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Special Issue

What's Next?: The Future of Progressivism as an "Infinite Succession of Presents"

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Editorial Statement

What's Next?: The Future of Progressivism as an "Infinite Succession of Presents"

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University of Illinois

Progressive education, though its meaning be contested, is the basic idea that schools should be agents of democracy. To reform society, we must reform the schools. The converse is also true: Change in schooling is realizable only to the extent that society progresses. Thus, progressive education entails not merely progressive methods for individual learners, but education for a progressive society.

Growing out of a period of rapid social, economic, demographic, and political change in the early 20th century—with an influx of millions of immigrants and a move toward a more urban, industrial economy—the United States version of progressive education arose as the belief that schooling needs to be solidly grounded in the idea of democracy as the idea of "associated living" or a "conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey, 1916/2008, p. 93). This idea requires an appreciation for diversity as both a crucial element for democratic life and a resource for learning, as well as the goal of fostering a "critical, socially engaged intelligence" (Miller, 1997, para. 1). Similar ideas have developed in other regions and other times as the articles in this series of Special Issues demonstrate.

The future, if nothing else, is about hope—hope for individuals to thrive within the flourishing of global societies and the environment. Thus the articles in this "Future" issue have a strong forward-looking and hopeful aspect. Yet, this hope is grounded in concrete experiences set against the background of a world filled with injustice and contradictions; thus conceptualized, hope is a profound and rigorous endeavor, not just a fleeting wish. Accordingly, the articles describe some progressive projects already on the ground, but also build on historical and contemporary precedents, experiences, and theories. In this way, they present a portrait of realizable hope, another tenet of progressivism.

One major reason for this future emphasis is the importance of growth in progressive philosophy, whether that is for the individual, family, school, neighborhood, community, nation, or world. Growth, in the progressive sense, is also about a political movement to improve the social good. In today's educational parlance, growth might be seen as "measurable increases" on standardized tests in order to be "accountable" through "outcomes assessments." But that is not what progressive educators envisioned. For them, growth is not a means to an end, but a valuable process in and of itself. Growth begets more growth, and education leads to more education in a process of inquiry and problem solving that is dynamic, exciting, and creative. In contrast to those who simply wanted education to provide labor skills for a growing, diverse population, Dewey (1897), whose philosophy inspired many in the movement, saw education as "a process of living, and not a preparation

for a future of living.”

The words seem paradoxical: Rather than sacrificing the present for some hypothetical future, progressive educators seek to live fully in the present precisely so as to prepare for the future. Late in his life, having observed both the successes and the failures of progressive education, Dewey maintained this idea:

When preparation is made the controlling end, then the potentialities of the present are sacrifice to a suppositious future. When this happens, the actual preparation for the future is missed or distorted. The ideal of using the present simply to get ready for the future contradicts itself. It omits, and even shuts out, the very conditions by which a person can be prepared for his future. We always live at the time we live and not at some other time, and only by extracting at each present time the full meaning of each present experience are we prepared for doing the same thing in the future. This is the only preparation which in the long run amounts to anything. (Dewey, 1938, p. 51)

The "full meaning of each present experience" does not just happen. Dewey also emphasized the need for a carefully developed philosophy of experience. These experiences are purposeful, and should be rich and "educative" though they can come from any number of sources within the classroom and community, not just textbooks or traditional content areas. The important thing is that they help learners to work together, connect ideas, solve problems, and evolve both cognitively and socially. Furthermore, these experiences must be rich with a number of connected experiences in an "experiential continuum" (1938, Chapter 2, para 5) that provides continuity by connecting the learner with curriculum and community. For Dewey and other progressives, schools are not fortresses for knowledge transmission; they are open, welcoming social centers for knowledge generation.

Another way that "futureness," is inherent in the progressive movement is within its inquiry-based curricular realizations. Inquiry is always moving into the future, out into space, its trajectory unknown. This is also true for human existence itself. Like Heidegger's notion of *Dasein*, "being-in-the-world," our existence is dynamic in its presence and always embedded in the context of everydayness. We humans are not just dangling objects in space like marionettes, or "essences" locked into fixed subject positions. Rather, we exist in kind of forward-moving way, in a process of revealing or unfolding that projects openness, readiness, and involvement. What we do and how we move through the world (in sum, our experiences) matter because they have social meaning and historic possibility. Dewey wrote that, "Every experience is a moving force. Its value can be judged only on the ground of what it moves toward and into" (1938, Ch 3, para. 12).

