that take some time to develop" (p. 46). The reflective processes in this program were intended to move students beyond merely descriptive engagement with drama teaching toward critical reflection. Student responses about the critical reflection processes in this program indicate some movement toward a critically reflective stance:

> Critically reflecting on the experience allows you to discover the "why" behind the choices you made, reflect on what was successful or not and why, and what you can change in the future. These are things that teachers need to be doing all the time, especially beginning teachers. (2006)

> Reflection is so important. This is how we grow as teachers. It allowed me to compose my thoughts and think hard about the experience not allowing it to just wash away. The reflection means that this experience will stay with me. (2005)

> The reflection is a good way to look at the things I need to improve on when teaching, as many things are only looked at twice when actually reflected upon by yourself and others. (2006)

Within the program, the formalized critical reflection assignment has provided an effective adjunct to the feedback. The student's reflection that "critically reflecting on the experience allows you to discover the why behind the choices you made" reveals a growing ability to reflect on action that can lead to changes in practice. The shift from a purely descriptive approach to a more critically reflective stance is consistent with Grushka, Hinde-McLeod, and Reynolds' (2005) approach to reflection in teacher education that focuses on the analysis of relationships and ultimately analysis of the self in teaching. This approach complements Schön (1983) and Hatton and Smith (1995) who argue that reflection should occur *in* and *on* action. This occurs so that a practice base is established by professionals that supports a spontaneous, tacit and automatic response to teaching (Grushka et al., 2005). While the evaluations here do

not suggest beginning teachers were readily able to reflect *in* action, there is evidence that they reflected *on* action. These students also identified a critical awareness through reflection that identified areas for future professional growth and development.

Tensions and potential issues

As with many programs, and as discussed above, feedback, evaluation, and refinement has been necessary to make the program as effective as possible for the students involved. While most students have evaluated this approach positively, there are areas of the community of praxis approach where these evaluations identified space for improvement. In particular the structure and intent of the observation and the explicitness of individual tasks. Some of the challenges and tensions of this approach were articulated by the students:

> I have to say I really wasn't sure what was expected of me and what to expect. Explaining more clearly how the day will run, what to expect, what the lesson plan should entail and so on. It worked out fine and I still learned from this experience but I can't help feeling I could have been better prepared had I known more. (2004)

Understanding the expectations, both on the day and in reflections following was problematic for some students. Explicit understanding of expectations is an important aspect of quality teaching (NSW DET, 2003). Not only does it allow students opportunities to engage in high quality work, but it also provides a safe learning environment in which students feel comfortable — both very important elements of the community of praxis program. Following the comments made by this student and others in 2004, the tutors have been more deliberate in their explanations and more class time has been allocated to discussing the program. However, comments from later years have still found this an issue and so a written outline of the program is being developed for future years.

Explicit expectations were not the only concern of the students. Some also raised a concern that the purpose of the initial observations was not explicit. One student commented:

> The observation approach was not made explicit whether we were meant to do more than just sit back and watch the class — some people joined in the activities, some played the role of teacher in small groups, but I just observed. This was still valuable in itself but it caused a disparity between my experience and those of my peers. The very act of observing is itself quite unnatural. From my experience I could see that it altered the way the class was run and the way the students engaged / didn't engage in that particular lesson. (2006)

In our initial planning, the assumption was that students with some (albeit limited) classroom experience would know what to look for in a classroom observation. These student responses suggest the act of observation does not

"come naturally" to students, even those with some experience of classroom teaching. To make these observations useful for the pre-service teachers, the program draws on the NSW Department of Education's Quality Teaching Framework (2003). This framework is introduced to the students prior to their initial observations and they are asked to observe for specific elements of the framework in practice. Time is now allocated after the observations to reflect on what quality teaching "looks like." This not only provides more explicit guidelines during observation, but provides students with further opportunities to reflect on the connection between education theory and practice.

CONCLUSION

The community of praxis approach brings together classroom teachers, pre-service education students, and university educators in ways that are consistent with the calls for closer collaborations (Dempster, 2007; Barab et al, 2002). While this is a relatively small, context-specific project, there are many positive aspects of the community of praxis approach in linking educational theory with educational practice, developing pre-service teachers' identity as part of the drama education community, and in establishing reflective practice.

Most pre-service teachers found the feedback from the community of praxis program as just as, if not more, beneficial to their emerging practice than their observation or the team teaching experience. This is potentially an area that would benefit from further investigation; perhaps this kind of mediated reflection broadens the range of responses making it potentially more useful than the traditional practicum reflection. The other striking feature of this approach is that it affords pre-service teachers the opportunity to reflect on their development through the theoretical (university based) and practical (school based) elements of initial teacher education. This approach may act as a connecting space between theoretical and practical elements of teaching practice.

Teacher education, like all professional disciplines, is in a constant struggle to remain relevant to the profession it prepares students for. The current international trend towards "alternative pathways" like TFA provides a stark reminder of the threats to the integrity of teacher education that bifurcates rather than integrates theory and practice. While Eisner's (2002) call that teacher education be located primarily in schools appears to be gaining support in government policy in Australia, there is perhaps a less radical, more pragmatic ground to be inhabited, a space where practice and theory are considered in a closer relationship. The community of praxis approach outlined here, albeit modest and context-specific, demonstrates the potential for effective partnerships between secondary and tertiary education in teacher education. The community of praxis program offers one approach to responding to the seemingly intransigent divides between theory and practice. It offers educators

a partnership model that can be achieved within the current constraints of initial teacher education given the willingness of students, teacher educators and classroom teachers to engage in productive partnerships.

NOTES

1. Unit of study evaluations (USE) are generic, quantitative, student surveys. The University requires all courses to be evaluated at least once every three years.

2. The community of praxis approach is one approach that develops mutually beneficial partnerships. There are many other approaches in Australia and other jurisdictions that are building productive partnership relationships for change (see, Le Cornu & Ewing, 2008; 2010)

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NEGOTIATING WORLDS, WORDS AND IDENTITIES: SCAFFOLDED LITERACIES FOR PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS AND CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT. Aiming to extend sociocultural theory about the teaching and learning of literacies, this article reports on data from a qualitative study underpinned by a sociocultural framework (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1986). Conducted in an Australian university community, the project tracked a group of pre-service teachers engaging in scaffolded literacy events, such as face-to-face and on-line discussions and shared reading experiences with children. Highlighting the importance of examining the teaching and learning of literacies across formal and informal settings, results offer information about how these pre-service teachers constructed understandings and situated identities (Gee, 1990, 2000-2001) through scaffolding. Pedagogical implications for pre-service teacher education are discussed.

NÉGOCIER LES MONDES, LES MOTS ET LES IDENTITÉS: SOUTIEN À L'APPRENTISSAGE DES LITTÉRATIES POUR LES FUTURS ENSEIGNANTS ET LES ENFANTS

RÉSUMÉ. L'objectif de cet article est d'élargir la portée de la théorie socioculturelle de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage de la littératie. Il fait le compte-rendu des données tirées d'une étude qualitative étayée dans un cadre socioculturel (Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1986). Pilotée par une communauté universitaire d'Australie, ce projet a suivi un groupe de futurs enseignants participant à des événements de soutien à l'apprentissage de la littératie, telles que des discussions face à face et en ligne ainsi que des expériences de lecture partagée avec des enfants. Soulignant l'importance d'analyser l'enseignement et l'apprentissage de la littératie dans des contextes formels et informels, les résultats présentent des informations sur la manière dont les futurs enseignants élaborent leur compréhension et situent leur identité professionnelle (Gee, 1990, 2000-2001) à l'aide du soutien à l'apprentissage. Les implications pédagogiques pour la formation des futurs enseignants sont exposées.

Over the past two decades, the teaching and learning of literacies have been vigorously debated in academia (Allington, 2006) and across local, national and international media. Public debate, unfortunately, has been dominated by headlines which set *back-to-basics* against a whole language approach and highlight underachievement in students' literacy performance (Durrant, 2012, 2006; Ivanic, Edwards, Satchwell & Smith, 2007; Smith, 2003). In Australia, initiatives such as the National Inquiry into Literacy Teaching, often referred to as the Nelson Inquiry (Commonwealth of Australia, 2005), the Inquiry into Teacher Education (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) and the new K-10 Australian Curriculum (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2012) have re-fuelled debates over the teaching and learning of literacies in schools. With increased accountability and performance monitoring both overseas and in Australia, interest in teacher education policy has focussed public inquiry on teacher recruitment and teacher education programmes (Cochran-Smith 2005; Mitchell, Murray & Nuttall, 2006; Smith, 2007).

Recommending that elementary and secondary teachers demonstrate personal skills and knowledge for teaching literacies, most particularly reading, the Nelson Inquiry emphasized the relationship between student literacy achievement and quality teaching. Similarly, the Report on the Inquiry into Teacher Education (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007) equated quality teaching with students' academic standards and placed expectations on universities to improve initial teacher education, particularly through the teaching of reading. Critics argued that both Inquiries employed an outdated language of training reminiscent of a technical model of teacher education (Mitchell et al., 2006). Such a model dismisses the socially constructed nature of literacy (Luke & Freebody, 1999; New London Group, 2000) and privileges a view that literacy skills are value free and seamlessly transferable (Ivanic et al., 2007). While the debate continues to rage during the implementation period of the new K-10 Australian Curriculum (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2012), critics argue that the curriculum privileges a back-to-basics approach that requires of teachers and students to demonstrate competency in conventions of language, such as grammar and spelling.

Considering the highly politicised debates surrounding literacy and teacher education, in which teachers and teacher educators are positioned as both problem and solution (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Maloch, Seely Flint, Eldrige, Harmon, Loven, Fine, Bryant-Shanklin & Martinez, 2003; Pearson, 2001), this article explores how to deepen pre-service teachers' understandings about literacy, through the creation of various learning opportunities: scaffolding, on-line discussion, and shared literacy events, as well as their intersection. In contrast to the present back-to-basics focus on skills, a complex approach to teaching, learning, and researching literacies is required to consider a post-modern reality of intensified sociocultural diversity (Cumming-Potvin, 2012). To

extend theoretical and practical understandings about teaching new literacies, the article draws on data from a qualitative research project involving a group of pre-service teachers and their own children engaging in scaffolded literacy events in an Australian community.

The research question examines how a group of pre-service teachers engaged with scaffolded literacy events to develop deeper perceptions and understandings of literacy. This question is intertwined with technology-enhanced learning, which has changed Australia's university profile. For example, the research question is broadly situated within Australia's university landscape for the new millennium, which is characterized by a widening range of enrolments (e.g. face-to-face, on-line, etc.). Norton (2012) highlighted that over the past twenty years, domestic and international university enrolments have more than doubled in Australia, with higher proportions of students studying off-campus and using mixed modes of enrolment (e.g. a combination of on-campus, on-line, etc).

LEARNING, SOCIAL INTERACTION AND IDENTITY: PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS

Since the 1990s, the notion that knowledge and identity are socially constructed through shared community practice and mutual engagement. has become increasingly relevant to teacher education (Dysthe, Samara & Westrheim, 2006; Rogoff, 1990; Wenger, 1998). Anstey and Bull (2004) describe a literacy identity in which learners synthesize prior textual and sociocultural knowledge and experiences. Lave and Wenger's (1991) argument that identity development involves performing tasks and mastering new understandings through growing community involvement applies to teachers learning with peers and more experienced mentors to become full members of a community. Rogoff suggests that resources, opportunities for participation and access to diverse community members are essential to this process.

Dissatisfied with technical approaches to teacher education, numerous teacher educators have called for collaborative learning communities in which pre-service teachers are given opportunities to reflect on their teaching with peers and more experienced mentors (Barnett, 2006; Cho & Taylor, 2012; Grossman, Wineburg & Woolworth, 2001). Whipp (2003) argued that from a sociocultural framework, prospective teachers are best placed to learn how to critically reflect on teaching practice in contexts affording opportunities to discuss problems. The development of teacher identity is considered a dynamic process, informed by social interaction, pedagogical beliefs, personal stories, teacher education and media images (Cooper & Olson, 1996; Franzak, 2002; Knowles & Holt-Reynolds, 1991; Strong-Wilson, 2007). As pre-service teachers engage with a range of discourses, they conceptualize their positions and negotiate identities to enter the teaching profession (Britzman 1991; Flores, 2007; Kooy & de Freitas, 2007; Rogers, Marshall & Tyson, 2006).

As individuals interact with the social world to interweave complex narratives, the duality between personal and collective identities (Day, Kington, Stobart & Sammons, 2006; Groundwater-Smith, 2005; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011) becomes particularly pertinent for considering how pre-service teachers negotiate *multiple selves*. Gee (2000-2001) has identified numerous overlapping perspectives to depict individuals' processes of constructing their identities through social interaction. Linked to nature, the N-identity represents a force over which society, rather than the individual, has control. For example, Gee describes how being an identical twin is a natural state, rather than an accomplishment. The I-identity, Gee suggests, involves an individual's profession, such as being a university professor. I-identities are placed on a continuum depending on how actively or passively one fulfils the position. Gee's D-identity is determined through discourse or dialogue with other people. Finally, the A- or affinity identity emphasizes distinctive social practices, which create and sustain group affiliations.

Taking account of multiple identities, which are created through stories as individuals interact with others, Groundwater-Smith's and Nias' (1988) concept of the reflective practitioner emphasizes teachers' intuitive awareness (see also Schön, 1985). Whipp (2003) argues that critical reflection encourages prospective teachers to develop important practices, such as distancing themselves from their own assumptions, critiquing problems from a larger sociocultural perspective, and taking reflective action. In literacy education, numerous teacher educators have suggested that pre-service teachers need opportunities to challenge their assumptions, deepen their understandings of literacy and broaden their belief systems (Barr, Watts-Taffe, Yokota, Ventura & Caputi, 2000; Cochran-Smith, 2005; Rogers et al., 2006). In addition to teacher reflection, the metaphor of scaffolding can illuminate how pre-service teachers construct their identities.

SCAFFOLDING AND SHARED READING EXPERIENCES: SUPPORT FOR CHILDREN AND PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS

Developed from sociocultural theory, the metaphor of scaffolding originally described how an adult supports a child's learning with graduated assistance (Bruner 1983; Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976). Scaffolding is often associated with Vygotsky (1978, 1986) who was interested in extending less experienced learners' levels of functioning via assistance with experienced learners. For Vygotsky, the zone of proximal development represented the difference between the child's independent and potential levels of functioning, the latter being released through scaffolding. Numerous researchers have examined scaffolding from a complementary and interdependent perspective that closely considers the apprentices' and more experienced learners' engagement in activities (Comber 2003; Guk & Kellogg, 2007; Paris & Cross, 1988; Rogoff, 1990; Stone, 1993).

Rogoff (1990) has suggested that as children learned to problem-solve through collaboration and shared understanding with various partners, cognitive development took place in routine social activities across cultures. Stone (1993) has highlighted the potential for learning within the zone of proximal development as a function of interpersonal relationships and interaction between participants. Cumming-Potvin, Renshaw and Van Kraayenoord (2003) introduced the metaphor of "multi-tiered scaffolding" to explicate how some children extended their language learning through peer, sibling and adult-child interaction involving diverse tasks, times and settings. Similarly, Sleeter, Torres and Laughlin (2004) defined scaffolding as interaction between members of a group with different levels of abilities as they engage in tasks which involve collaboration, evolution from external to internal control and appropriation of learning strategies.

In relation to teacher education, Tsui (2003) and Verity (2005) have argued that analysis of the zone of proximal development should consider the interactive and dynamic components creating space for potential growth, rather than simply the performance aspect of Vygotsky's concept. In this sense, performance focuses on the difference between what a learner can attain alone, or in collaboration with a more expert peer or expert. Verity concluded that Vygotskian perspectives about the teaching-learning dialogue can assist the novice teacher to understand that learning, development, and transformation exist in unpredictable and non-linear ways. More recently, and concurrent with back-to-basics literacy approaches, numerous educational researchers have emphasized teachers' more tightly structured roles in scaffolding learning outcomes, with less consideration of students' interaction and critical inquiry (see Lutz, Guthrie & Davies, 2006; Pentimonti & Justice, 2010; Ranker, 2009). Increasingly, qualitative researchers have argued that heuristic and cultural factors must be considered when mediating tasks for adult learners to understand their struggle in constructing personal and world views (Hatano & Wertsch, 2001; Kasworm 2003; Verity, 2005). Still, little is known about how pre-service teachers negotiate and re-negotiate their identities and understandings through scaffolded literacy events in various contexts, including home, school and on-line settings.

SCAFFOLDING, SHARED READING AND TECHNOLOGY: SUPPORT FOR CHILDREN AND ADULTS IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

For more than a decade, an increasing number of educators have examined shared reading experiences as a scaffold for elementary and secondary students from a critical and sociocultural perspective (Martino, 1999; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; O'Brien, 2001). Teacher educators have also increasingly employed shared reading experiences to enhance student learning in teacher education courses (Chambers Cantrell, 2002; Grisham 2000; Wells, 1990). Tama and Peterson (1991) have argued that shared literature discussion groups allow pre-service teachers to read and reflect on fictional and real teachers' beliefs, frustrations and accomplishments.

Numerous pre-service teacher research projects conducted in the 1990s and the new millennium have drawn on sociocultural theory to focus on critical reflection. Using literature discussion groups in undergraduate and graduate reading methods courses, Williams and Owens (1997) commented that pre-service teachers gained multiple perspectives, opportunities for critical reflection and possibilities for transferring knowledge to classroom practice. Researchers focussing on pre-service teacher education have also combined shared reading and collaborative strategies using approaches such as critical pedagogy (Freire, 1998) reflective inquiry (Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1992) and multiliteracies (New London Group, 2000). Combining art lessons with shared reading of literature, Risberg, Brander and Gruenewald (2006) argued that multicultural picture books offered scaffolding for incorporating multiple theoretical perspectives, allowing pre-service teachers to read the word and the world (Freire, 1998).

Educational researchers working from a sociocultural perspective have gained substantial knowledge about scaffolding and shared reading experiences. Yee and Andrews (2006) also argue that the nature of learning in informal settings attracts increasing attention in educational research. Still, little is known about the processes through which pre-service teachers learn in scaffolded literacy events and how these events are influenced by factors such as setting (e.g., informal, formal), relationships (e.g., peers or adult-child) and differences in tools (e.g., conventional or technology-mediated texts). From this viewpoint, pre-service teachers negotiating their identities can be viewed via social practice, which is blended with new literacies that lie in contested social fields (Albright, 2006; Bourdieu, 1990). Examining an emerging area of interest in which scaffolding, on-line learning and shared-reading experiences intersect, the present study aimed to extend theoretical and practical understandings about teaching and learning literacies to widen pedagogical opportunities for pre-service teachers.

In literacy pre-service teacher education, numerous researchers working from a social constructivist framework reported on the nuances of scaffolding via technology-mediated learning, such as advantages and limitations of on-line discussions. Conducting a study in which pre-service teachers worked with struggling readers, Jetton (2004) argued that asynchronous technology-mediated discussion holds several advantages, such as alternative avenues for communicating beliefs and teaching experiences, increasing knowledge, and reflecting on teacher practice. Examining students' written responses in an on-line graduate literacy course for elementary and secondary teacher education, Black (2005) argued that asynchronous on-line discussion allowed for more reflective and critical engagement than synchronous discussion to promote higher order cognition while extending physical and temporal boundaries of universities (see also Davidson-Shivers, Tanner & Muilenberg, 2000; Lapadat, 2000). Because students can struggle to be reflective, Black also concluded that

pre-service educators must carefully support students by structuring on-line discussion to encourage critical thinking.

More recently, Courtney and King (2009) defined learning communities as sociocultural organizations and drew on a communities of practice theoretical model (see Brown, 1997; Lave & Wenger,1991; Wenger, 1998) to conclude that asynchronous and collaborative on-line discussions supported pre-service teachers to acquire and refine content and pedagogical knowledge for teaching literacy. Similarly, collecting data from interviews, written reflections and asynchronized discussion boards, Ajayi (2009) concluded that the pre-service teacher participants enrolled in two literacy courses perceived asynchronous discussion boards as an important situated learning tool to facilitate social construction of knowledge and customized learning experiences. Underpinned by Gee's (2003) view of literacy as social learning, Ajayi's theoretical framework defined literacy, as being driven by evolving and interwoven elements, such as knowledge, people, context and technology.

RESEARCH CONTEXT: FIELD SITE, PARTICIPANTS AND METHODS

The selected University is located in an urban centre in Western Australia. The student population of the University was approximately 14000, of which approximately 1600 were enrolled in an initial teacher education program. The study's participants consisted of a small group of three adult female tertiary students, who were all enrolled in the initial teacher education program. These tertiary students' four children, aged between four and seven years old, also participated in the study. All participants spoke English as a first language. All adult participants were enrolled in a fourteen-week compulsory English curriculum course, aimed to prepare initial education students for teaching English in elementary classrooms. Enrolments in this course were either on-campus or external (students were not required to attend on-campus tutorials and accessed course materials online). Using the process of written informed consent, all participants were selected on a voluntary basis.

As data were gathered beginning in 2006, the research design was qualitative in nature to study emerging phenomena, allowing for flexibility to pursue alternative pathways (Patton, 2002). The detailed descriptions characteristic of this approach are appropriate for investigating relationships between people, objects and space (Stainback & Stainback, 1988), especially for in-depth work across small numbers of participants. A case study approach of the small group was thus privileged, acknowledging the importance of inductive context, theorizing (Gilham, 2000) and a holistic representation of the phenomenon (Patton, 2002). Inspired by Yin (1989), Noor (2008) has argued that the case study involves an empirical inquiry using multiple data sources to examine a contemporary phenomenon within an authentic context; a case may focus on in-depth study of an individual, an event or a unit of analysis. While the

sample size is limited, the aim of the case is to offer in-depth information about a small number of participants, rather than to generalize results across the general population.

After funding for the project was received in 2006, the initial project was granted ethical clearance from the University and was conducted over a period of approximately two years. In 2008, a decision was made to extend the project to gather additional data; a second ethical clearance was granted as an amendment to the original project. The new data focussed on constructing a single case study of how one of the pre-service teachers (Sally) developed as an early career teacher. While the original project utilized focus groups, the extension of the project privileged the individual semi-structured interview (with a similar interview protocol about literacy). A previous publication emphasized the transition of Sally as she developed from being a pre-service teacher to an early career teacher, with the analysis intertwining concepts such as social justice, teacher's pedagogy and multiliteracies (see Cumming-Povin, 2009). This article draws on data from the original study to analyse how the small group of pre-service teachers negotiated their identities via scaffolded literacy events, such as focus groups, shared reading experiences and online discussions.

For the purpose of triangulation, diverse data collection instruments were used (see Walter, 2010). For the original study, these instruments involved two on-campus focus groups, an on-line discussion tool and observation of three shared reading experiences in home settings. During the two focus groups, which took place on-campus in an informal setting, the pre-service teacher participants were given the opportunity to discuss open-ended questions about literacy. The researcher audio-taped these discussions and a research assistant subsequently transcribed the discussions. At the conclusion of the first focus group, adult participants chose from a selection of children's picture books to engage in shared reading experiences with their young children at home. As these informal shared reading experiences unfolded over several months, the pre-service teacher participants extended the list of picture books, suggesting personal favourites, children's preferences, librarians' recommendations, etc. After the first on-campus focus group, an on-line discussion tool was also made available. This data collection tool offered pre-service teachers the opportunity to reflect online over several months about topics raised during on-campus focus groups and informal home-based shared reading experiences (involving the pre-service teachers and their own children).

A constant comparative analysis (Strauss, 1987) was used to identify emerging themes and patterns. As per the recommendations of Greenbank (2003) and Smagorinsky (2008), evidence running counter to the data corpus and values of the researcher was also considered. During multiple readings of the initial data set, preliminary evidence was confirmed or refuted, prior to expanding and/or collapsing selected categories. Driven by the assumption that language

meaning is fundamentally linked to social interaction and context (Wittgenstein, 1974), discourse analysis (Gee, 1990, 1999; Lupton, 1992) was used to examine transcripts and speech patterns on textual and contextual levels (e.g. grammar, syntax and rhetorical devices). It is acknowledged that any analysis is coloured by the researcher's beliefs and is open to the reader's re-interpretation.

PRESENTATION OF DATA AND ANALYSIS

Gathered over several months from diverse research instruments, data tracked the literacy understandings of Grace, Eva and Sally (the pre-service teachers' pseudonyms). During on-campus focus groups and on-line discussions, the pre-service teachers were invited to respond to qualitative questions, such as *How would you define literacy?[1]* and *How have you developed this definition of literacy?* An extract from Focus Group 1, which took place at the beginning of May, provides initial insight into the pre-service teachers' general perceptions of literacy. Following Focus Group 1, numerous picture books were distributed to the pre-service teachers, who were asked to choose one or two texts to take home and engage in shared reading experiences with their children. The pre-service teachers were also invited to reflect on these experiences via online discussions.

As the analysis unfolded, themes illustrating the pre-service teachers' pedagogical engagement with these texts were considered salient. Three on-line messages, which were posted subsequent to Focus Group 1, were suggestive of how the pre-service teachers' perceptions and understandings of literacy interwove with social practice surrounding scaffolded literacy events in informal settings (e.g. shared reading experiences with young children). An extract from Focus Group 2, which took place on-campus approximately three months following Focus Group 1, illustrated the group's perceptions and understandings of literacy from the more focussed lens of teaching and learning literacy in elementary classrooms.

The analysis draws on Gee's (1990, 1999, 2000-2001) work and aspects of sociocultural research relating to scaffolding, literacy, and on-line learning. Whipp's (2003) framework, for critical reflection, based on Hatton and Smith's (1995) coding system for student emails, is also utilized. Drawing largely on Gee's 2000-2001 notion of multiple identities, Transcript A: Focus Group 1, which is presented below, illustrates how the three pre-service teachers positioned themselves through discussion and reflection as members of a community of practice (Rogoff, 1990; Wenger, 1998).

TRANSCRIPT A. Focus Group 1

4 Grace   Well I sort of think, we always used to think it was books, or reading, but probably even through this unit [course] it's not just reading a book it's reading everything, like you know visual things, reading advertisements books, reading like the media all that sort of things, so to me I think literacy is a lot more than I ever defined it as.

5 Researcher	Ok. So do you see it as, in multiple literacies?	

6 Grace   Yeah I think so.

7 Researcher Mmmm.

8 Grace   And especially like for the children. I think like to them it's not just that book, it's about the whole thing from the computer, CD ROMs that they're doing, to sort of right through.

9 Researcher Mmmmm.

10 Eva   That it's more, it's also making sense of it in a real holistic, I like to use the word holistic, sense, that you're being critical... that you, that you see where writers are coming from and why they've written the way they've written. Why newspaper articles are read, you know, portrayed the way they are and that sort of thing too. So I mean, I was never taught that at school, that was something that was definitely not there.

11 Researcher Mm. So was there more? When you say that you weren't taught, what were you taught at school?

12 Eva   I don't know how I'd define it, but I mean I was definitely, I mean we did ahm, I mean if we did books we might have looked at characters and, and, and a little bit of characterisation that you'd use. You'd read a play and you'd be able to say well, well this character I think that they were a bit bossy or something and you'd use some of these things, quotes from that, but you didn't actually look at the actual author and the, and the context in which the book was read or anything like that, so and the political messages or, none of that was included.

13 Researcher Mmmmm.

14 Eva   So, ahm... So that's been quite an eye-opener for me, this has been interesting.

15 Researcher Mmmm. How about you Sally?

16 Sally   ...I agree with both the comments, but it's becoming more aware of how, it's not just about the book, it's how it connects with life ahm, especially with the theme of this one's families and stuff, so it's how it connects with the families and how it can relate to what happens in the book... to themselves and to other people.... I suppose it's just making the connection with life... and trying to put the child say in the place of another child so like... you know. We're in a single parent family so that's what we're used to, but then you see another family where there's lots of relatives around.... And vice versa for kids in different situations, so it's learning to broaden the horizons beyond what happens in the home and the school.[2]

With little or no previous face-to-face or on-line contact, Eva, Grace and Sally initially appeared positioned as peripheral members of a community of practice (Rogoff, 1990; Wenger, 1998). As Grace discussed the concept of *not just reading a book*, but *reading everything*, she utilized the personal and collective pronouns *I* and *we*, thereby evoking the notion of multiple identities (Gee, 2000-2001). From turns 4 to 8, Grace's utterances suggest reflection from dual perspectives of the I-identity; more generally Grace repeatedly evoked the contextualized signal *I think*, which set up her speaker persona related to I-identity (see Gee, 1990). While Grace developed her reflection, she did not qualify a context

in reference to the noun *children*. As such, it can be argued that the I-identity, or Grace as a student and pre-service literacy educator, may have dominated over the N-identity, or Grace as a mother interacting with her children during literacy events (see Gee, 1990, 2000-2001).

In turns 10-12, building on Grace's reflection, Eva's responses suggest language used in tandem with interaction (Gee, 1991) and an increased level of cognition. From mainly descriptive reflection involving analysis of events or actions from a personal viewpoint (Hatton & Smith, 1995; Whipp, 2006), Eva's utterances shifted towards dialogic reflection, involving some distance from personal description. Eva drew comparisons between the *holistic* theory underpinning the English course and the pedagogy of her past schooling which negated *political messages* or *critical* questions about authors. As Eva contributed to the discussion, she depicted her past schooling as permitting reading of words and texts, but not negotiating worlds or identities.

In turn 15, as the researcher invited Sally to participate in the discussion, she allowed for the juxtaposition of Sally's voice against those of Grace and Eva. Drawing on personal experiences in turn 16, Sally's utterances resonated with Anstey and Bull's (2004) concept of literacy identity or *how it* [the book] *connects with life. Hence, an individual's literacy identity is developed through social, technological and cultural factors as well as personal engagement with texts* As she responded to the topic of defining literacy, and the statements of Grace and Eva, Sally drew on personal and diverse family narratives to articulate a degree of dialogic reflection (see Hatton & Smith, 1995; Whipp, 2006). So, Sally began to examine her own reality through dialogue and inquiry.

From the viewpoint of a mother (Gee's 2000-2001 concept of N-identity), Sally commented: "We're in a single parent family, so that's what we're used to."[3] However, Sally also stressed the importance of trying to "put the child...in the place of another child" and broadening "the horizons beyond what happens in the home and the school."[4] Here, the generic term *child* and the verbs *put* and *broaden* suggest language that allowed Sally to position herself as a pre-service teacher, who aimed to scaffold students (see Gee's I-identity) in better understanding sociocultural diversity. As Sally discussed broadening *horizons*, it can be suggested that her definition of literacy extended beyond reading words, and was underpinned by the desire to consider worldviews.

Transcript B: On-line messages includes three on-line messages posted approximately three and a half weeks following Focus Group 1. These three messages provide insights into how Grace, Sally and Eva used the study's on-line discussions to interweave understandings of literacy with reflections on scaffolded literacy events, such as informal shared reading experiences.

TRANSCRIPT B. On-line messages

Eva's message (*posted May 26th, 7:50 pm*)

> ... Nancy and I enjoyed the book *Love You Forever* and we've read it a few times now. Nancy commented on the illustrations and how as he [the main character] gets older, the bedroom décor changes and how the mother's top on the front cover is the same as her nightie in the last page. She's obviously a very visual reader.
>
> I felt quite emotional and we both sung the verse bit, which was lovely. On the second reading Nancy commented how the story was going to repeat itself with the Dad and his new daughter. We discussed the cycle of life.
>
> Speak to you again soon.

Grace's Message (*posted May 24th, 7:36pm*)

> My children love *Let's Get a Pup* too. I was interested, too, to notice that they haven't commented at all on the "type" of family ... the tattoos, nose piercing, dress etc. Yet in *Beegu* they instantly reckoned the teacher was mean (because of her glasses in one picture). So some things matter to them and other things don't. Maybe adults do stereotype more than they realise!
>
> They have enjoyed *Beegu* and *My Dad*, but it is *Let's Get a Pup* that they frequently want read to them. Probably because they relate to it so well. It depicts something they would love to do too. A couple of other observations - my daughter is starting to read well (seems to be making daily progress). Yet she still expects and enjoys the bedtime story reading with the boys. So, even when children can read themselves they still want to listen to stories being read to them. Maybe we ease back too much on the amount we read to students when they can read themselves?

Sally's Message (*posted May 23th, 9:03pm*)

> Thanks for the *Love You Forever* book. My daughter loved the first read so much she asked me to read it again straight away. She also enjoyed *Let's Get a Pup.* I thought this book was interesting as the family displayed strong love towards the dogs and each other and were not your stereotypical family (tattoos, piercings etc). Thus it could be used to look at misconceptions people have about others based on appearance.
>
> The prac [practicum] went well. I had a pre-primary class with varying reading ability from hardly able to recognise letters to one student who could read Enid Blyton novels. In the two weeks I was there, the teacher focussed mainly on code-breaking skills such as sounding words out. This approach seemed to work well as the ability of some students to work out the spelling of a word was amazing. Many of the students could construct sentences with two able to actually write them without help!

In Eva's message, Eva observed how repeated readings and songs with her young daughter (Nancy) allowed for scaffolding from familiar to less familiar pedagogical content (Rogoff, 1990). With phrases such as "I enjoyed" and "I felt quite emotional," the organizational discourse (Gee, 1990) of Eva's text was nonetheless characterized by descriptive and emotional language. As Grace made observations about her young children's preferences for certain picture books and story readings, Grace's message exemplified generalized language of personal feeling (Gee, 1990). However, completing her reflection with a rising

inflection (see Gee, 1990), Grace identified broader questions, such as whether we read sufficiently to students who are considered independent readers.

In Sally's message, Sally spontaneously discussed her professional practicum placements and informal home shared reading experiences with her five-year-old daughter. However, in terms of text cohesion (Gee, 1990), the absence of a linguistic linking device between the two stanzas appeared to temporarily juxtapose Sally's I-identity from the N-Identity (Gee, 2000-2001). Within the I-Identity, although Sally commented that some pre-primary (kindergarten) students could only recognize letters while others could read *Enid Blyton* novels, further opportunities for Sally to reflect in on-line or face-to-face settings may have promoted reflection about student abilities and social inequities (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1990).

In some instances, drawing on social, political, and cultural considerations, Grace's Message and Sally's Message shifted towards dialogic reflection (Hatton & Smith, 1995; Whipp, 2003). For example, suggesting that picture books containing strong visual imagery, such as *Let's Get a Pup* (Graham 2001) could be used to dispel misconceptions and stereotypes about families' appearances is a practice often associated with critical literacy (see for example Luke & Freebody, 1999; Martino, 1999). In this vein, numerous literacy researchers have argued for using picture books when discussing texts with younger children and adolescents to explore content, ideology, and non mainstream issues (Albright, 2002; Dean & Grierson, 2005; O'Brien, 2001).