Thus, human existence is the projection of the future on the basis of the possibilities that constitute it. We are always being and becoming based on what we were and what is possible to be, and in consideration of the objects, problems and questions in front of us. This future-forward "being-in-the-world" comprises our entire sense of "being there," including our intellectual, moral, creative, emotional, physical and artistic aspects, or what has been coined in progressive school terms, "the whole child." But it involves more than what a child

alone is, can be, or desires. The child, or any learner, is always already a social being in a spatial and temporal matrix. Therefore, inquiry into projects and problems are, inescapably, socially and contextually embedded endeavors that move the inquirer into multiple possibilities and imminent "futureness." Outcomes cannot be easily predicted and the most significant may be developed in the process of learning, not specified as *a priori* goals. "Being-in-the-world" describes a way of framing existence itself, but it also captures nicely the mood of inquiry, and especially the ideas of human growth and social, open-ended activity that progressives wanted to put forth.

It is easy to be cynical about progressive education in this decade, and to see it as one of Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek's "lost causes" that needs to be resurrected and defended (2008). To be sure, progressivism never had foremost status in US schools, especially among more conservative educational administrators and standards-based reformers, although it has been favored philosophically by many education professors and teachers (Cremin, 1959; Labaree, 2005; Miller, 1997). And there have always been progressive schools and projects, as the other issues in this special series and other writing (e.g., Apple & Beane, 2007) have described.

Nonetheless, much of schooling tends to value uniformity, not diversity; complicity, not challenge. Instruction is typically teacher-centered, ruled by teacher-talk, textbooks, exams and classroom management schemes (Labaree, 2005, p. 278). Rather than being a progressive force, schooling is often a standards-driven testing factory to produce workers for a competitive marketplace, rather than a nurturing place for the development of engaged citizens. A healthy society needs people who can be both workers and citizens, but the dominant discourse in much of the world has been reduced to one of failure to produce a globally competitive workforce, by citing such problems as low standardized test scores, inept teachers, empty pipelines of scientific talent, sluggish innovation, and poor job growth.

That is precisely why we need to turn to progressivism for the future: to rebalance the purpose of schooling, but also to rebalance society itself, and to try to develop a shared purpose for forging ahead in a complex world of uncertainty, inequality and global economic crisis in a neoliberal era (Harvey, 2007) where the market relation has become "the model of social relations" (Hall, Massey, Rustin, 2013, p. 4). Perhaps, more than ever, we need a sense of global consciousness and global citizenship, what Kwame Appiah (2006) calls *cosmopolitanism* or "ethics in a world of strangers," which is a sense of responsibility for others. Drawing from classic Greek sources, Habermas, as well as the experiences of the Civil Rights movement in the US, Danielle Allen (2004) asks us to start the process by learning how to "talk to strangers."

Progressive education cannot alone create a unified system of global dialogue, consciousness, citizenship and ethics, nor is this kind of universal transcendence fully achievable or even wholly desirable, but it is integral to the enactment of a better world. Yet, today, being committed to progressive education is not easy. With the movement out of fashion in many quarters, dismissed as naïve, romantic, and more rhetoric than reality (Labaree, 2005), when conformity, standardization, obedience, competition, job preparedness

and corporate models have become *de rigueur*, progressive educators might not know where to focus their energies or how to keep hopeful. Concrete material changes in the schools and in communities toward more progressive practices, as described in these articles, are small but significant examples of hope for a "lost cause" that can and should still be defended, and provide inspiring possibilities for other educators.

As a closing thought, Howard Zinn's words, which could easily be pinned to progressive ideals, provide a meaningful framework for reading these contributions: "The future is an infinite succession of presents, and to live now as we think humans should live, in defiance of all that is bad around us, is itself a marvelous victory" (2004, para. 11). In their own way, and from far-flung diverse places such as Spain, Indonesia, China, the UK, and the US, each piece is simultaneously a story about the past, present and future. Each one is a link in this chain of "infinite successions." Each one is a victory.