Approximately one month following the posting of these on-line messages, a second on-campus focus group was conducted with the three pre-service teachers. Depicted below in Transcript C: Focus Group 2, the participants recounted their perceptions and understandings through discourses about teaching and learning literacy in elementary classrooms, with the theme of picture books revoiced in the form of narratives.

TRANSCRIPT C. Focus group 2

50 Eva	And that's really, I hadn't realised how important that background knowledge was, until reading [*Love You Forever*] really. Because I found I got quite upset about that, because of the things it was bringing up from my background and my daughter wasn't at all upset she just accepted that yes we all die and that's ok and I love you mummy and it was all because she hasn't been exposed to any of it so she was quite accepting and quite loved the book, so.
51 Grace	I don't know if I could read that to a group of school kids. I think I'd cry.
52 Eva	Well I started crying and I know I found that very confronting because I didn't really think, you know I was happily reading it and then you realise that, because I know the first time I read it I thought please don't die in this book. Yeah.
53 Sally	Because it does come to, like if you are reading [*Love You Forever*] to a large group of children.... I think you have to be really careful where your kids are coming from. Like if they don't come from ideal backgrounds or maybe mum and dad,

or maybe if their background is ok, but not what you perceive as being the ideal childhood, I think you have to be really careful with these family related books as to what, 'cause if you say this is the way family, you're kind of saying this is the kind of way a family should be and if that is not the way their family is....[5]

54 Grace   (overlapping) It's almost racist. It could be couldn't it, if you weren't.

55 Eva   Or stereotypical.

Eva's utterances highlight descriptive and emotional language (Gee, 1990). In turns 50 and 52, for example, Eva described her home shared reading experiences with her young daughter by using the phrases *I got quite upset*, *I found that very confronting* and *I was crying*. In turn 51, although her utterances were also characterized by emotion, Grace offered an alternative discourse, which positioned the discussion from a professional perspective, thus drawing on the I-Identity (Gee, 2000-2001).

As the discussion unfolded, the pre-service teachers' professional or I-Identities (Gee, 2000-2001) surfaced more clearly through heteroglossic dialogue (Bakhtin, 1981) . Sally's comments about reading *Love Me Forever* to a large group of children can be interpreted as leaning on Grace's previous utterances about reading the picture books *to a* "group of school kids." In turn 53, by drawing on the notion of students' cultural backgrounds, Grace extended the chain of discourse to argue for pedagogy which respects those families who may be on the peripheries of society's norms.

As spaces for dialogue were provided, it can be argued that Grace and Eva momentarily assimilated the voice of Sally (Bakhtin, 1986; Rogers et al., 2006). Scaffolding was afforded to explore the broader politics of literacy teaching and learning through themes such as critiquing idealized conceptions of family (see Cumming-Potvin, 2009; Martino & Cumming-Potvin, 2011).

DISCUSSION

Drawn from Focus Groups 1 and 2, and asynchronous on-line discussions, these results highlight the processes through which Sally, Eva and Grace developed understandings about literacies and negotiated their identities as pre-service teachers and parents. Across home and university and in on-line contexts, Sally, Eva and Grace's journeys can be understood through social interaction and a growing involvement within a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). By engaging in meaningful tasks, such as shared reading experiences with their own children and discussions with peers, Sally, Eva and Grace made personal and professional connections about the theory and practice of teaching and learning literacies. These links are representative of Gee's (200-2001) N, A and I- identities. For example, the group of pre-service teachers identified important themes, such as the primordial role of talk during shared reading (see Heath, 1983; Luke & Freebody, 1999) and the relationship between children's enjoyment, re-reading and understanding of texts.

In some instances, the social interaction provided informal space for dialogic reflection (Hatton & Smith 1995; Whipp 2003), whereby Sally, Eva and Grace broadened their definitions of literacy, distanced themselves from their assumptions and biases and critiqued problems from a larger social cultural perspective (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Rogers et al., 2006). As dialogic reflection emerged across some utterances, it can be argued that the pre-service teacher participants increased their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986) through the metaphor of scaffolding. Here, Tsui's (2003) and Verity's (2005) broadened definition of Vygotsky's zone of proximal development is useful for it considers the interactive and dynamic components of creating space for growth rather than emphasizing performance. As the pre-service teachers engaged with scaffolded events, they become more aware of the struggle surrounding their construction of personal and worldviews (Hatano & Wertsch, 2001; Kasworm, 2003; Verity, 2005), particularly in relation to teaching reading with resources such as picture books. From this viewpoint, there was a dynamic tension as the pre-service teachers negotiated their I-identies and D-identities (Gee, 2000 - 2001).

In spaces which acknowledged heteroglossic voices (Bakhtin, 1986), Sally, Eva, and Grace temporarily broadened their personal narratives to reflect on the broader politics of literacy teaching. Still, pre-service teachers' learning journeys must be acknowledged as complex and imbued with contending and related discourses. While Sally, Eva and Grace often used conversational space to smoothly articulate their definitions of literacy in stretches of language or discourses (Gee, 1999), authoritative discourse, such as the utterances of the researcher, may also have influenced face-to-face and on-line discussions (Bakhtin, 1981, Rogers et al., 2006). Although these pre-service teachers drew heavily on prior experiences with texts (Anstey & Bull, 2004) to discuss the teaching and learning of literacies, these topics had also been introduced in the English course in question. Thus, on a broader level, discussions taking place during the study pointed to the powerful academic *Discourses* of higher education institutions.

Nonetheless, these results confirm previous research interpreting scaffolding from a complementary and interdependent perspective that allows consideration of the apprentices' and more experienced learners' engagement in activities (Comber 2003; Guk & Kellog 2007; Paris & Cross, 1988; Rogoff, 1990). As Sally, Eva and Grace engaged in discussions and literacy events with adults and children, the scaffolding and zone of proximal development varied with factors such as participants' interaction and relationships, time, settings and types of tasks (Cumming-Potvin et al., 2003; Stone, 1993). Engagement in shared reading experiences provided spaces for dialogue, which were: created on campus as participants discussed their initial picture book choices, sustained at home as participants and their young children responded to picture books, and extended in the on-line environment as participants reflected on the scaffolded literacy events and the social, cultural and political dimensions of literacies.

Of the various factors affecting scaffolding, an asynchronous on-line discussion tool appeared beneficial for the pre-service teachers' reflection about teaching practice, theory, and scholarship (see MaKinster et al., 2006; Whipp, 2003). While the focus of group discussions was limited to on-campus engagement, the on-line discussions allowed participants to post messages up to several months later, thus providing opportunities to extend reflection over time. In addition, because the three selected on-line messages were posted at 7:36pm, 7:50pm and 9:03 pm, the notion of class time could be described as malleable. To this effect, Nicholson and Bond (2003) and Levin, He and Robbins (2006) have argued the benefits of asynchronous on-line discussions, which include extending student learning beyond the classroom and creating a place for reflection within a community of practice (Wenger, 1998).

The concept of a supportive community of practice appears absent from recent Australian Commonwealth initiatives calling for improvement of initial teacher education programmes via skills-based approaches, particularly in literacy instruction. Indeed, numerous educational researchers have rejected these technical approaches to teacher education and literacies as inadequate for the diverse and complex needs of students in the new millennium. Framed within a context of increased public inquiry and debate, both overseas and in Australia, this article employed a sociocultural approach to examine initial teacher education and the teaching and learning of literacies. Through a case study using diverse methods of data collection, the research explored how the convergence of scaffolding, on-line discussion and shared reading experiences offered opportunities for a small group of pre-service teachers to deepen their understandings of literacy.

Advantages of integrating children's literature in home, on-line, and on-campus contexts included: extending discussions and reflection beyond the classroom, bridging the gap between home and school literacies and promoting reflection within a supportive community of practice. As Grace, Sally and Eva negotiated their multiple identities, the convergence of shared reading experiences, on-line and on-campus discussions provided scaffolding to interweave theory and practice about the teaching of literacies. As interaction occurred with children, peers and more experienced mentors within the community, Grace, Sally and Eva were able to negotiate their identities as future members of the teaching profession and travel towards more complex understanding of teaching scholarship. It should be noted however that as per Black's 2005 recommendations, teacher educators play a fundamental role in encouraging critical reflection through pedagogical strategies, such as open-ended questions and on-line summaries of discussions. To deepen reflection, such summaries could link practical case examples to theory introduced in teaching methods courses.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Reporting on selected results from a qualitative study which was conducted in an Australian university community, this article examined how a group of pre-service teachers engaged with scaffolded literacy events (such as shared reading experiences, face-to-face and on-line discussions) to develop perceptions and understandings of literacy. The results offer brief glimpses of how pedagogical practice can be adapted to accommodate evolving identities and discourses of pre-service teachers who engage with on-line, on-campus and home learning. By challenging *back-to-basics* pedagogical practice with flexible ways of thinking about temporality and dialogic spaces, the interweaving of scaffolding with informal and formal learning can widen the lens for pre-service teachers to reflect on understandings and identities for engaging with local and global communities (Tierney, 2006). However, as pre-service teachers negotiate their entry in the teaching profession, the long term challenge remains sustaining freedom of expression and action within contending political fields. As such, in a shifting world of literacies wherein newly graduated and experienced teachers shape increasingly diverse student populations, effective teacher education programs demand more than technical training to address literacy performance (Cochran-Smith, 2005).

Due to the exploratory nature of the study and the limited number of participants, caution should be exercised in translating these results to other settings. Additional research is recommended to explore how pre-service teachers, who belong to minority groups and use English as an additional language, construct their identities while developing understandings about teaching scholarship. Nonetheless, these selected results highlight the importance of examining the teaching and learning of literacies across formal and informal settings and the necessity for innovation in university programs whereby pre-service teachers are encouraged to integrate action and reflection.

Because professional and personal identities are renegotiated and contested through thought, action and interaction (Bourdieu, 1990; Gee, 1999), further applied research is recommended to explore innovative pedagogy for scaffolding across multiple settings. Aiming to develop literacy educators who master words, challenge attitudes, and negotiate identities within communities, novel programmes could place more emphasis on informal and formal scaffolding in on-line and face-to-face settings. Ultimately, with long-term scaffolding and greater informal access to members of educational communities, new graduates may feel safe to position themselves as twenty-first century leaders, who intertwine theory and practice to advocate for socially just pedagogy in complex and multiliterate worlds.

NOTES

1. In a case study tracking Sally's development from a pre-service to an early career teacher, this question was used in an individual interview with Sally (see Cumming-Potvin, 2009, p.88).

2. This quotation from Sally originally appears in Cumming Potvin, 2009, p. 88.

3. This quotation from Sally originally appears in Cumming Potvin, 2009, p. 88.

4. This quotation from Sally originally appears in Cumming Potvin, 2009, p. 90.

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WHAT ARE SCHOOLS LOOKING FOR IN NEW, INCLUSIVE TEACHERS?

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ABSTRACT. Focus groups were conducted in four school divisions in central Canada in order to determine whether inclusive educators in schools could identify the knowledge base, skills set, and attitudes desirable in new inclusive teachers. Participants failed to identify an essential knowledge base for inclusive educators. Findings indicated that a focus on skills and attitudes was viewed as desirable, specifically skills related to flexibility, inter-dependence, communication. Participants also valued attitudes related to willingness on the part of new teachers to seek learning opportunities and accept help from other team members.

QUE RECHERCHENT LES ÉCOLES CHEZ LES NOUVEAUX ENSEIGNANTS DANS UN CONTEXTE D'INCLUSION?

RÉSUMÉ. Des enseignants travaillant dans un contexte d'inclusion au sein de quatre divisions scolaires du centre du Canada ont participé à des groupes de discussion afin de déterminer s'ils étaient capables d'identifier les connaissances, les compétences et les attitudes que devraient posséder les enseignants œuvrant dans un tel milieu. Les participants n'ont pas réussi à identifier les connaissances fondamentales essentielles aux enseignants en milieu d'apprentissage inclusif. En fait, les résultats indiquent que le développement de compétences et d'attitudes semblait plus important, particulièrement les compétences liées à la flexibilité, l'interdépendance et la communication. De plus, l'ouverture des nouveaux enseignants face aux opportunités d'apprentissage et à l'aide des autres membres de l'équipe-école était aussi considérée comme un atout.

In 1994, UNESCO made a recommendation to the international educational community that teacher preparation programs include mandatory content about inclusion (UNESCO, 1994). Based on the notion of social justice (Ballard, 2003), inclusion contends that all citizens should have access to equal

educational opportunities, regardless of whether those citizens have disabilities or not (Sharma, Forlin, Loreman, & Earle, 2006). According to UNECSO (2009), inclusive education is

> an ongoing process aimed at offering quality education for all while respecting diversity and the different needs and abilities, characteristics, and learning expectations of the students and communities, eliminating all forms of discrimination. (p. 3)

Like many other jurisdictions world-wide, provinces in Canada have begun to adopt an inclusive philosophy in their teacher education programs and in their programming for children in schools. Manitoba, a province in central Canada, is no exception. The Manitoba government defines inclusion as it relates to students with disabilities as,

> a way of thinking and acting that allows every individual to feel accepted, valued, and safe. An inclusive community *consciously evolves* to meet the changing needs of its members. Through recognition and support, an inclusive community provides meaningful involvement and equal access to the benefits of citizenship. (Manitoba Education, Training, and Youth, 2006, p. 1)

The purpose of the study was to determine various educational stakeholders' viewpoints on the essential skills sets, attitudes, and beliefs they desire in the newly hired inclusive educators.

CONTEXT

Mandatory teacher preparation

Although the government's definition of inclusion specifies that an evolution must occur and that recognition and support must be provided, it does not mandate the processes by which these practices will take place. While support documents are released on an ongoing basis by the Manitoba government, many of the procedures outlined in those documents are not *policies* mandated within school divisions in Manitoba. School divisions are geographic areas in Manitoba that are controlled by locally elected school boards. In effect, school divisions are provided with the information as well as the flexibility to determine how, and if, the procedures will be incorporated into their practices.

Watkins and D'Alessio (2009) pointed out that it is important to note that policy makers and practitioners are not always in agreement regarding inclusive education practices. Central to the evolution that allows recognition and support for all learners is the role of the classroom teacher. Beginning in the 1970s, Manitoba schools, like other schools in North America, began to move away from segregated schooling for students with special educational needs (SENs) and began to integrate students into classrooms with their age-matched peers. However, it was not until almost forty years later, in 2008 —14 years after the UNESCO recommendation — that pre-service teacher education programs

in Manitoba were required to include sixty-six contact hours of mandatory "Special Education" classes in their curricula. Thus, the classroom teachers who became responsible in the 1970s for teaching students with SENs in integrated settings have done so for forty years with no required pre-service education on this topic.

While providing the course content related to inclusion has the capacity to better equip new Manitoban teachers for successful teaching in inclusive classrooms, it is an enormous responsibility for teachers to program for children with a wide variety of needs armed with only one required full-year course in inclusive education. The selection of the content and processes taught in the mandated inclusive education course therefore becomes paramount, not only to the success of children in inclusive classrooms, but also to the success of inclusion as a philosophy in practice. Cardona (2009) went so far as to suggest that newly trained teachers who have experienced education regarding inclusion could act as change agents and "would seem to provide the best means to create a new generation of teachers who will insure the successful implementation of inclusive policies and practices" (p. 35). Indeed, for inclusion to be successful in both philosophy and practice, classroom teachers need to be an integral part of "the conscious evolution."

Specific skills sets and content knowledge

The research literature provides an excellent starting point in determining the most effective inclusive education course content. Given that many students graduate from their teacher preparation programs feeling unprepared to teach children with diverse needs (Edmunds, 1998; Pearman, Huang, & Mellblom, 1997), the evidence regarding necessary skills sets (what teachers need to know how to do) and content knowledge (what information teachers need to know) required for successfully teaching in inclusive classrooms requires examination.

In 2010, LePage and colleagues produced a document based on three books published by the American Committee on Teacher Education. The article outlined the essential skills (items 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11) and knowledge (items 1, 4, 5, 7, 8) of all teachers who graduate from pre-service education programs, including Inclusive Education programs. These include: 1) an understanding that all children learn along a vast continuum and that strategic instruction will help all children develop their strengths; 2) observation and record-keeping skills; 3) analytic skills; 4) awareness of typical development; 5) awareness of the types and severity of specific conditions; 6) access to strategies and adaptations to help students learn more effectively, including differentiated instructional strategies; 7) awareness of the eligibility and placement processes available; 8) an understanding of assessment procedures; 9) the capacity to find additional supports and resources; 10) a willingness and capacity to work and communicate effectively with parents and others involved with the student's programming;

11) the capacity to contribute to the Individual Education Plan (IEP) process and implementation. This list seems like a logical starting point when designing learning goals for pre-service teaching courses on Inclusive Education.