Iván M. Jorrín Abellán, Sara L. Villagrà Sobrino and Sara García Sastre discuss the future of Information Computer Technology (ICT) in education in their "Escuela Nueva" in Spain: Implications in teachers professional development for the 21st Century." *Escuela Nueva* has been around for 136 years, inspiring many different progressive projects. In this paper, the authors trace the history of *Escuela Nueva*, and describe one of its recent physical offshoots, Ana de Austria, a rural public school that, paradoxically, is ahead of urban areas in its use of ICT, and thus provides a fascinating model of progressive education for Spain's future. Their three-year study at Ana de Austria highlights the importance of, and the possibilities for, teacher professional development that is "deeply grounded in reflective collaborative processes where practice, experience, inquiry and discussion are paramount."

Laura A. Edwards and Kyle A. Greenwalt consider another future-looking issue: global education. In "Mining the present: Reconstructing progressive education in an era of global change," the authors examine their charge to "globalize the teacher education program" at Michigan State University. To address this request, they developed an experimental preservice teacher education program called the Global Educators Cohort Program (GECP), and a course titled TE 352: Immigration, Language and Culture. Drawing on historical (especially Cold War) contexts and contemporary versions of "global education," and considering what that term might mean, they reconstruct it by creating their own unique vision of teacher education that deliberately includes John Dewey's progressive ideals. Theirs is an attempt to define a "location-specific, globally-minded, progressive education practice" for their pre-service candidates.

Steven Jay Gross and Joan Poliner Shapiro take a different global perspective in "The New DEEL (Democratic Ethical Educational Leadership) and the Work of Reclaiming a Progressive Alternative in Educational Leadership from PreK-20." The aim of DEEL is to create an action-oriented partnership around inquiry into the nature and practice of democratic, ethical educational leadership. Core ideas from progressive education such as open dialogue, right to voice, community inclusion, and responsible participation toward the common good are employed in this change effort. This paper is important because educational leadership is often the most conservative subfield of education, and may look

uncritically toward corporate-style reform and neoliberal arguments about competition for improving schools, rather than progressive reform. Gross and Shapiro show that through their nine years of work with DEEL, they have begun to “reclaim” progressive precepts in educational leadership both nationally and internationally.

Progressive education is a description of learning throughout life in any venue, not just formal learning settings. Sharon Irish and Penny Evans describe one such alternative to formal learning in “Structures of Participation in the University of Local Knowledge.” They discuss how the Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC), in south Bristol, UK, has provided methods for local people to share knowledge important to them, especially for those who find traditional university and continuing education financially and geographically out of reach. The University of Local Knowledge (ULK), a conceptual rather than physical space, is an ongoing framework at KWMC to collect video vignettes of local knowledge and share them in a web-based portal. This community-based knowledge network, grounded in progressive concepts, is becoming both a critique of established academic disciplines and a system for self-organized learning.

Jiacheng Li and Jing Chen consider another alternative model in their piece “Banzhuren and Classrooming: Democracy in the Chinese Classroom.” The authors point out that the classroom community is a laboratory for democracy in today’s China, and this is changing the understanding of schooling and education. An approach to democracy in the Chinese classroom for the future focuses on the *banzhuren* (home-classroom teacher), a deeply influential figure in Chinese children’s lives, who loops with the children for up to six years, providing continuity while giving —advice, courage and support. The *banzhuren* is responsible for “classrooming,” which is less about teaching subjects, and more about giving moral, social and emotional guidance. With huge class sizes compared to Western norms (sometimes 50-60 students), the Chinese classroom needs a person who attends to the “whole child” to help children develop relationships, community and self-awareness both inside the school and out. The *banzhuren* embodies many progressive ideals, but more resources are needed for *banzhuren* professional development, research and collaboration.