Despite the knowledge base and skills set described by LePage et al. (2010), and the desires expressed by new graduates regarding better preparation for inclusive classrooms, other researchers (Alexander, 2004; Davis & Florian; 2004; Jordan, Schwartz, & McGhie-Richmond, 2009) contended that the skill set and content knowledge required to teach students with SENs are not significantly different from those needed to teach children with more typical development. Lewis and Norwich (2005) suggested that teaching students with special learning needs is simply an *intensification* of the best practices in teaching that apply to all children. Furthermore, Daniels and Porter (2007) showed that practices that are sometimes proposed for use mainly for students with SENs can be very effective with other children without disabilities. Indeed, an examination of the list of desired knowledge and skills sets proposed by LePage et al. (2010) reveals that few of the skills and knowledge sets on this list are exclusive to inclusive educators. Specifically, it could be argued that only awareness of eligibility and placement options and the capacity to plan and implement an IEP are specific to teachers of students with SENs. Alternatively, it could also be argued that these skills are simply *intensified* components of differentiated instruction (Lewis & Norwich, 2005).

Attitudinal factors

With little agreement on whether or not a distinct knowledge base and skills set of inclusive educators exist, professors of courses in inclusive education are left asking what should form the required content of their courses. Silverman (2007) and Cook (2002) suggested that teacher attitudes need to be considered, and Jordan, Schwartz, and McGhie-Richmond (2009) proposed that teacher attitudes are the *main* determinant of success in inclusive classrooms. These scholars believe that teachers' attitudes affect their behaviours, in turn influencing the classroom climate and students' opportunities for success. Teachers who perceive children with disabilities as needing to be fixed are likely to be ineffective teachers in inclusive classrooms (Ainscow, 2007). Moreover, teachers who complete their teacher education programs feeling ill-equipped to teach children with special learning needs may demonstrate a reluctance to teach in inclusive settings (Jordan, Schwartz, & McGhie-Richmond, 2009) and may hamper progress in schools as it relates to inclusive education (Atkinson, 2004; Forlin, Loreman, Sharma & Earle, 2009). Given that the attitudes of in-service teachers are dependent on local culture and considering that changing the attitudes of these teachers is a complex political endeavor (Symeonidou & Phtiaka, 2009), Forlin and Hopewell (2006) and Andrews (2002) suggested that teacher preparation programs have a role to play in fostering attitudes that support inclusion. Furthermore, White (2007) showed that very little

change in teacher attitudes toward inclusion occurs within their first five years of teaching, suggesting teacher education programs might be best places to develop these desired attitudes.

So, what are the teacher attitudes associated with successful teaching in inclusive settings? Jordan, Schwartz, and McGhie-Richmond (2009) suggested two specific mindsets come into play. First, teachers who view diversity as normal and perceive that all children can learn tend to be more effective. These teachers reject the stance that SENs are in need of fixing and instead continuously look for ways to assist the children in learning. This stance exemplifies the "all children can learn" attitude. Second, effective teachers accept that all the children in their classes are their own responsibility and try to break down barriers to their students' success by modifying their instructional practices. Rather than looking for others to take responsibility for the children's success or failure (e.g. parents, resource teachers), these teachers view it as their job to teach all children.

But is attitudinal change possible within pre-service teacher programs, and, if so, how is it fostered? Some researchers showed that when students were exposed to courses in inclusive education during their teacher education programs, they tended to develop more positive attitudes toward inclusion (Ching, Forlin & Mei Lan, 2007; Kyriakou, Avramidis, Hoie, Stephens, & Hultgren, 2007; Lancaster & Bain, 2007), and some researchers showed that pre-service teachers with course work in inclusive education have more positive attitudes toward inclusion than those pre-service teachers with no coursework (Forlin, Loreman, Sharma & Earl, 2009).

Forlin, Loreman, Sharma and Earl (2009) showed that students who begin their courses with more positive attitudes toward inclusion have greater positive gains in their attitudes, while those who began with negative attitudes were less influenced by their course work. Moreover, other researchers suggested that courses, on their own, are insufficient in addressing negative attitudes (Campbell, Gilmore, & Cuskelly, 2003; Forlin, Tait, Carroll & Jobling, 1999), and that certain assignments or a practicum in addition to coursework are more effective than others in changing attitudes. Boling (2007) and Johnson and Howell (2009) suggested that the use of case studies during coursework is influential in positive attitudinal change. Campbell, Gilmore, & Cuskelly (2003) showed that when students had greater knowledge about one disability through project work, they developed more positive attitudes about inclusion in general.

Loreman, Forlin and Sharma (2007) and Forlin, Loreman, Sharma and Earl (2009), however, suggested that direct contact with students with disabilities is necessary for true attitudinal adjustment, and Yellin et al. (2003) suggested that only those high quality experiences of this type are effective. Sharma, Forlin, and Loreman (2008) showed that the length and intensity of the experiences

were also significant. Implicit in all these scenarios is not only exposure to experiences that challenge pre-existing attitudes, but also the support required for students to examine and reflect on those attitudes.

Given the inconclusive nature of the research literature related to the essential components of a pre-service teacher education program and given that policy makers and those in the field are not always in agreement about inclusive practices (Watkins & D'Alessio, 2009), the current project's research design was constructed to invite the voices of those providing inclusive education within the local school culture into the debate rather than privileging an academic, literature-based perspective. Furthermore, the research was designed to honor these voices as sources of course objectives in the preparation of new, inclusive teachers. While a variety of research studies have looked at the views of specific groups, such as new teachers, principals, parents, and teachers, few have used a mixed focus group methodology to explore this question.

The current project

Little research has been done about the essential knowledge, skills, and attitudes of Canadian teachers in inclusive classrooms. Sharma, Forlin, Loreman, and Earle (2006) posited that this research is sorely needed, given that many pre-service teachers graduate feeling unprepared to address the needs of diverse learners (Scruggs & Mastropieri, 1996). The delivery structures in Manitoba pre-service education programs (stand-alone classes within a common inclusive education program for all pre-service teachers) are supported in the literature as being effective not only in promoting an inclusive philosophy but also in fostering a greater sense in competency in its graduates (Florian & Rouse 2009; Kurz & Pauls, 2005; Sharma, Forlin, & Loreman, 2008; Young; 2008). Manitoba is therefore positioned well organizationally to meet the needs of its teachers and students. Manitoba now should determine essential knowledge, skills, and attitudes in order to take advantage of the organizational structures in place and to develop the most effective programs for fostering excellence in inclusive education.

Although Manitoba Education has outlined clearly the mandate of inclusive education models in its schools, it also allows flexibility in the ways the mandate is met. As a result, various divisions across the province organize service delivery by a variety of models. In the current study, school divisions are surveyed through focus groups to determine 1) which skills set, knowledge base, and attitudes are essential for successful first year teaching in inclusive classrooms in their division, and 2) which, if any of these knowledge bases, skills sets, and attitudes are viewed as essential across diverse divisions.

METHOD

The superintendents of four school divisions were contacted by letter and invited to participate. The four divisions were purposely chosen: 1) an inner-city school division that addresses the needs of many children living in poverty and many newcomers to Canada; 2) a suburban school division that is restructuring its delivery model for services to children with special needs; 3) a rural division that can speak to special challenges in meeting the needs of children in remote communities; 4) a suburban school division whose delivery model is unique in the city. Given that there are over 30 school divisions in Manitoba, only six of which are within the main city, a cross section of rural and urban divisions was selected in order to ensure that diverse perspectives were maximized.

Once permission was received from the superintendents' offices, the Directors of Student Services in each division arranged a two-hour focus group at the divisional site. All participants were provided with a list of the focus group questions prior to meeting with the researcher (see Appendix 1). They were told that the researcher was interested in understanding the inclusive practices within their school division as well as their perspectives on the knowledge base, skills, and attitudes that should be fostered within a required inclusive education course for pre-service teachers. Each audio-recorded focus group included the Director/Co-ordinator of Student Services, and representatives of special education administrators, resource teachers, special education teachers, clinicians, school psychologists, classroom teachers, and instructional assistants. The four focus groups ranged in size from six to twelve participants (7, 12, 6, and 9 participants respectively), and the durations ranged from 91 minutes to 118 minutes.

All the participants were self-nominated and were experienced in their roles. In total, four administrators, three principals, eight student services co-ordinators, eight classroom teachers, four clinicians, three educational assistants, and four resource teachers participated in this study. By coincidence, two of the class-room teachers and one of the educational assistants were parents of children with special educational needs.

Each session began with questions intended to reveal internal processes and situations within the particular division, and continued with an exploration of the participants' views on the essential knowledge base, skills sets, and attitudes of successful inclusive educators.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The transcripts were read to get an overall sense of their content. Then, the data were imported into NVivo8. The divisions were given pseudonyms. An imbedded within-division analysis (Yin, 2002), and a within-division analysis

of themes (Stake, 1995) were generated prior to conducting across-division analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In that analysis, free and tree nodes were used to compare similarities between the divisions. Free nodes are general, emergent codes that are generated by analyzing single or multiple data sources. Tree nodes are the analytic structures that emerge from relationships between or within the free nodes.

Although the intension of the focus groups was to garner information about the knowledge, skill base, and attitudes that are required for successful first-year inclusive educators, in all groups the main discussion topics revolved around required skills and attitudes. Many participants believed that a distinct knowledge base for inclusive educators did not exist, or that it could be learned from others on the student services team once in the field. In fact, when they were specifically asked for the knowledge base required of new inclusive educators, all groups instead listed and discussed skills and attitudes. As such, four central and inter-related themes were identified—three that reflected desired skills and one that reflected a desired attitude: (1) context-specific flexibility; (2) inter-dependence with other team members; (3) effective communication; (4) a growth-oriented attitude.

Skill: Flexibility in process

Participants reported on a lack of consistency in processes for intake and IEP documentation across school divisions, within school divisions, and even from classroom to classroom. A range of reasons for the lack of consistency in processes related to inclusion were offered in the focus groups. Differences were attributed to skill level and / or the absence of teamwork, situational factors such as whether there was prior notice of the child's enrollment at school, variability in adhering to procedures, and variation in the needs of the families. Although there was little agreement about the causes of inconsistencies across and within divisions, the participants agreed that these inconsistencies existed. Many participants suggested that the lack of consistency was not problematic, but rather was necessary to address the specificity required to meet the needs of each child and his or her family. Excerpts supporting these findings follow.

> Administrator (regarding intake meetings): Through this whole process, we have to consider what works for the parent. Sometimes those gigantic meetings don't work for them. And sometimes that might mean that we meet separately or with a few people and have multiple meetings. I think that overall schools are just trying to make it work and just do the best that they can.

> Principal: In the division, schools tend to do what works for them for the benefit of the student.

> Student Services Co-ordinator: It's going to be a long process to figure out what works. And in school to school, it's going to be different because our kids are different. But, I think everyone, in the end, everybody is still asking the same question "What does this child need? What can we provide for them and how can we do it?"

The participants spoke openly about the lack of consistency within and across the divisions, particularly in terms of intake procedures and documentation. They were overt in stating that the procedures must be flexible so that they can meet the needs of specific children and families, rather than privileging consistency over utility. Pre-service teachers must therefore be prepared to accept some ambiguity in terms of process. Rather than being taught course content about specific processes within each division, which may or may not be followed consistently, teachers should be socialized to adapt to the processes that are effective within the planning and implementation of programming specific to each child. Developing flexibility in using procedures that are effective within a context rather than consistent across contexts is important for new teachers within inclusive settings.

Skill: Inter-dependence

A key skill identified in all focus groups was the need to be able to function effectively as part of a team of various experts, each with complementary skill sets. In some school divisions, clinical services are offered through a central office called the Child Assistance Centre (CAC). In other divisions, clinical services are site-based within the schools, or clinicians are hired by the division to work between several schools. Regardless of the structure, the participants voiced their views that the system demands collaboration among those who provide services to students with exceptional needs.

> Teacher: Our school division has an FASD (Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder) team, and they help with that. We are lucky to have lots of professions available to us to help co-ordinate that and guide us through that. They help us glean the important information, because there is a lot of grey information with that.

> Clinician: When you have parent input, student input, admin input, CAC input, that's when you are going to get that ideal, living document that you can continually assess and adapt, where the goals and objectives are attainable.

When the structures were in place to support inter-dependence, the participants voiced satisfaction with their roles and with the overall processes within their divisions. They spoke of the important relationships between people on the team and their effects on efficient and effective services for children.

> Administrator: Another different practice was a process for writing funding applications. It was noted that the average funding application takes 30 hours per child when completed by a resource person. In one division, the clinicians and resource people got together and wrote them together-- these were trained people who were able to help each other. They now have it down to three hours each.

> Teacher: I feel very well supported. As a classroom teacher, it is really the SERTS (Special Education Resource Teachers) that are the best day-to-day support for me. It is not formal meetings, it is day to day as I walk by their doors and see them open. So we can share information or talk about things.

> We have that sort of connection. And THEY have the connections outside the school such as CAC, OT (Occupational therapy), PT (Physiotherapy) and then they pass this information to us. So, they are more accesible and they pass the information back to us, making it so that classroom teachers don't have to be in so many meetings.

All but one focus group brought up the importance of the relationship between classroom teachers and Educational Assistants (EAs). Given that EAs and classroom teachers work alongside one another throughout the school year, the relationship between these two roles was deemed to be of special importance within the three focus groups.

> Principal: If a new teacher has never had an educational assistant, how do they work and collaborate and negotiate roles? There has to be a trust and a value and a respect.

> Educational Assistant: The EA is always included at our school when it comes to the IEP meeting because you are the one who is going to deliver this program. When I first began, I was not a part of that planning process, and for the student, it was hit and miss. As the EA, I didn't know what to expect or what the outcomes would be. But when you are a part of the planning process, you have a clearer idea whether it is diagnosed, undiagnosed. It is really important, because everyone is on the same page.

Thus, the participants percieved the need to socialize new teachers to become inter-dependent members of multi-disciliniary teams including administrators, clinicians, parents, EAs, and others. This inter-dependence, termed co-operative teaching, has been recognized by the European Agency for Development of Special Needs Education (2005) as one of the core competencies of inclusive educators.

Skill: Communication

One of the key aspects of effective inter-dependence is clear communication. In order for communication to be effective, those on the team must have access to the information about a specific child and must be able to understand and use the information as it is presented. While the importance of clear communication and the resulting positive relationships were stressed in all the focus groups, so too were the systemic and role-specific barriers to them. The absent student files, for example, was a challenge consistently mentioned. Although schools are required to forward each child's cumulative files when that child transfers schools or divisions, this requirement was not always observed:

> Administrator: The whole pupil file must be sent, but it isn't always. So, sometimes those guidelines aren't followed. They should be, they're supposed to be, but that doesn't always happen.

In addition to absent files, participants reported the challenge of decifering files that are written in terms unaccessbile to the person who needs the information, usually the classroom teacher. This concern speaks to the specificity

of each of the roles as well as the "professional language" that is exclusive to each role. While using very specific clinical terms is effective communication between clinicians, it is not always accessible to classroom teachers:

> Teacher: Reading the files, part of the issue is that the information in the files is not user friendly. The information in the CAC files is very valuable, but if you are not there at the meeting when the information is transferred — I am SURE I am there for all those meetings — without the meetings, I don't have a clue about what all that information means. The IEP documents, I understand those because I am involved in those meetings. But if you look at the adaptive activity plans, literally the activities are not as valuable. It is not that people don't want to read the information, its that the information is not as helpful as it could be.

> Classroom teacher: I was dealing with a psychologist this year, and she came and said "Ok!" and presented all this information wonderfully. And I had to ask, "What does that mean? What is that part?" And it would have saved a lot more time — her time, my time — everybody's time would have been used in another way if I had known what those things were. Because I don't have to deal with them that often. It would have been nice to have that terminology. And I think it just makes for easier conversations with people with whom you're going to work.

> Clinician: What I think is also helpful for them [teachers] is to kind of take some perspectives in the day in the life of a speech and language person, a psychologist, a physiotherapist, an occupational therapist, so that they can get used to some of the language. They can look at some of the common strategies that these people implement, so when, you know, those specialists are attached to their classroom team, they've got some context.

It is interesting that teachers, EAs, and clinicians value effective communication and that representatives of all groups agree that terminology specific to the clinical role can create barriers to effective team work. While the teachers believed that the solution was to have discussions where the clinical terms could be explained, the clinicians believed that is was incumbent on the teachers to learn the common terminology of the clinical role.

In addition to communicating effectively with other professionals, participants also valued the skills necessary to communicate effectively with parents, and advocated that new teachers develop skills in this area:

> Administrator: This is really hard for lots of teachers. Its important for all parents, but especially parents with special needs, that ongoing regular communication. And hearing what they have to say. I mean, really, they may not always come out with what you're expecting to hear, but they do have their child's best interest at heart. If they're part of that team, that's really what they want to feel.

> Resource teacher: It is important that we share information with parents, but also it's very important that we do that well. It's important the way that we say it, not just what we say. It's important for clinicians and resource teachers, not only to name the need, but also to name the supports.

> Educational Assistant: ...lots of times with special needs students, their parents are the last ones you see in the classroom or volunteering on field trips — and what is that and why? To include them, to invite them in would, I think, would be huge. And I think a lot of that is because parents are intimidated. They're looking and they're intimidated, whether it's the language that intimidates them, or the dress...

Participants acknowledged that the communication between these team members presented challenges at times, yet acknowledged that clear communication was required in order to function effectively in inclusive settings. New teachers would be well advised to develop their professional vocabulary and communication skills as well as their confidence in asking for clarification of confusing terminology. Furthermore, teacher education programs should help pre-service teachers develop respectful, inviting communication styles that will foster positive relationships with parents.

Thus, three inter-dependent skills sets for inclusive educators' successful teaching emerged from the focus groups: flexibility, inter-dependence, communication.

Attitude: A growth-seeking attitude

Experienced educators in each group voiced their beliefs that teachers often begin their careers thinking that they must meet all children's needs on their own. As they grew into their professional roles, however, the participants recognized that they did not need to work in isolation.

> Teacher: ...having pre-service teachers knowing that you're not going to do it all — I think everyone who goes into this business really wants to do it all.

> Teacher: My job is to teach every child, but I do not have to do it alone. I have a team of support to help me. That's key, I think that they (new teachers) need to know they don't do this alone.

> Teacher: And its ok not to know everything.

The participants in all groups stressed that new teachers need to feel comfortable asking for help, rather than working in isolation trying to hide the information gaps common in novice teachers. The participants questioned whether new teachers were socialized to accept their need for growth without feeling inadequate. Consistently across all focus groups, the need to socialize new teachers into a growth mindset was deemed an important aspect of pre-service teacher education programs.

> Student Services Administrator: Promoting that is important, that teachers know that when you come into the classroom it is not the expectation that you close your door, that you keep the children all to yourself. That you know we are going to support you, but that requires you to entrust them to us a little, and share them, but sometimes thats not always easy for people to do.

> Resource Teacher: And, there's all kinds of strengths, and I think a large part of what they need to know is that how important it is to go to other people for help, and that, that's key.

> Psychologist: The culture in education, you know, is shut your classroom door and you had better know how to manage a classroom. And teachers wouldn't come out of supervision the way a psychologist would. We're expected to just throw out our most complex things which make us feel like we can't do our job. A teacher, you know, would never feel like they can do that, otherwise they're a bad teacher. [Pre-service teacher socialization needs] to solve that fear of isolation and the fact that you close the door and can't ask anyone for help. I think that's so important.

> Principal: And they're nervous about that because they don't want to go ask other teachers ... so they're kind of this island by themselves. [New teachers] think right away, "Oh, if I ask all these questions.... I'm gonna look like I don't know what I'm doing."

Some participants believed that a greater number of recent graduates are demonstrating greater capacity to seek help and to continue to learn from their peers. These participants believed that viewing oneself as a learner as well as a teacher was essential to this mindset and the solution to the isolation perceived by some new teachers.

> Teacher: A key is seeing myself as a learner. When I can see that I have things to learn, I can adapt and individualize for students. I can grow alongside the student. The new graduates need to be willing to learn and to continue the journey.

> Educational Assistant: I think there's lots of that feeling of isolation, but I've seen that over the last 10 years, [there is] more collaborations and understanding and just working together in teams. Working together as a larger school community, supporting one another — I'm seeing that changing. And I know its just on the cusp, but I think it is there.

Thus, the participants believed that one of the keys to novice teachers becoming successful teachers could be found in their attitudes. They valued new teachers' willingness to seek opportunities for growth rather than hiding their knowledge or skill gaps. They encouraged new teachers to look to others for support and guidance, and to view this situation as optimal rather than an indication of deficits within new teachers themselves. The European Agency for Development of Special Needs Education (2005) suggested that the use of co-operative teaching practices addresses the isolation sometimes perceived by new teachers, allows them to learn from other team members, and values new teachers' eagerness to continue learning within their teaching contexts. In this way, a growth-seeking attitude can be fostered.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

As a professor interested in preparing competent, confident inclusive classroom teachers, I found the comments of the participants to be invaluable. Although

the focus of the discussions was intended to be perspectives on the requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes of new inclusive classroom teachers, the focus groups generated insights at a level far more in depth than anticipated. Perhaps the themes were provoked by the initial questions related to describing the standard processes and recent changes in each division's practices. In cueing these schema, the subsequent conversation was impassioned and personal and focused on challenges and possibilities within the divisions both at a procedural level as well as at a philosophical level.

The themes identified by the participants are valuable in informing the course content in an inclusive education course. Rather than generating a knowledge base of outcomes that new teachers should know, the participants identified essential skills and attitudes, therefore supporting the research findings of Davis and Florian (2004), Alexander (2004), Jordan, Schwartz, and McGhie-Richmond (2009), Lewis and Norwich (2005) and Daniels and Porter (2007). These authors posit that good inclusive teaching is simply good teaching intensified and that a specific knowledge base exclusive to inclusive teaching is non-existent. So then, what do the focus group participants offer as the basis of successful teacher preparation for inclusive teaching?

The three skill sets and one attitude identified by the majority of participants in this study are important considerations in the professional development of new teachers and teachers in training. First, flexibility in many teaching contexts is a trait that was stressed during the focus groups, in such areas as responding to variation in intake procedures, developing and using forms, and adapting strategies for student success. Teachers should be socialized to adapt to the processes that are effective within the planning and implementation of programming specific to each child. Developing skills in finding and using procedures that are effective within a context, rather than consistent across contexts, is important to new teachers within inclusive settings. Practica in diverse settings and practicum experiences with diverse learners would support development of this skill.

Another essential insight for new teachers is that they are parts of inter-dependent teams where various team members contribute complementary skills. Developing skills within this co-operative teaching framework was identified by the participants as well as by the **European Agency for Development of Special Needs Education (2005)** as a core teacher competence. Teacher education programs are well advised to provide opportunities for co-operative activities and assignments as part of their programs, in order that pre-service teachers develop these skills within an inter-dependent framework prior to their in-service teaching careers.

A third skills set identified by the participants was communication. This means that new teachers need to be confident in ensuring they understand the terminology used by other experts and that they are effective in their rela-

tionships and communications with parents, EAs, and other team members. Pre-service experiences such as practica with teachers who teach children with SENs as well as participation in meetings with other team members such as clinicians would provide pre-service teachers with an opportunity to develop these skills. Course work that examines and makes meaning of reports from various team members who tend to use distinct terminology may also foster development of these skills. Participation in parent-teacher meetings and IEP planning meetings during practicum would also assist students in becoming more familiar and comfortable in their communications with all team members, including parents.

The participants identified a fourth theme, and that is that new teachers must bring a growth-seeking attitude to their new careers. Our profession as well as our teacher education programs need to do a better job of socializing new teachers to seek help and to create resiliency mechanisms (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) through strong relationships with other team members as a way to develop their own, as well as their students, success. An essential component of this approach is fostering the attitude that teachers should be life-long learners and that seeking growth is an expected part of professional development rather than a deficit within novice teachers. Dweck (2008) discussed the importance of a "growth mindset" and its effects on learner behaviours. Rather than viewing capabilities as "fixed" and perceiving that ability is either present or not, a growth mindset is associated with five specific outcomes: 1) effort is seen as the pathway to mastery; 2) challenges are embraced as a means of growth; 3) criticism is valued as guidance for improvement; 4) obstacles are seen as means by which to develop perseverance; 5) the success of others is viewed as a model from which to learn.

By addressing the themes identified by the participants (flexibility, interdependence, communication, and a growth seeking attitude), teacher education programs can enhance the skills and attitudes of their new graduates. Administrators in school divisions have indicated that they value and support the Manitoba Education, Training, and Youth's (2006) "conscious evolution" of inclusive education in Manitoba. While inclusive education continues to find its way in improving services to all children, we can expect that new teachers will not only face challenges, but that they will also contribute to the conscious evolution. Future research that purposely includes the perspectives of parents and students would further enhance our understanding and contributions toward this evolution. In identifying the key skills and attitudes required by new inclusive teachers, it becomes more likely that these teachers will be up to the task.

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APPENDIX 1. FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Please provide your name and your role within the school division.

2. If a new child with exceptional learning needs joined your school, please describe usual procedures in terms of the divisional intake procedures; e.g., development and utilization of forms such as intake forms, student profiles, funding applications and IEPs.

3. Please discuss the adequacy and types of internal and external supports available to inclusive classroom teachers as well as the impetus, direction, and satisfaction with any recent changes in processes within the divisional inclusive practices.

4. Now, I am going to ask you a series of questions related to the essential knowledge base, the skills set, and attitudes that the division expects its novice teachers to have for success as an inclusive classroom teacher. First, can you please describe the essential knowledge base that the division desires in its novice inclusive classroom teachers?

5. What are the essential skills the division expects its novice teachers to have for success as inclusive classroom teachers?

6. What attitudes does the division desire in its novice teachers in inclusive classrooms?

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AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF THE CAREER PATHS OF SENIOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS IN MANITOBA, CANADA: IMPLICATIONS FOR CAREER DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT. This paper conceptualizes queue theory (Tallerico & Blount, 2004) to discuss a mixed-methods study that determined the career patterns of senior educational administrators in public school divisions in Manitoba, Canada, compared by position, context and sex. Findings indicate that queue theory has merit for describing the career paths of senior administrators in Manitoba, but it must be qualified. Context creates labour queue stratifications based on educational level (access), the extent to which senior administrators are channeled into traditional career paths, and number of positions served overall. Context, sex and position interact to form queues based on leaves from service, and create discrepancies on the experiences of career supports and work challenges.

ÉTUDE EMPIRIQUE DU PARCOURS PROFESSIONNEL DES CADRES SUPÉRIEURS AU MANITOBA, CANADA: IMPLICATIONS POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT PROFESSIONNEL

RÉSUMÉ. This paper conceptualizes queue theory (Tallerico & Blount, 2004) to discuss a mixed-methods study that determined the career patterns of senior educational administrators in public school divisions in Manitoba, Canada, compared by position, context and sex. Findings indicate that queue theory has merit for describing the career paths of senior administrators in Manitoba, but it must be qualified. Context creates labour queue stratifications based on educational level (access), the extent to which senior administrators are channeled into traditional career paths, and number of positions served overall. Context, sex and position interact to form queues based on leaves from service, and create discrepancies on the experiences of career supports and work challenges.

Discussions regarding sex/gender and the superintendency recognize the persistence of the disproportionately low representation of women in the superintendency (Brunner, 2004; Glass, Bjork & Brunner, 2000; Grogan, 2000; Kachur-Reico, 2010; Reynolds, 2002; Skrla, 2003; Wallin, 2005a;

2005b; Wallin & Sackney, 2003). This finding is noticeable in Manitoba, where only 6 of the 37 public school division chief superintendents in the 2006-2007 school year were women. The sex proportions of the assistant superintendency were more equitable; women represented half (26 out of 52) of the assistant superintendents in the province. Even though intuitively one would think that those who hire superintendents draw primarily from the pool of assistant superintendents, the major drop in representation from the assistant superintendency to the superintendency illustrates that sex/gender plays a role in senior-level career advancement, either systemically or individually. Coralie Bryant (2004), executive director of the Manitoba Association of School Superintendents, made three points that demonstrate the depth of the discrepancy: (a) since 2001, at the University of Manitoba alone, 66% of the graduates with a Masters in Educational Administration were women; (b) 65% of the teaching staff in Manitoba are women; and (c) 45% of inschool administrators are women. There is no lack of qualified females to warrant such a difference in representation in senior administrative appointments.

Context plays no less of a role in the career patterns of senior educational administrators in Manitoba. For example, if "urban" is defined to include the one census metropolitan area (Winnipeg) and the three census agglomerations (Brandon, Portage la Prairie and Thompson), in 2006-2007 there were only 9 urban superintendents in the province, and 28 rural superintendents. However, exactly half of the 54 assistant superintendent positions existed in urban areas. Economies of population notwithstanding, this means that there are a number of rural school divisions without an assistant superintendent's position, which nullifies the opportunity of using the position as a succession management "training ground" for career development purposes. Some significant trends also develop when sex and context are cross-tabulated. Women constituted 14% of the population of rural superintendents (4 out of 28), and 22% of the population of urban superintendents (2 out of 9). Paradoxically, however, males constituted almost 65% of the rural assistant superintendent population (17 out of 27), but females constituted 65% of the urban assistant superintendent population (17 out of 27), an exact opposite proportion. Data suggest that females are advancing into the assistant superintendency, and in particular in urban assistant superintendencies. Males on the other hand, appear to have an advantage in gaining the superintendency and the rural assistant superintendency, but they are underrepresented in the urban assistant superintendency. None of this data is collected or distributed by the provincial ministry (Manitoba Education), which emphasizes the "conspiracy of silence" of the failure to report explicit data by position and district (Shakeshaft, 1999; Tyack & Hansot, 1982).

It is because of the curious contextual and sexed representative statistics of the senior administrative cadre in Manitoba that a study that examined the career paths of senior educational administrators was undertaken during the

2007-2008 school year. Its purposes were fourfold: (a) to determine the career patterns of senior educational administrators in public school divisions; (b) to compare and contrast their career patterns on position (assistant superintendent versus superintendent), context (rural versus urban); and sex (male versus female); (c) to determine the level of career development supports and work challenges for senior educational administrators; and, (d) to develop implications for career development programs targeted for senior educational administrators. This paper offers the findings related to two of these purposes: the career patterns of senior educational administrators, and their implications for career development programs.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This section will outline the literature that speaks to the career paths of educational administrators as it exists for different positions within the education system, and career supports and work challenges based upon sex and/or context. Though there is a conflation in the literature between sex (biology) and gender (the social construction of normative behavior), studies of female superintendents suggest that females do not enjoy the same level of encouragement, mentorship, or sponsorship as do males, and that they continue to face gender bias and gender discrimination (Bell, 1995; Blount, 1998; Brunner, 2000b, 2003; Grogan, 1996; Kachur-Reico, 2010; Kamler & Shakeshaft, 1999; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1989, 1999; Skrla, Reyes & Scheurich, 2000; Tallerico, 2000). Others contend that context plays an important role in who is hired in administrative positions, as women have been documented to have gained strides in obtaining administrative positions in very small school divisions (Gupton & Slick, 1996; Wallin, 2005a; 2005b), remote school divisions (Kachur-Reico, 2010), and inner-city urban divisions (Mertz, 2003; Murtadha-Watts, 2000). As well, while some researchers argue that there are significant differences in the ways in which men and women lead that may impact on the perceptions of their effectiveness (Bjork, 2000; Brunner, 2000a; Chase, 1995; Gilligan, 1982; Marshall, Patterson, Rogers & Steele, 1996; Pounder, 1990, Shakeshaft, 1989, 1999), others have argued that leadership style has little to do with gender and/or more to do with accommodations to socially constructed leadership norms (Astin & Leland, 1991; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001, Eagly, Karau & Johnston, 1992).

Added to this is the common understanding that the nature of the position of superintendent has changed dramatically in the past decade (Grogan, 2000), which has implications for both men and women in the position. Unfortunately, there are few Canadian studies that examine the roles of senior administrators (Wallin & Crippen, 2009; Kachur-Reico, 2010), and even fewer comparative studies to help determine whether findings are shaped by sex, context, or role requirements.

Tallerico and Blount (2004) used occupational sex segregation theory and feminist scholarship to discuss the career patterns and work challenges of females in the superintendency over time in the United States. According to queue theory (Reskin & Roos, 1990), prospective incumbents rate potential work positions in terms of a hierarchy of desirability, which is known as job queuing. Similarly, prospective employers rate the incumbents, creating labour queues. Tallerico and Blount (2004) suggested that there is merit in queue theory because it "illustrates how personal agency…is mediated by sociocultural norms and values" (p. 635). However, they also contend that "labour queues operate fundamentally as gender queues, with males at the highest end of the hierarchical ordering and women at the lowest" (p. 635). By applying queue theory to the education profession, Tallerico and Blount (2004) proposed three possible culminations: (a) re-segregation, whereby the profession will become dominated by women as males exit, thereby re-segregating the profession by gender (but also potentially contributing to a devaluing of the profession overall); (b) ghettoization, whereby one sex is relegated to the less valued and less desirable contexts or positions within the profession; and, (c) integration, whereby there exists an enduring gender balance among employees in the same gender work role over time.

However, Tallerico's and Blount's (2004) work is limited in that it conceptualizes queue theory in relation to the superintendency only. In fact, the Manitoba statistics suggest that Tallerico's and Blount's (2004) analysis falls short when the assistant superintendency is in question, as in 2006-2007 females were the majority within the urban context (potential re-segregation?), the minority in the rural context (potential ghettoization?) but were equal in number overall (integration?). Their work is also limited in that it does not incorporate pro-feminist as well as feminist principles in its understandings, to include the idea that, just as females face gendered normative expectations as they move along in their careers, so too might males. Queue theory, informed by feminist and profeminist principles, is of value to the purposes of this study because it offers a way to broaden the awareness of the dynamic relationship between personal agency and societal norms in the career development process; it illustrates how stratification by sex, context, and position may occur within education; it offers possibilities for how queues may impact the future of educational administration in terms of re-segregation, ghettoization, and integration; and, therefore it helps researchers and educators proactively work towards integration as they design career development opportunities sensitive to the needs of women and men working within various contexts and positions.

METHODOLOGY

This study utilized a mixed methods design of surveys and interviews. This paper speaks to only a part of the larger study, delineating the career paths and implications for career development. To capture data for the entire study, a

survey was sent to all superintendents and assistant superintendents in public school divisions in Manitoba, and was returned at a rate of 54% (49 of 91 surveys). The purpose of the survey was to acquire the career progressions of practicing assistant superintendents and superintendents in the province, and to have them indicate the nature of career supports and work challenges they faced in their roles. The software program SPSS was used to conduct chi-square tests of the nominal demographic data, and independent t-tests and analysis of variance of the career support and work challenge items of the survey using the demographic variables of position, context and sex, to determine where significant differences and/or possible interaction effects occurred. A p-level of .05 was utilized for all tests of significance. Visual models of the average positional placements (teachers, in-school administrators, senior administrators and "other") and career interruptions were created based on sex (male or female), position (assistant superintendent or superintendent), and context (rural or urban) in order to create career profiles.