Sally Jean Warner Read explores the question, “What does it mean – or rather, what does it look like – to be a progressive educator in the 21st century?” Her narrative inquiry of three progressive educators, “The Educators and the Curriculum: Stories of Progressive Education in the 21st Century,” looks at how her participants draw on their “personal practical knowledge” in order to enact progressivism, not just profess its philosophy. The stories of these educators reveal a commitment to risk taking, to balancing individual student and social needs, and to finding meaning in their work.

In “Looking from Within: Progressive Education, its Prospects and Challenges,” Teuku Zulfikar examines progressive education in Indonesia. He notes that progressive activities such as critical thinking, critical dialogue, and student-centered learning are now being recognized as fostering effective learning by a growing number of Indonesian

educationalists. However, these ideas run counter to long-standing and deeply embedded cultural constraints, such as a tradition of rote learning and teacher-centered classrooms. Zulfikar ends with recommendations about how to better implement progressive ideals in the Indonesian school system.

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“Escuela Nueva” in Spain: Origins and Implications in Teacher Professional Development for the 21st Century

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Abstract

During the Spanish Second Republican government (April 1931-July 1939), there was an institutional initiative in the country called “Misiones Pedagógicas”, deeply based in the early Deweyan conception of Progressive Education. The aim of this project was bringing access to culture, entertainment and some sort of progress to rural areas by using media artefacts available at the time, though also representing a far-reaching attempt at social and cultural regeneration of the country.

Keywords: progressive education, teacher professional development, *Escuela Nueva*, Spain, *Ana de Austria*, information and computer technology

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“Escuela Nueva” in Spain: Origins and Implications in Teacher Professional Development for the 21st Century

Progressive Education has had a long tradition in Spain. Its roots can be framed within the educational and philosophical movement promoted by la “Institución libre de Enseñanza” (ILE) in the nineteenth century. ILE was initially born as a free and open University and as a center for second chances in learning as well. It was founded in 1876 by Francisco Giner de los Ríos and a number of university professors —Nicolás Salmerón, Augusto González de Linares, Gumersindo de Azcárate y Laureano Calderón— that were fired from universities and imprisoned for defending their professorial freedom against the dogmatic recommendations of the establishment in religious, politic, scientific and moral issues. ILE put in practice several innovative educational initiatives for the sake of literacy, such as the foundation in 1882 of the “Museo Pedagógico Nacional¹”, a research center in education for the training, social support and development of social outreach activities. This center promoted the “Misiones Pedagógicas” (Educational Missions) (Tapia, 2007), name given to 70 trips accomplished by urban teachers for literacy purposes in rural areas of Spain, during the Spanish Second Republican government (April 1931-July 1939). Their aim was to empower people in rural areas by bringing different ways of culture and entertainment by means of the most advanced media artifacts at the time. This project was born to balance the existing educational inequalities between rural and urban areas in Spain. Therefore, socially committed urban teachers, literate in the use of media (i.e., projectors, radio, gramophones, etc), were in charge of helping and training rural teachers in the implementation of innovative pedagogies.

Paradoxically, 75 years after the first “Misión Pedagógica,” we urban education professionals are now the ones going back to rural schools with the aim of finding out the keys for teachers’ professional development in the 21st century.

In this article we provide a number of clues to illuminate the aforementioned paradox based on the historical roots of Progressive Education in Spain. In Sections Two and Three we discuss some innovative educational projects regarding PE ideals that have taken place in the country between 1875 and present time. Section Four is devoted to deepening a three-year professional development case study on the integration of ICT in a rural school, as an example of current implications of PE as well as an evidence of the paradox driving the article. We conclude in Section Five with the main findings from the study that help us understand the future of PE in 21st century teachers’ professional development.

Progressive Education in Spain: Origins

What World do these people come from? We were so far removed from their World,
that it was as if we’d come from another galaxy, from places they couldn’t even

¹The Spanish "Museo Pedagógico Nacional" was an institution created in Madrid in 1882 by "La Institución Libre de Enseñanza". From the very beginning this museum was not only devoted to the collection of didactic resources but also to becoming a research center in education for the training, social support and development of social outreach activities. It lasted for 59 years, contributing to a remarkable transformation of the Spanish schooling system.

imagine existed. Not to mention how we dressed or what we ate, or the way we talked.