Interview questions were developed to extend and enrich the survey findings related to career progression, career supports, and work challenges. Five superintendents and five assistant superintendents (representing an even proportion of male/female and six rural/four urban school divisions) were interviewed once each to determine career development progression, career development supports, and work challenges. The qualitative data related to the career patterns of respondents were input into Atlas-ti, and were analyzed using a constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 2009).

Table 1 provides the representative proportions of individuals from the population, the survey sample, and the interview sample frequency for the key variables under study (position, context and sex). The proportions suggest that the survey sample very closely represents the population from which it was drawn. In fact, most categories differ by at most 2%. Though the difference is small (5% for each case), the sample is somewhat over-represented by assistant superintendents.

DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Table 3 (see Appendix A) provides the background demographic and career information found in this section in tabular format. The majority of Manitoba senior administrators have a spouse or partner (91.8%; N=45), and have children (81.6%; N=40). Sixty-one percent of the senior administrators (N=30) were over the age of 50, followed by 28.6% (N=14) between the ages of 41-50, while only three (6%) of the senior administrators were between the ages of 31-40.

The majority of senior administrators have master's degrees (57.1%; N=28) or post-graduate degrees (24.5%; N=12), with a much smaller proportion having a bachelor's (12.2%; N=6) or a doctoral degree (6.1%; N=3). Most senior administrators have the non-mandatory Manitoba Level II Principals' certificates

(59.2%; N=29), though a large proportion have no certification at all (20.4%; N=10). A smaller proportion have their Level I Administrator's certificate (12.2%; N=6) or some combination of certificates (8.2%; N=4) that included Level I, Level II, Special Educators' or Coordinators' certificates.

TABLE 1. Proportions of study sample that reflect study variables

Variable	Category	Population	Survey Sample	Interview Participants by Category
Position	Superintendent	39.6%	34.7%	5
	Assistant Superintendent	60.4%	65.3%	5
Context	Rural	40%	38.8%	6
	Urban	60%	61.2%	4
Sex	Male	62.6%	60.4%	5
	Female	37.4%	39.6%	5

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND RELATIONSHIP TO CAREER PROGRESSION

A Chi-Square analysis on the demographic variables found **no significant differences** by sex on any of the demographic variables. However, because assistant superintendents were significantly younger than superintendents (p=.047), it is not surprising to find that superintendents were likely to have significantly more senior administrative experience (p=.020) and total administrative experience (p=.018). Context was significantly related to educational background (p=.020), administrative experience in the current position (p=.009) and total senior administrative experience (p=.042). A closer examination of the data revealed that although rural senior administrators' education levels represented all four categories (bachelor, post-graduate, master, and doctorate), they were more apt than urban senior administrators to have obtained their position with a bachelor's degree as their highest level of education. All of the urban senior administrators had between 2-10 years of experience in their current senior administrative position, but the pattern for rural senior administrators was very different. Although the majority of these administrators had between 1-5 years of experience, there are some administrators who represented all other experiential level categories, from 6-20+ years of experience. In terms of total senior administrative experience, the largest category of urban administrators (42.1%) had between 6-10 years of senior administrative experience, followed by those who had 2-5 years of experience (26.3%). Senior administrators in

rural areas were most likely to have between 2-5 years of experience (43.3%), but were represented more evenly across experiential categories.

The interviewee career progression experiences suggest that they are a representative sample of the cadre of Manitoba senior administrators, as their careers tended to develop in a similar pattern to that listed above and include a diversity of experiences. All participants had begun their careers as teachers (though one in fact began as a substitute teacher for a year, after which she completed her Bachelor of Education degree to become a certified teacher). The second position for this group generally entailed another teaching position (four respondents), a specialized in-school role (two resource teachers and one counselor), or in-school administration (two vice principalships and one principalship). Overall, this group had served in three to seven positions before entering their first senior administrative appointment, with time served overall in these positions before the senior appointment between 10-28 years. Interestingly, all but one of the males in the group had spent more time in non-senior administrative appointments than the females in the group, with or without leaves. In addition, of the 10 respondents, one of the males had background as a Student Services administrator, another as a Director of Curriculum, and a third as a counselor / special educator. A fourth indicated that he had turned down the assistant superintendency twice because of family commitments. Of the females in the sample, two had backgrounds as resource teachers and one as a consultant. All interviewees had some in-school administrative experience, though two females had not taken on a principalship, and one male's experience of the principalship consisted of a year-long position in an alternative high school. Two of the respondents, one male and one female, had taken positions outside of education for a time, before returning to the education system as senior administrators. All but two participants, one rural male assistant superintendent and one rural male superintendent, had moved across divisions to obtain positions. Two others who now worked in urban superintendencies had moved across provinces to obtain positions.

CAREER PATHS

This section discusses survey and interview data related to the career paths of senior administrators, including various issues, such as positions held, leaves taken during their career progression, and reasons for accepting a senior administrative position. Respondents were asked to include all formal employment positions held within education in chronological order, as well as the length of time they served within the position. All interruptions of service were to be included (i.e., parental leaves, study leaves, sick leaves, etc.), as well as the length of service interruption. Each position described by respondents was organized into the following categories: (a) teacher; (b) school-based professional; (c) school-based administrator; (d) division-based professional; (e) senior administrator; (f) leave; or, (g) other.

Leaves

In the survey data, there were 22 leaves taken by 14 respondents. Women were most apt to take multiple leaves due to maternity, or to a combination of maternity and educational leave. The highest number of leaves taken by any individual was three (three individuals). The majority of leaves were taken by rural female assistant superintendents, and these leaves were almost all for maternity reasons. No men indicated they had taken a parenting leave. No urban superintendents, male or female, indicated that they had ever taken a leave of any sort.

Career path

The career path of current senior administrators was traced back to the point in time when they had received their first senior administrative appointments. Almost three-quarters of the survey respondents (73%) began their senior administrative appointments as assistant superintendents. The first position held for all participants was that of teacher. By the time people moved into the second position, all categories were represented except for senior administration and other. By the third position, all categories were represented. When leaves were taken into consideration, respondents had served an average of 21.76 years before entering their first senior administrative appointment, after serving in an average of 5.41 positions. When leaves were taken out of the analysis, the findings indicated that respondents had served an average of 20.69 years before receiving their first senior administrative position, after serving in an average of 5 positions. At the time of the study, senior administrators had served in as little as four positions throughout their careers, and up to 13 positions (including the one in which they currently served), when leaves were included in the analysis as a "position." When leaves were taken out of the calculation, senior administrators had served in as many as 3 to 12 positions. The average number of positions in which senior administrators served in Manitoba was found to be 7.24 when leaves were considered to be a position, and 6.78 when leaves were stripped from the analysis.

Chi-Square tests were conducted to determine whether position, context, or sex were related to the first in-school administrative position acquired. T-tests for each variable and univariate analysis of variance (UNIANOVA) were conducted to search for significant differences between the three variables under study, the mean time served before receiving the first administrative appointment, as well as the total number of positions held before receiving the appointment when leave was included in the analysis and when it was stripped from the analysis. The chi-square tests revealed that current position was moderately related to first position served (p=.001). In this case, the majority of those individuals who are current assistant superintendents began their senior administrative careers as assistant superintendents (87.5%). Similarly, the majority of current superintendents began their careers as superintendents (58.8%). Only 41.2%

of the current superintendents began their senior administrative careers as assistant superintendents. The remaining two variables showed no significant difference for positions held.

Factors for deciciding to accept senior administrative position

All of the interviewees were asked what factors lead to their decision to accept a senior administrative position. Table 2 provides the list of factors listed in order of frequency from most often cited to least by category of analysis.

TABLE 2. Factors leading to decision to apply for a senior administrative position

Factor	Total (/10)	Rural (/ 6)	Urban (/ 4)	Male (/ 5)	Female (/ 5)	Asst. Supt. (/ 6)	Supt. (/ 4)
Encouraged by Others	9	5	4	5	4	6	3
Need for Change or Transition	4	3	1	2	2	2	2
Blend of Timing and Opportunity	3	3	~	2	1	3	~
Opportunity to Influence or Contribute	3	3	~	2	1	2	1
Initial Career Goal	1	~	1	~	1	1	~
Critical of Past Incumbent	1	1	~	~	1	1	~

All but one interviewee suggested that the encouragement of others had influenced their decision to move into a senior administrative position. Four respondents indicated that they had been ready for more professional challenges or needed to transition into a different role based on the time in their career or positions / divisions around which they needed to make some decisions. For example, one senior administrator decided to apply for a senior administrative position "on a whim" to avoid feeling entrenched in the same role until retirement; another needed to decide whether to remain in a position in a division where an administrative appointment seemed unlikely, or to resign and apply for new positions. Three of the administrators spoke of the melding of both timing and professional opportunity, even if they were unsure at the time of their personal readiness. Two administrators had just finished or had almost finished gaining credentials when the positions

came up, after which they were encouraged to apply for the position because of the melding of credentials with the timing of the position. A third indicated that he had turned down the assistant superintendency twice due to family responsibilities before finally accepting the position. The possibilities for influencing or contributing to the education system were mentioned by three respondents. One of the respondents suggested, "the position could help me influence programming and students for inclusive special education that at the time was being resisted by in-school administration and teachers." Another respondent suggested that she wanted to contribute to the system in a different way, and the third suggested that the opportunity to influence a system in innovative and creative ways had been an impetus for her decision. One senior administrator indicated that she had her sites set on a senior administrative position as a career goal, so she "signaled to the board that one day I would be interested in doing that, and sometimes you have to be careful what you wish for because you get it straight away." The remaining factor was communicated by a senior administrator who decided to apply for the position because she believed that she could be as effective or better than the previous incumbent in the role.

Interviewees were asked about the factors that encouraged them to move on from their first senior administrative position, and/or the factors that held them to their positions. Five of the respondents spoke of reasons for staying in their position. Three of the respondents (all women) were in their first three years of the position, and were content to remain in their assistant superintendencies to gain more experience in their areas of responsibility. The remaining two respondents (both males) were content both in their career responsibilities and in the communities in which they worked. In fact, these two males and one of the females indicated that their connection to their local communities were decisive factors in their decision to remain in their current positions. The decision to remain in the local community was also impacted by the considerations of retirement for one of these men, who suggested, "the only reason I would leave is to be closer to my kids." Other factors that were mentioned included the ability to work with "fabulous people," to participate in innovative leadership opportunities, and to maintain the supportive connections to the Manitoba Association of School Superintendents (MASS).

When asked what factors led them to leave their first senior administrative appointment, two of the respondents indicated that amalgamation of divisions had been of primary importance because of the uncertainties around position maintenance. A senior administrator who had been a division-based Director of Curriculum mentioned that he moved because, for these positions, "the formal support is not there; they are not accepted positions in the same was as the assistant superintendent or the superintendent" and there was no formal support for these roles in organizations such as MASS. Two of the senior administrators moved on from their first appointments because they had the

opportunity to move into positions for which the responsibilities aligned with their personal interests. One of the superintendents suggested that she had moved on because of her high need for change. In her estimation, senior administrators need to establish a vision for the division and then ensure that the structures and processes are in place for the vision of the division to move forward with or without the current incumbent.

DIFFERENCES IN CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Chi-Square Tests were conducted to determine if there was a relationship between the three variables of analysis to each of the career positions with and without leave. In addition to the Chi-Square tests used for the nominal data, T-tests and a univariate analysis of variance (UNIANOVA) were conducted to determine whether significant differences in the mean scores of length of time served in each position and in time overall with or without leaves occurred for each of the variables under study. Significant main effects up to and including the sixth position are included in this analysis, which is the average number of positions served by senior administrators. Although there did exist significant main and interaction effects for positions after the sixth position, sample sizes were too small to warrant inclusion in the results.

Position

In the survey data, a significant difference between chief superintendents and assistant superintendents occurred for the sixth position when leaves were included. In this case, superintendents (mean=4.93 years) had spent a significantly longer time (p=.044) in their sixth position than did assistant superintendents (mean=2.72 years). However, in the time served overall, superintendents had significantly higher service lengths than assistant superintendents with (p=.003) or without (p=.003) leaves. When leaves were included, superintendents spent on average a total of 33.48 years as compared to 27.51 years for assistant superintendents. When leaves were taken out of the calculation, superintendents had served an average of 32.99 years of service as compared to 26.89 years for assistant superintendents.

In terms of interaction effects, there were no differences in the mean scores by virtue of position in service time between rural and urban senior administrators. However, when leaves were taken out of the data, rural senior administrators tended to serve in significantly fewer (p=.045) positions overall (mean=6.33) than their urban counterparts (mean=7.47).

Context

In the survey data, context was significantly related to the fourth career position (p=.041). By the time urban administrators moved into their fourth position, the majority had converged into school-based administration. In rural areas,

the career position categories were much more evenly represented, and there were higher proportions of individuals who had moved into division-based positions as their fourth position.

In the interviews, both urban and rural administrators suggested that there were differences in career development. Six of the 10 respondents spoke of the difference that the economies of scale make on the roles of senior administrators. Essentially, since rural jurisdictions tend to be smaller in scale, senior administrative positions in rural areas tend to be fewer in number, and therefore the responsibilities for overseeing a variety of portfolios are greater. In urban areas the administrative responsibilities tend to be directed by a chief superintendent and divided up amongst a group of assistant superintendents who often further delegate them to consultants and directors. In rural areas, the superintendent and assistant superintendent (if there is an assistant superintendent), carry the responsibility for all administrative and student service areas. One senior administrator suggested that rural senior administrative positions are great "training grounds" for urban environments, since incumbents learn a variety of skills across general areas of focus. However, one senior administrator suggested that the specialization in urban environments led to more distance between the chief superintendent and assistant superintendents, which could create a bureaucratic separation in urban senior administration that was less apparent in rural areas.

Urban environments provided more opportunity overall in terms of number of positions, professional development opportunities, committee work, and working with larger school boards. However, three of the interviewees indicated that due to this economy of scale, urban areas tend to have a much more "lock-step" process for access to senior administrative positions. Two administrators suggested that urban senior administrators have generally served longer in the education system because of this hierarchical approach that ensures aspirants advance through a traditional career path of teaching and administrative experiences. One superintendent suggested that this focus was facilitated by the fact that urban divisions are able to transfer employees with greater ease than rural divisions; another suggested that rural divisions have had to become more creative in their succession planning strategies because of this. In fact, a rural senior administrator suggested that those who live in rural environments have to be willing to move to other divisions in order to access positions, which may not be necessary, or less difficult to do, in urban areas.

Related to the lock-step approach of urban areas, three senior administrators spoke of the greater focus on credentialing that occurs in urban environments. In the estimation of two superintendents, rural divisions are more likely than urban divisions to focus on the match between an individual's skills/experiences and the positional requirements and be more flexible regarding candidate credentials, though credentials are increasingly important in rural areas as

well. A rural senior administrator stated that urban divisions are more apt to have a systems focus, whereas rural divisions maintain a community focus. Although the lack of anonymity in rural communities could be a "blessing or a curse," along with professional isolation, these administrators enjoyed the opportunity to serve their communities and make career decisions based on the quality of life they wanted to lead.

Sex

In the survey data, sex was significantly related to the second career position (p=.010).The majority of men and women remained in school-based positions in their second position, including either school-based professional or school-based administration. However, while the majority of men moved into a second teaching position, over one-third of the women used their second "position" as a maternity leave.

When leaves were included in the analysis, women (mean=2.44 years) spent a significantly shorter time (p=.017) in their sixth position than men (mean=4.36 years). However, there was found to be no significant difference in the number of positions held by men and women either when leaves were included in the analysis, or when they were not.

In terms of career development based on sex, the most-often cited difference perceived by six respondents (five males and one female) who were interviewed included the sense that women still maintained a larger share of home duties, that the balance between professional and private lives may be more difficult for women, and that males tended to have greater spousal support for managing home responsibilities. An urban female assistant superintendent maintained that administrative positions remain more challenging for women with children and suggested that "if you're going to be successful, don't plan on having balance.... There are very few moments that are my own." Two of the males spoke of their assumptions that women still maintained the larger portion of home responsibilities, and three others credited their spouses' support at home for contributing significantly to their own career development. On the other hand, two of these men openly regretted the time they had lost with their families. One superintendent talked of his decision to obtain his master's degree, and "I was able to do it, and I managed to do it while I was working and with small kids. But time with my wife and family was compromised." Another male superintendent suggested, "I didn't spend the time with my family that I would have liked...when they were young my wife spent the time with the boys." This man spoke hopefully of the discussions he has been privy to with his own children who, now as husbands, talk more openly about family issues and role differences, and discuss how to compromise and balance the priorities of work and home.

Five senior administrators (two males and three females) commented upon what they perceived to be a difference in the experiential background between

males and females. They perceived that females tended to gain positions in senior administration through previous backgrounds in the areas of curriculum, special education, or student services, and men tended to have backgrounds in high school education, physical education, educational administration, and finance. Curiously, the actual backgrounds of these respondents did not corroborate this generality, as at least three of the five males in the sample had backgrounds in special education or curriculum, and three of the five women came from more traditional administrative backgrounds. In addition, these same individuals suggested that in rural areas, women were more apt to gain senior administrative positions that also included student service roles. In urban areas, they perceived that males gained positions in facilities, finance, and human resource management, and females accessed positions related to curriculum, programming, student services, and special education.