We were different. And we were not like traveling sideshows...

It was a different relationship. It was as if all of a sudden, something that was unbelievable arrived and said to them: “Believe it, we’re here, we’ve come to help you.” Unfortunately, it lasted for such a short time, that it wasn’t of much use.

These are the very first words of a documentary² produced in Spain in 2006, to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the birth of “Las Misiones Pedagógicas” (Educational Missions) (Tapia, 2007). They were said by an old teacher who participated in one of the 70 Educational Missions that took place in Spain between 1931 and the beginning of the civil war in July of 1936. She recounts the story of her journey to a small and remote village in the poorest Spanish countryside. Even though there was an exodus from rural areas to big cities at that time, much of the Spanish population (40 %) was still concentrated around small villages (Goerlich, Mas, Azagra & Chorén, 2006), far from the urban progress affecting early 20th Century Spain.

For the first time, thanks to these Missions, many Spaniards from rural areas were able to have access to a public library, to watch movies, participate in theatre plays, listen to classical music or gain access to art and literature (See Figure 1). These Missions, whose main objective was the dissemination of cultural access among adults from rural areas, represented a far-reaching attempt at social and cultural regeneration, and they were taken to several of Spain’s most depressed rural areas.



Figure 1. Theatrical play in a “Misión Pedagógica” in Valdeorras³.

Educational Missions constituted a project developed under the “*Museo Pedagógico Nacional*” deeply inspired in the philosophy of the “*La Institución Libre de Enseñanza*” (ILE)

² The documentary is available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rmWEc_Iqrg

³ Taken from “O Blog do Ateneo Republicano de Valdeorras” at <http://valdeorrasrepublicana.wordpress.com/>

which followed the principles of Progressive Education⁴ (Escuela Nueva) International movement (PE/EN). This ambitious project can be seen as a real example of the impact that PE ideas had in Spain in the early thirties of the past century (See Figure 2). These missions took PE principles to rural areas in a number of ways, creating rich educational environments where students had access to a wide range of resources.

ILE, the promoter of the Missions, defined itself in its foundation statement as an institution alien to any interest and religious spirit, philosophical school and political party, proclaiming only the principle of freedom and science inviolability. Nevertheless, during its first years, ILE was recipient for the European leading scientific and philosophical movements derived from the 18th Century Enlightenment, such as German Krausism⁵. A few years after its creation, the revolutionary ideas of the ILE, in addition to the ones coming from the Progressive Education International movement, had a deep impact in the Second Republic Spanish government (1931-1939).

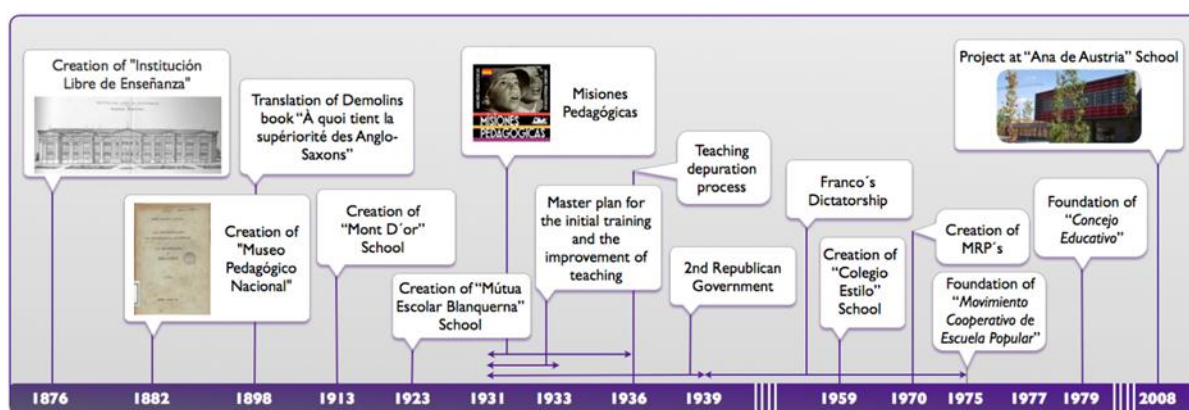


Figure 2. Progressive Education in Spain, a timeline.

We start this article elaborating on the ILE, since this institution was deeply involved in the emergence of Progressive Education in Spain. Del Pozo Andrés (2004) states in her thoughtful chronicle of the Progressive Education movement in Spain that even though ILE members were a little reluctant to admire the first schools following PE in Great Britain, they soon published a couple of articles concerning progressivism: in 1897 a paper on the George Junior Republic, and another one in 1898 related to John Dewey's theory and his experimental school at the University of Chicago.

In addition to the recognition initially given to Progressive Education by "La Institución Libre de Enseñanza", there were also other influences on its evolution and

⁴ Progressive Education in Spain is called "Escuela Nueva"

⁵ Krausism is a doctrine that advocates tolerance and academic freedom against dogmatism. Its creator was the post-Kantian philosopher Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1781-1832). This philosophy was widespread in Spain thanks to the work of Julián Sanz del Río and the Institución Libre de Enseñanza led by Francisco Giner de los Ríos.

development in our country. After the translation into Spanish in 1898 of Demolins book “À quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?”— just a year after its publication in France—describing the very first Progressive Education schools of Abbotsholme and Bedales, a reaction took place among the socially influential. Paradoxically, two different groups, with almost opposite political thinking, both assumed the principles of PE. On the one hand, right-wing conservative middle classes from Catalonia, a rich region in the North East of the country, understood this new educational movement as a good way to legitimize and build their own Catalonian national identity (Del Pozo Andrés, 2004), as a claim for Catalonia’s independence. On the other, public teacher minorities, most of them enrolled in left-wing and anarchist parties, also understood PE as a chance to change the country’s monarchy into a democratic republic by educating children in a progressive way. This last group understood PE in a more intellectual and reflective manner rather than the more pragmatic view of the Catalonian one. Nevertheless, this last group took advantage of the educational reforming spirit of the Republican government, helping in the development of the so-called “Escuelas de ensayo y reforma” (Innovative schools for the experimentation of new learning methods). These schools were created by Lorenzo Luzuriaga, a professor who translated Dewey’s work into Spanish and who was also the founder in 1922 of “*Revista de Pedagogía*”, the journal that most contributed to the dissemination of PE in Spain.

The aforementioned two groups started several innovative educational initiatives all over the country. The Catalonians created, for instance, the unique Spanish school that was a member of the “International Bureau of Progressive Education Schools”, the “*Mont d’Or*”. It was an exclusive school that reproduced the educational model of British boarding schools of Abbotsholme and Bedales, as well as the emerging active teaching methods in the United States. “*Mont d’Or*” also tested Decroly’s and Montessori’s systems since 1913 (Del Pozo Andrés, 2004). In Catalonia, “La Mutua escolar Blanquerna” was also created in 1923, a school funded by a cooperative of parents eager to have an innovative school for their children. To make it happen, they hired a number of educationists deeply engaged in the PE movement, with the aim of generating a unified school—from preschool to college—following Montessori’s method (Tierno, 1989). The school experienced fast growth in its very first years, becoming a touchstone in Barcelona, until it was closed in 1939 after the advent of Franco’s dictatorship.

Along the way, the movement of public teachers from other regions of the country, mainly from the capital city of Madrid, also started projects according to PE principles. These projects were created under the official protection and funding of the government of the Second Republic (1931-1939). Of special interest were the creation of the “*Cervantes*”, “*Príncipe de Asturias*”, and “*Alfonso XIII*” schools in Madrid. Even though the three were publicly funded, the Ministry of Public Instruction gave them special treatment, by allowing them to experiment with new and active teaching and learning methods. These schools adopted the basics of Progressive Education: respect for diversity, the development of critical and socially engaged intelligence, emphasis on “hands-on” projects, abolition of punishment, etc... (Miller, 1997, para.1). The model of these schools was soon implemented in several other cities such as Zaragoza, Valencia, Ibiza and Málaga.