Two urban female senior administrators indicated that women are more apt to receive supportive or task-oriented roles rather than lead or decision-making roles, and they are not encouraged to voice disagreement. As one of them suggested:

> Where there are men superintendents, and they are mostly men, if they are chief executive officers, they have women associate superintendents or assistant superintendents. The women are different from the men, are different from the women that I have met who have been, or are, superintendents. They have task-oriented jobs. "OK, Susan, you are in charge of curriculum." And so all Susan gets to do is curriculum. She doesn't get much influence in the decision making; she doesn't get much influence with the board; she is like a help-mate. And it's interesting watching the women in the superintendents' association, because very, very few of them will ever challenge a male idea. I haven't seen it yet. I remember going to a meeting in the second year I was here, and I forget what it was about, funding or something. I remember disagreeing at a table and all the men looked at me as if so say, "Don't you know your place?" And you know that told me right away what was going on. But the women here do not appear to be as assertive and aggressive in their senior admin career development or paths as [other] women I have met.

Two female senior administrators suggested that males tended to be more focused on status, prestigious portfolios such as particular committee work or work background, and public accolades than women over the course of their careers. In their estimation, women did not need the "pomp and pomposity" that sometimes occurs in the networking opportunities found in their professional associations. Interestingly, however, one male senior administrator suggested that urban senior administrators tended to be more focused on power, image, and politics, and that "rural people have a little different focus."

Four respondents (three females and one male) suggested that males tend to be granted credibility and or legitimacy in leadership sooner than females. Interestingly, three of these comments were made by rural senior administra-

tors and only one from an urban administrator, which speaks to a comment made by a senior administrator that rural areas may still foster more conservative gender stereotypes. When speaking of her experience as a new assistant superintendent, one woman felt:

> It was easier for males...the people that I end up networking with are people who know me and have worked with me before, and have a certain level of respect for me already.... Whereas males I think will come into it, and they already have got a little bit of respect. They don't have to have that knowledge, that this is somebody that you can trust, or this is someone who works hard. They are welcomed into it differently.... They are already granted credibility.

One male superintendent suggested that the credibility for males as senior administrators is granted because:

> males, for years, it was much more acceptable for them in senior administrative positions.... Our admin team now, school-based, is half and half, but I think there is still a discrepancy at the senior level. There are not very many female superintendents. I would say they've had a harder time being accepted by [school] boards.

A third female assistant superintendent also spoke to board acceptance when she suggested that "I suspect that boards still want to be, have their CEO's be a man. That they may not know that consciously, though they probably would never say that out loud, I think there is evidence to show that, really."

All five women indicated that female senior administrators had to work harder, longer hours, and multi-task in order to be granted the same credibility as their male colleagues. One assistant superintendent suggested that by hiring a female, school divisions got a "two for one" deal. In her estimation, "male colleagues are much better at closing the door and leaving...women are much more prepared to finish something." None of the men mentioned this factor in their conversations. One rural female mentioned that women were often more highly credentialed, though another urban male administrator suggested that credentials no longer were much of an issue in urban environments because they were required for positional placement.

Two urban senior administrators, one male and one female, alluded to the fact that gender equity is still not built in to senior administrative contracts, using the example of maternity benefits. For example, the male superintendent suggested:

> It's not that the will isn't there; it's just never been dealt with.... Some people look at that and say, "that organization obviously doesn't value that or they would have put that in place.... It's like when I was negotiating my contract. I said, "So what about technology? Do you provide that? Do you provide a cell phone? Do you provide a laptop? Do you provide a Blackberry?" because those were things that I had in my previous position.... And they said, "well we will, we can consider it." And they included it. But I don't think that

basic things like maternity benefits should fall into that category where you have to ask for it. Those things in this day and age should already be in place. It isn't like a Blackberry.

A female senior administrator concurred by stating that senior administrative contracts are "not built for women who want families."

The remaining factors mentioned by respondents around sex differences in career development had some differences in opinion. Although four senior administrators (two male and two female) overtly mentioned the "boys' club" in senior administration, the general perception of all but one female was that "the club" was either "dead or dying." One of the females mentioned that "the old boys' club is kind of dying off" as new younger males entering the profession have a different outlook that is more equitable. Yet this same woman contradicted herself later when she suggested that males still are more apt to be hired in positions as "poster boys" who "can talk the current educational rhetoric but don't necessarily practice it." One of the males suggested that "the days when they boys got together and smoked cigars are over," particularly in response to the growing number of women who comprise MASS. A second male suggested that "I think that males have an easier time partially because of the old boys' club, though I think it's disappearing. I hope it's disappearing." He also indicated, however, that he was aware that he had likely benefited from its presence when he stated, "I guess I was lucky. And that's maybe why I was saying there's an old boys' club. It might have been easier for me because I felt accepted fairly quickly, and enough people knew about this town, but it was enough connection that I quickly got in." The second woman, however, was adamant that "the club" was alive and well:

> It is easier for men to move from a position of maybe school-based administration into a superintendency or assistant superintendency with little classroom experience if they are part of the old boys' network. And it's alive and well everywhere. I've seen people go into superintendencies who are not prepared, and they suffer and everyone else around them suffers.

And yet, two women offered that females are not always excluded from "the club;" in fact, some are contributing members of it. As one woman suggested, "the fact that they happen to be male or female by sex doesn't necessarily mean that they will practice what I think are more gender neutral practices, or more inclusive practices." In her view, the role of senior administration is masculinized, so women have felt pressure to be "male oriented, male dominated." This was echoed by another female who suggested, "The school system, the division office rural, is totally androcentric. The elementary is more androgynous. And senior high schools are kind of schizophrenic. So the systems of school systems, within school systems, have been developed by men." Given the view of many senior administrators that the context of leadership is changing, they suggest that neither males nor females exclusively align with traditional sex roles in their leadership styles.

Two men suggested that there were no longer any differences in the career development between men and women, but later qualified this by suggesting that there still is a greater expectation for women to maintain the primary role in the home even if she has a full time position in senior administration. One of these men also later qualified his comment by stating that there were fewer women who came into senior administration with high school principalship experience, and that the majority of elementary principals were female. A third male and one female spoke of the changing context whereby more females were accessing senior administrative positions, and that the males who were in positions tended to have a more equitable outlook on inclusive leadership practices as well as more equitable private roles in the home.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Many senior administrators are close to retirement, and there is some indication that administrative turnover has begun. This is exemplified by the fact that current assistant superintendents are significantly younger than superintendents. It is also evidenced in the fact that the majority of senior administrators (71%), and in particular rural senior administrators, had less than 10 years of experience in senior administrative positions, and 61% had worked in their current position for less than 5 years. This finding suggests that there is a need for two areas of career support: retirement planning and induction efforts. To that end, MASS has initiated a mentoring program for new members, and the feedback to date has been positive.

The sample also describes a well-educated and highly credentialed cadre of professionals, although rural senior administrators were less likely to be as highly educated as urban administrators. Some of this no doubt stems from access issues to centers of higher learning which are centered in Winnipeg and Brandon. It may also be due to the fact that collective bargaining for teachers and school-based administrators is done at the local divisional level in Manitoba. Collective agreements in urban areas tend to be more lucrative because of their economies of scale, and are more apt to encourage and provide some resource support (time, sabbaticals, and reimbursement) for professional development activities, including education. There was no difference in the educational and certification levels between assistant superintendents and superintendents (and in fact, the proportions of assistant superintendents with master's degrees and "Level II Principal's Certificates" were higher than superintendents). Given this, and that assistant superintendents were significantly younger than superintendents, it may be argued that the "new" pool for the superintendency tends to be a younger and more highly qualified group than in the past.

Even though neither education beyond a bachelor's degree nor certification is "required" by law in Manitoba, local school divisions are prioritizing them

in hiring procedures, and it appears that assistant superintendents are taking the initiative to increase their educational credentials. The implications for career development therefore stem from designing programs that "level the playing field" of access and opportunity for rural administrators. A program that was designed to minimize time, resource, and distance issues would help to increase the educational credentials available to rural administrators and would heighten the quality standards of hiring practices in rural areas. Such a program may include senior administrators, but it could also target those aspiring to administration, so that rural areas could build capacity in succession planning for the future. This may include the design of programs with some combination of online work, cohort programs offered onsite in rural communities, and summer/weekend initiatives. In addition, some discussion on collective bargaining and negotiating individual contracts that include opportunities for learning might be beneficial.

Career patterns

This cadre of professionals "arrived" in age and service in senior administration at a time that pre-exists many of the current collective bargaining agreements that now include opportunities for parental leave for males, as well as the current federal legislation that in effect grants up to a year's leave for maternity. The women in this study, at the time they had children, often took less than a year maternity leave before going back to work, which has implications for their average service length, and career path analysis overall. In fact, there was found to be no significant difference in the number of positions held by men and women either when leaves were included in the analysis, or when they were not. The fact that men are now able to take parenting leaves may have implications for their career paths into senior administration, and may challenge some of the gendered norms regarding parenting for both men and women. Since assistant superintendents are significantly younger than superintendents, there may need to be more emphasis on providing paternity / maternity leaves in senior administrative contracts, which was almost unheard of in the past, but has occurred in the recent past in Manitoba. The fact that no urban superintendents had taken a leave of any sort opens up questions regarding why this may be so. Are the incumbents more apt to be "career bound" individuals, whether male or female, and even if they have family responsibilities, have supports in place to minimize potential disruptions to service? Are they more able to access educational qualifications because they are urban without having to take educational leaves? Or have they accommodated the highly political, often hyper-masculinized role norms of the urban superintendency by ensuring their visibility and by not taking leaves, possibly at the expense of their own desires? Since both male and female urban assistant superintendents have taken maternal and / or educational leaves, will the past pattern of urban superintendents no longer apply in the future? All of these concerns behoove the need to watch the patterns of leaves

taken in the future as they impact on lengths of service, time it takes to enter administration, and have implications for gender, context and the nature of the position. In terms of career development, some discussion over how leaves are negotiated and patterned over time, along with building in maternity and paternity leaves into individual contracts seems to be prudent. Such practices serve current incumbents and may attract potential aspirants as they become aware of the potential to balance familial and career ambitions. In addition, some consideration of how changing leave legislation / processes may affect senior administrative appointments over time by context and / or sex might help to build in structures that could ameliorate disadvantages that might accrue over time.

The pool of senior administrators is primarily drawn from those who have been in-school administrators. However, the chi-square analysis suggested that there are differences by sex for the second position and by context for the fourth position. While the majority of men move into a second teaching position (almost 60%), over one-third of the women use their second "position" as a maternity leave. This is likely due to the fact that younger teachers entering the profession, particularly females, are likely to secure a teaching position, work for awhile, and then begin a family, as evidenced by the fact that the vast majority of study participants were married with families. Until recently, male teachers did not have access to parenting leaves, whereas females could access the opportunity. Since no males in the study had ever taken a parenting leave, and only three had taken any kind of leave at all, they were less apt to move into a leave as their second position.

In terms of context, when urban administrators moved into their fourth position, the majority converged into school-based administration. In rural areas, the career position categories were much more evenly represented, and there were higher proportions of individuals who had already moved into division-based positions. It may be that rural professionals can demonstrate visibility and capacity for leadership more easily in a smaller division, and therefore the opportunities for securing leadership positions occur sooner. It may also be that administrative positions in rural areas are less competitive, and fewer people apply, thereby granting access into those positions by those who want them. It may also be that urban areas tend to have an entrenched succession management system with leadership candidates in larger supply. Therefore "earning one's stripes" may come only through gaining experience in a larger number of positions. Some support for this comes from the finding that rural senior administrators served in significantly fewer positions overall and in less rigid convergence into administration as the "typical," "traditional" or only pathway into senior administration. Interestingly, this finding contrasts to the intuitive understanding that since urban areas have a greater diversity of positions, there is greater opportunity to move into senior positions. Though the hierarchical bureaucratization of movement into administration that

channels people first into school based administration and then into senior administration occurs in both urban and rural divisions, it may be that greater visibility in rural areas allows for more flexibility in the hiring process and less whole-scale reliance on an in-school administrative background as the primary indicator of effectiveness for senior administration.

Given these differences, it may be wise for groups that have an interest in senior administration to reconsider the necessary knowledge, skills and abilities necessary for effective leadership in senior administration, and to design career development programs targeted to developing those skills. Although the role requirements and skill sets of senior administration are not likely to be radically different from those developed over time in in-school administration, it may unearth issues and skill sets for consideration that are outside of this experience, and underscore the value of considering aspirants who have alternate professional experiences or less traditional career paths. Such a consideration will also shed light on potential improvements that could be made to university programs and / or coursework, and professional development opportunities that would more relevantly serve the needs of senior administrators in Manitoba.

CONCLUSION

The data suggest that queue theory as operationalized by Tallerico and Blount (2004) exists in Manitoba, but it must be qualified on a number of fronts. For the most part, gender may not by itself operate as a labour queue, though its impact is felt by both men and women. In fact, gender norms are most often evidenced in interaction with context and position. Context creates labour queue stratifications based on educational level (access), the extent to which senior administrators are channeled into traditional career paths, and number of positions served overall. Context, gender, and position interact to form queues based on leaves from service, and create discrepancies on the experiences of career supports and work challenges (though the findings on career supports and work challenges were beyond the scope of this paper). For example, women remain more apt to utilize maternity leave clauses and/or to follow their husband's careers and that men have avoided taking parenting leaves and are more likely to have their spouses follow their careers, even though male interviewees nearer retirement lament the loss of their family time. These gendered norms are reiterated in the comments made about achieving personal balance. Overall, women speak to various strategies they have implemented to help offset demands, such as delegation or sharing of work at school and at home, hiring help at home, balancing the responsibilities for childcare or elder care, and ensuring they are taking time to maintain their personal wellness and relationships. Women struggle with this aspect of their lives moreso than men, whereas men are more apt to commend their partners for the roles their partners played in managing their home lives while they succeeded in

their careers (Wallin, 2010). These findings may be suggestive of pressure to conform to hypermasculinzed career norms in high status positions for males while also reaffirming women's roles as caregivers and/or mothers. Lugg's (2003) work may also support these findings, as she suggests that men have had to live up to hypermasculinized understandings in order to be hired as leaders, and women who adopt a more masculinized approach may be barred from positions because they are suspected of being queer.

Though women are demonstrating their personal agency by applying for and accessing assistant superintendencies in Manitoba, they remain less likely to obtain senior positions in rural contexts (unless they are hired in "director" positions rather than superintendent administrators), especially in areas where the position of assistant superintendent does not exist and there exists only one senior administrative position for which men are favoured for leadership. Women are less likely to obtain chief superintendencies in urban contexts, though they may be hired into the "supportive" role of the assistant superintendency. This serves as a form of gheottoization, often as a consequence of their former backgrounds in Curriculum or Student Services. Overall, however, there is a "new generation" of assistant superintendents, both male and female, who are younger, more attuned to personal balance, and are likely to demand family-friendly policies that were not in existence in previous generations of senior administrators, which may be suggestive of a move towards integration even if the gendered norms remain oriented strongly towards heterosexism.

Also of note here, however, are growing concerns around the "feminisation of teaching" which creates its own complex assumptions about gender scripts, professionalism and schooling (Drudy, Martin, Woods, & O'Flynn, 2005). This may be evidenced by the growing negative public opinion of public education being spun in the media and research that demonstrates that men are less often choosing education as a career. Drudy (2008) wrote:

> in Western societies, the earliest stages of the formation of masculine identity involve processes which result in the association of a masculine identity with patterns of behaviour that are "not feminine." For some men, such processes may also involve the denigration of the "feminine".... It is also suggested that, in rapidly changing post-modern societies, schools and educational institutions are places where gender identities, but especially masculine identities, are constantly being negotiated, tested and constructed. It is in this situation, and within the context of a highly feminised teaching profession, that male and female educational and occupational choices are being made. It would appear that, in patriarchal societies, as the proportion of women in an occupation increases, entry to occupations which are highly feminised, or which are in the process of becoming so, is an increasingly difficult choice for men....If as the OECD (2005, 59) point out, many countries are concerned at the increasing feminisation of teaching and perceive that a decline in male teacher numbers signals teaching's more general loss of appeal as a career, then it clearly indicates that women themselves still have significantly lower levels of status in those societies. (p. 319)

As mentioned above, when men leave professions or opt out of choosing them as a career choice, the entire status of the profession may be minimized, which in fact does not bode well for the women and men who may be leading within it.

Others, however, contend this notion and suggest that patterns of representation are more complex. Though there is a certain level of agreement in the career experiences of women across time, there is no one pattern or experience that represents the experiences of all women, as there is no one pattern for all men. The dynamism of careers in educational administration play out differently for different people in different contexts. In her discussion of the change in career patterns over time, Reynolds (2002) suggested the following:

> We can see that individual men and women, while aware of the dominant [gender] scripts, took up or read from a range of scripts, or what Davies (1993) calls subject positions, in creative ways. Like actors in a play, or dancers (Hall, 1997), they pulled from a repertoire of skills and personal attributes to interpret the scripts. Their audiences, by their accounts, however, frequently saw their portrayal, or dance, only in relation to what was deemed acceptable for men and women in that time period. Organizational structures and available discourses were important in terms of how men and women viewed school leadership and structures and how discourses affected the ways in which they decided to pick up, alter or discard available leadership scripts. (p. 46)

By extension then, we are all part of the social constructions of our world, but we are also individual actors with agency within those social worlds. To think otherwise nullifies the complexity of the dynamics at play in the world of educational administration, and sets up dichotomous and faulty understandings of individualistic meritocracy or social fatalism.