Even though there was an official support for these innovations, the real agents of the educational reform were the teachers involved in each of the projects. The government realized this situation and started to give relevance to its initial training. For instance, during the first two years of the Second Republic (1931-1933), the Ministry of Public Instruction developed the “Plan de formación y perfeccionamiento del Magisterio” (Master Plan for the initial training and the improvement of teaching) (Eced, 1988) (See Figure 2). This was an ambitious proposal to overcome the poor training teachers were having at that time in the use of active pedagogies. In addition to this plan, the government also put in practice a second initiative based on a number of workshops and courses on the main PE methods, destined for rural school teachers. Dolores Medio, a rural teacher at the time, describes in detail one of these workshops she attended, in her book “Diario de una maestra” (Diary of a teacher) (Medio, 1993). She mentions that it was the very first time she heard about the Dalton⁶ and Winnetka⁷ Plans and Cousinet⁸ methods, as well as her immediate desire to start putting in practice these methods in her school.

As it has been described so far, Progressive Education had a huge impact in Spanish schooling system between 1898 and 1939. From the “Misiones Pedagógicas” to the “Plan de formación y perfeccionamiento del Magisterio” and the creation of PE schools such as “Mont d'Or”, “La Mutua escolar Blanquerna”, “Cervantes”, “Príncipe de Asturias”, and “Alfonso XIII” a number of examples show that Spain was a key site in the beginning of PE movement. Nonetheless, the country has never been recognized as a place where PE ideas were born and developed. In 1939 after a bloody civil war, major general Franco established a 40-year dictatorship that eliminated any sign of the Progressive Education initiatives accomplished in the previous period of 50 years, thus contributing to the Spanish educational isolation.

Middle Seventies and Current Movement

During the 36 years (1939-1975) in which Spain lived under the oppression of the dictatorial regime (See Figure 2), not many innovative projects were developed in the country according to PE methods. Teachers were forced to follow conservative teaching principles based on old-fashioned teaching methods. In November of 1936, a few months after the beginning of the civil war, Franco’s unlawful government established under a decree, what it called “Depuración del Magisterio” (teaching depuration process). It was a “witch hunt” in

⁶ The Dalton School, originally called the Children's University School, was founded by Helen Parkhurst in 1919, following Montessori and Dewey’s progressive ideals.

⁷ Winnetka is an elementary school district based in Winnetka, Cook County, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago. In 1919, Carleton Washburne was hired as Superintendent. He was a product of a Chicago elementary school founded by Francis Parker, who together with John Dewey were early practitioners of progressive education. Winnetka's education program was transformed during Washburne's 24-year tenure and came to be known as the Winnetka Plan

⁸ Roger Cousinet is a French pedagogue (1881-1973) and pioneer of the of the Progressive Education movement in France. He proposed in 1945 a method of free labor groups for better learning.

which teachers who didn't follow the regime's rules in education were judged, imprisoned and even executed (Crespo Redondo, Sainz Casado, & Pérez Manrique, 1987). In this risky and paralyzing atmosphere, it is easy to understand why few innovations were developed. Therefore, only a few examples of teaching innovation can be found in the literature. Probably one of the most significant was the opening of the "Colegio Estilo"⁹ (Style School) in Madrid, in 1959, by Josefina Aldecoa. In her book "Historia de una maestra" (story of a female teacher) (Rodríguez Aldecoa, 1996), she elaborates on the creation of this school under such adverse conditions, following ILE ideas and the principles of Krausism.

It was not until the seventies when groups of enterprising teachers, tired of the regime's restrictions, started the "Movimientos de Renovación Pedagógica" (Movements of Pedagogic Renovation, or MRP). These groups emerged as a revival of Progressive Education ideas tried in the country during the Second Republic. Initially, they created summer schools for teachers to be able to get trained in alternative teaching methods (e.g., Freinet¹⁰, Milani, Freire, and Neill) rather than the National Socialists ones advocated by Franco. Rogero (2010) defines them as "autonomous and self-organized groups of teachers of diverse educational stages, born to give answer to teachers needs of permanent training and to work for a model of public school, able to respond to the urgency of making real the civil right to education of all human beings [...]." These groups rely on Freinet's understanding of teacher education (Clanché, Debarieux, & Testanière, 1994), considering teachers as the power houses of school reform. Moreover, MRPs have currently assumed, with other social groups, the commitment of society transformation by means of education. As mentioned in Rogero's definition, their main objective is to claim the sense of education as a public service that has to be warranted by governments, and the school as a place where culture is created (Llorente, 2003).