The key to integration is to work towards a reconceptualization, as advocated by Grogan (2000) of the knowledge, skills and role requirements of senior administrators in Manitoba, lead by MASS, with input from those groups that have an interest in ensuring that the senior administrative cadre in Manitoba is highly qualified and supported. Such groups may include Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth, the four preparatory universities in the province, the Manitoba Association of School Trustees, the Council of School Leaders, and the Manitoba Teachers Society.

In order to become more transformative, Blackmore (2006) suggested that conceptualizations of educational leadership must pay attention to principles of recognition, redistribution, participation, and agency, all of which have implications for the findings of this study and career development programming. She offers practical examples of how each of these principles could be actualized in practice and theory. The first principle of redistribution necessitates that equity issues become prioritized in policy and resource agendas, with questions asked around who is privileged in the distribution of these and by extension,

who is not. The principle of exclusion asks educators to consider how policies and practices exclude or include different groups within the system. Both of these principles necessitate that career development programs include research and discussions on how positions are distributed, to whom, and under what conditions in rural and urban contexts, by both position by sex. The principle of agency asks educators to consider questions related to how decisions are made, who is involved in making those decisions, how communication occurs, and the extent to which multiple perspectives and ways of understanding the world are acknowledged and affirmed. This principle necessitates that research focus, not only on the decisions of hiring committees and their views around leadership that may differentially affect women and men, but also those of the aspirants themselves, as these individuals may have very different reasons for aspiring to the positions they wish to hold in different contexts. Finally, working towards recognition and representation means that educational leaders must consider the networks that exist, the extent to which they represent the educational community, how it is that misunderstandings or conflict develops, how more inclusive ways of networking could occur, and how rewards are distributed, and to whom. Wallace (2007) adds to this the idea that these issues are "worked out at both the level of individual consciousness and systemic reform" but that "the growing discussion among academics and practitioners about the need to do both in theory and practice in educational administration and policy are encouraging" (p. 164). Though Manitoba is geographically large, the fact that there are only 38 public school divisions in the province means that public education maintains a loosely connected but powerful network of people representing leadership groups. Such networks of power need to be examined for how they may perpetuate normative understandings of leadership that influence access to positions for men and women in urban and rural contexts. Based on this reconceptualization of leadership, a career development program that targets both aspiring and current incumbents within senior administrative positions should be designed that reflects the complex and interconnected relationships between position, context, and sex. This development program must consider design and delivery elements and topics that reflect the needs of senior administrators, is accessible to all, and openly considers how equity and power are distributed across the Manitoba public school system.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE 3. Background demographic and career information.

Background Characteristic					
Spouse or artner	Yes N=45 (91.8%)	No N=4 (8.2%)			
Children	Yes N=40 (81.6%)	No N=9 (18.4%)			
Age	31-40 N=3 (6%)	41-50 N=14 (28.6%)	> 50 N=30 (61%)		
Education Level	Bachelors N=6 (12.2%)	Post-Graduate N=12 (24.5%)	Masters N=28 (57.1%)	PhD N=3 (6.1%)	
Certifications	None N=10 (20.4%)	Level I N=6 (12.2%)	Level II N=29 (59.2%)	Combination / Other N=4 (8.2%)	
Number of Years in Current Position	< 5 N=30 (61.2%)	6-15 N=18 (36.7%)	> 20 N=1 (2%)		
Total Number of Years in Senior Administration	< 10 N=35 (71.4%)	11-15 N=8 (16%)	16-20 N=2 (4.1%)	> 20 N=4 (8.2%)	
Total Number of Years in Senior Administration for Those with Less than 10 Years of Experience	First Year N=5 (10.2%)	2-5 N=18 (36.7%)	6-10 N=12 (24.5%)		
Total Administrative Experience (Years)	First Year N=1 (2.1%)	2-5 N=3 (6.1%)	6-10 N=8 (18.4%)	11-15 N=8 (18.4%)	16-20 N=8 (18.4%)	> 20 N=18 (36.4%)

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BOOK REVIEW / CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach is a significant and timely contribution to the study of multilingualism. It is international in scope, theoretically up-to-date, and it introduces readers to a wide range of current and critical issues in language studies. These include: how to define language, national and educational language policies, language and identity, individual and societal multilingualism, and multilingual education. Each of the 15 chapters, arranged into 6 thematic parts, ends with suggestions for activities, class or group discussions, projects, and suggestions for further reading. These features encourage readers to critically engage with the topics introduced in each chapter. The book, which is aimed at undergraduate students of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and multilingualism, serves as a solid foundation for future sociolinguists. I would also recommend this book for graduate students who wish to get wide-ranging survey of the field. Weber and Horner, both well-established scholars in multilingualism, specifically in multilingual education in Luxembourg, provide a clearly-written, informative, and comprehensive synthesis of the advances made in this field of study in the past decade.

The authors begin, most fundamentally, by problematizing the notion of language as a fixed entity with stable boundaries. Consequently, multilingualism is not interpreted as the sum of several distinct languages, but rather as "linguistic resources and repertoires" (p. 3). In this sense, everyone is multilingual to some extent because we all have access to a range of registers, genres, accents, and varieties. This definition, which moves sociolinguistic theory beyond a structuralist notion of language as relatively unchanging, is central to advancing the main goal of the book: normalizing multilingualism. This goal is achieved through the authors' focus on language ideologies and their role in inclusion and exclusion. The authors demonstrate how common language ideologies, such as the ideology of purism, the one nation / one language ideology, and the standard language ideology, propagate the marginalization of certain groups of people,

both in educational settings and in wider society. Using language ideology to understand multilingualism enables the authors to capture the complexities and nuances of current socio-political and linguistic contexts. For example, by interrogating standard language ideology in European schools, the authors advocate an approach to multilingual education that respects and recognizes all of the linguistic resources that students bring to class, rather than just those that have been politically and historically constructed as dominant.

Introducing Multilingualism: A Social Approach holds true to its name, though I would hesitate to say that it does so entirely. It provides an overview of current issues, and what it sacrifices in detail, it makes up for in breadth of topics. However, in regards to the social approach, tensions surface in a few places. For example, although this approach was so clearly outlined in Chapter 1, the authors veer off course in their rather superficial description of the Canadian language policy context (Chapter 8). They write, "the Canadian metaphor of a cultural mosaic promotes respect and support for not only the two official languages but *for all the languages* within the official bilingual framework" (p. 97; emphasis added). Although they acknowledge that the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 has been criticized as being celebratory, they do not extend this critique to the Official Languages Act. As a result, they fall into simplifying a historically and politically charged language climate that has been well documented (e.g., Haque, 2012; Lamarre & Lamarre, 2009), thereby weakening the social approach they are advocating. However, this is by no means the most grievous slip away from the social approach.

The more significant tension in the book emerges in the Chapter 7, "Language and identities." Here, the authors problematize the concept of code-switching, which has played a significant role in traditional (structuralist) sociolinguistics: It refers to moments when multilinguals switch from one language to another, often in mid-sentence. Though the authors recognize the limits of code-switching for a social approach to multilingualism, they continue to talk about multilinguals' language practices in terms of code-switching, "for lack of a better term" (p. 86). This decision seems unwarranted, in part in light of the theoretical grounding that was so carefully laid out in the introduction. It is also puzzling, because in Chapter 9, "Flexible vs. fixed multilingualism," the authors draw on the works of key scholars (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2008; García, 2009) who have challenged the usefulness of code-switching and have argued for a new way of interpreting and accounting for multilingual languaging, one that *is* congruent with the social approach: translanguaging. Yet for some reason, although Weber and Horner are clearly familiar with that literature, the term is not mentioned in the book. I would have expected an introduction to translanguaging in Chapter 7, which would remedy the slip back to code-switching; I would also have expected a brief mention of the term in Chapter 9, which discusses language-in-education policies, and

Chapter 10, which advocates developing literacy bridges between home and school linguistic resources.

Notwithstanding these small epistemological slips, *Introducing Multilingualism* achieves its goal of normalizing multilingualism. The reader is left with a sense of how languages are used, and how they have been constructed in an array of contemporary contexts. In Chapter 3, "What is a language?," the authors make a distinction between a popular (structuralist) and expert (social approach) model of what a language is. After reading this book, the reader will emerge, if not already, an expert in this regard. The book conveniently concludes with suggestions for new directions in multilingualism research. These should inspire new scholars in their multilingualism ventures and contribute to further articulating the tools needed for a social approach to multilingualism.

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BOOK REVIEW / CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

SHIELDS, CAROLYN M. *Courageous leadership for transforming schools: democratizing practice.* Norwood, MA: Christopher-Gordon Publishers. (2009). 235 pp. Paper $49.95. (ISBN 1- 9933760-26-5)

Courageous Leadership for Transforming Schools: Democratizing Practice is a thoughtful call to action for educational leaders. Carolyn Shields writes as both an academic and an activist committed to social justice. She relentlessly explores the limits, and pushes the boundaries, of commonly accepted notions of democracy within her text. She draws on the foundational educational theory of John Dewey (1916), Paulo Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy, the more recent contributions to the fields of critical theory and democratic citizenship education of Michael Apple (1979, 1993), Maxine Greene's (1988, 1998) work, and many others. In spite of its US context, the relevance of this text for a Canadian readership, particularly given the current national political climate, should not be underestimated.

Shields' work is a highly accessible combination of theoretical explorations, historical examples, and personal anecdotes. Her text begins with two contrasting accounts of the same spotlight school: a school honoured by the state for academic performance despite the high level of student poverty. While one administrator expresses pride in the school's sixty percent success rate, the other calls attention to the forty percent of students who find their needs unmet and ignored. These disparate accounts of the quality of this school serve to illustrate the opposing conceptions of democratic education explored throughout the book. Chapter three traces the history of inequality in US schools from the assimilation of American Indians, to the repression of African Americans, and the marginalization of Asian immigrants and Mexican Americans. These well-chosen illustrations serve to highlight longstanding traditions and current incidents of discrimination and inequality in US society. Through these, Shields shepherds her readers toward a critical understanding of education, citizenship, and democracy. What is perhaps even more useful is that she develops her readers' capacity to share their critical perspective with students, colleagues, and fellow citizens. The questions for reflection at the end of the

book, conveniently divided by theme, make this text equally interesting for use in the classroom as well as discussion in the boardroom.

The first section of the book, *Education and Deep Democracy*, looks extensively at the relationship between democracy and citizenship: "Democracy is much more than voting or decision-making; it is a way of life that requires equality in institutional, civic, and private spaces" (p. 53). Dissatisfied with the commonplace conception, that renders democratic education meaninglessness, and which equates "civic education with the development of skills related to constitutional democracy and a market economy," Shields implores readers to critically (re)consider this crucial concept (p. 4). This reflection is taken as fundamental to the capacity for action. The author traces the origins of the injustices that pervade the US educational system and delves into many current challenges to democracy that exist both within and outside of it. She examines social privilege, systemic oppression, and barriers to participation—particularly as they relate to race, class, gender and sexuality—in educational settings and beyond. Shields problematizes the conception of education as a private good, and examines the ways in which formal education has functioned to preserve a socially unjust status quo.

For Shields, democracy requires not merely equality, but equity of both access and outcomes. She holds that schools should be communities in which learning about democracy means actively practicing and participating in democratic citizenship. She laments that currently "democracy" is mostly taught through an informational approach that provides students with "facts" about democracy. In such a static framework, "facts" are not only largely incomplete and uncritical, but more often than not abstracted from students' practical lives. This approach does precious little to prepare culturally, socially, and economically diverse students for the realities of active participation in a democratic society. Instead, she argues that "to promote enlightened understanding, we must teach students to do what society as a whole has not learned to do: to ask critical, probing, and meaningful questions" (p. 56).

Taking up and expanding upon the foundational concepts explored in the first part of the text, the second section, *Transformative and Courageous Leadership*, explores the paths that educational leaders might take in order to promote "deep democracy" in schools. Chapter four examines the values and virtues on which democratic schooling might be based. Shields calls attention to the principles of tolerance, absolute regard, and trust as being fundamental to democracy, and suggests productive ways in which educators can address the inevitably conflicting values and beliefs held by diverse students and colleagues. Chapter five brings to light the choice that we face as a society, between creating, supporting, and nurturing schools as democratic communities, or strengthening existing institutions and their entrenched barriers to equity. The last chapter explores how transformational leaders might address diversity and attend to

the lived experiences of a diverse population of students. Shields insists that teachers are simultaneously learners. Emphasizing the importance of learning in community, with and from one another, Shields draws attention to the importance of attending to students' lived experiences (p. 163). Although there is no one way to do democratic education, Shields asserts that if we wish to transform education, "the change must begin with us" (p. 188).

The great strength of *Courageous Leadership for Transforming Schools: Democratizing Practice* is that the text goes far beyond an astute critique of the current system. It is clear that education in the United States is in crisis. As schools increasingly earn merit based on performance evaluations and standardized test scores, it goes without saying that children, who for any number of unjust reasons find themselves at the margins of US society, are progressively underserved. By making explicit the injustices deeply imbedded in the school system, and then mapping out ways in which educational leaders can move forward to foster deep democracy, Shields provides an invaluable contribution to educators working simultaneously for academic excellence and social justice.

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BOOK REVIEW / CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

Divided into four sections, *Deconstructing and Reconstructing Lives* introduces auto/biography as an important educational research method that can be used to illuminate educational issues through the personal. In the first chapter of the opening section, Weiner, the author of the section, stresses that biography is a useful research method in part because it can highlight individuals as "active in negotiating their identities within social and cultural norms and expectations" (p. 6). From a theoretical standpoint, she emphasizes three characteristics of auto/biography: "bridging the relationship between the individual and society, interactivity between subjective experience and historical setting, and active agency of the individual player" (p. 7). Anchored in this discussion, in the second chapter, Weiner points to key areas that need to be addressed in the analysis of auto/biography, such as the politics of identity, the politics of truth, the roles of narrative, and ethics.

The second and third sections are built on this framework. In the second section, Townsend and Weiner provide insights into various ways that auto/biography can be used for educational research and include concrete examples of how to put auto/biography into practice. Amongst the different forms of biography discussed are obituaries, biographical dictionary essays, chronologies (Chapter 3), life writing (Chapter 4), collective biography (Chapter 5), auto-biography and memoir (Chapter 6). In each chapter, the authors discuss key issues of each form and provide specific examples alongside useful questions that can be asked in analyzing them. The examples, which include writings about educational leaders in the 18th and 19th centuries, are not only useful for educators to learn how to include auto/biography in curriculum, but may also be fruitful for classroom discussion amongst students, whether in high-school or university programs.

Chapter 5 is particularly interesting from a methodological standpoint, as Weiner discusses collective biography in relation to more conventional research

approaches. She argues that size of sample, data sources, and voice are the most essential factors for the validity of research based on collective biography. She emphasizes that while the researcher's voice tends to be reduced in an individual biography because the size of the data set is typically large, it is not always the case when the researcher uses collective biography. She asks: Whose voice predominates—that of the participants/storyteller, or that of the researcher? (p. 147). This is a critical question in social science research. Concerning voice in research, Hertz (1996) wrote: "First there is the voice of the author. Second, there is the presentation of the voices of ones' respondents within the text. A third dimension appears when the self is the subject of the inquiry" (pp. 6-7). In many cases, as Hertz argued, the respondents' voices are filtered through the first voice and therefore distorted. If so, the discussion in this chapter provokes following questions: How can the researcher generalize experiences without taking the risk of suppressing the respondents' individual voices? How can the researcher balance these voices and her own? More fundamentally, why should the researcher be concerned about balancing the voices at all?

Throughout the book, the authors provide in-depth knowledge about auto/biography in plain and accessible language along with numerous examples and suggest a new way of doing research. However, in my understanding, the authors do not explicitly address *why* deconstructing or reconstructing lives are an important tool, especially for *educational* research. And yet, they invite a wide range of social science researchers to explore benefits and key issues of auto/biography for themselves in various contexts. The authors bring to light the potential of auto/biography as a non-conventional research method. This is a critical strength of the book.

Another strength is reflexivity: The authors introduce the issues of auto/biography as a research method by examining their own experiences. Reflexivity predominates, in the third section, in which Townsend invites readers to consider her own work in constructing auto/biography. In Chapter 7, she defines the biographer as a sleuth who tries to make sense out of fragmented bits of information. Reflecting on her experiences, she emphasizes that the biographer should have a specific lens to gain critical insight in order to pry into someone's life and bring about new knowledge. In her case, it was feminism. Although she does not place feminism at the centre of her argument, it appears that there are some profound links between feminism and auto/biography. Are feminist scholars more drawn to auto/biography than others? If so, why? While the authors do not offer an explicit answer to these questions, elucidating more clearly the connections between feminism and auto/biography would make a much more compelling resource for research.

In the closing section, the authors together recapitulate their arguments by emphasizing educational auto/biography as a research approach. Overall, each chapter of the book is seamlessly connected and easy to follow. The book of-

fers rich content and provokes thought. A researcher who is not familiar with auto/biography may find useful tips in taking up the method as a research tool. Literacy instructors may also find the book useful in engaging students in critical reading of biographical materials in their daily lives.

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