Nowadays, there are a number of active MRPs working in Spain, such as the "Movimiento Cooperativo de Escuela Popular"¹¹ created in 1977, and "Concejo Educativo"¹² created in 1979 (See Figure 2). Both of them are not just single groups, but a confederation of groups working all over the country¹³. In addition, there are several other initiatives of greater or lesser size that, though not exactly MRPs, share the common roots of Progressive Education. For instance, there are currently more than a hundred schools working as "Learning Communities"¹⁴ (Sánchez, 1999), following a Dialogic Learning¹⁵ approach (Flecha¹⁶, 2000), where learning occurs as a result of horizontal dialogues.

⁹This school still remains open. More information can be found in <http://www.colegioestilo.com/nuevaweb/historia-del-colegio-estilo>

¹⁰ Freinet created the teachers' trade union C.E.L. (Coopérative de l'Enseignement Laïc) in 1924, from which arose the French teacher movement-Modern School Movement (Mouvement de l'École Moderne). The goal of the C.E.L was to change public education from the inside with the co-operation of teachers.

¹¹ <http://www.mcep.es>

¹² <http://www.concejoeducativo.org/>

¹³ <http://cmrp.pangea.org>

¹⁴ <http://www.comunidadesdeaprendizaje.net>

Previous projects and initiatives can be understood as the ground for the experience we describe in section four. There we elaborate on the project developed in a rural school, showing some of the current effects of PE in Spain. The narrated experience deeply relies in the work accomplished by the school principal, who has been engaged in the “Concejo Educativo” Movement of Pedagogic Renovation for the last years.

Professional Development Experience in a Rural School

In previous sections we have elaborated on the way professionals of education, that were trained in the ILE and Progressive Education methods, used to visit rural areas with the aim of developing literacy campaigns among rural population and school teachers. This happened both during “Misiones Pedagógicas”, and the Movements of Pedagogic Renovation in the middle seventies. However, according to the paradox posed at the beginning of this article, we educators and education professionals are currently the ones seeking inspiration in rural schools.

An initial explanation of this fact can be found in the official support and huge amount of governmental resources given to rural schools in the middle and late 1990s to shorten the digital divide still existing at that time between rural and urban areas (Plan Avanza, 2006). This sort of positive discrimination included for instance the connection of every rural school to the Internet and the set up of special virtual learning environments to connect every rural school with each other. This situation, in addition to the very special characteristics of rural schools (e.g., one-room schools, low student-teacher ratio, one or two teachers per school, and young teachers), helped inspire multiple pedagogical innovations.

Other social agents such as trade unions, parents associations and the Movements of Pedagogic Renovation also helped the promotion of rural schools (Gelis & Sureda 1999). These social agents facilitated the creation of rural school networks able to collaborate in the implementation of active teaching and learning methods and professional development courses as well.

¹⁵ Dialogic learning is the result of egalitarian dialogue, the consequence of a dialogue in which different people provide arguments based on validity and experiential claims, not on status. The concept of dialogic learning is not a new one, and is based on Habermas’ and Freire’s theories. It is frequently linked to the Socratic dialogues and sometimes considered a Western tradition.

¹⁶ In 1991 Ramón Flecha founded the Center of Research on Theories and Practices which Overcome Inequalities, at the University of Barcelona. In 1995 Flecha founded the Learning Communities Project and, since then, has directly collaborated in most of the 100 schools that have engaged in a process of socio-cultural and educational transformation through this program. The Learning Communities project has extended to Brazil and Chile, has gained governmental support in Spain, and is being studied as a successful educational practice for strengthening social cohesion in Europe. More information can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramon_Flecha.

The experience we present in this section is an example of the ways in which rural schools have been permeable enough to integrate a number of innovations and technological novelties, to overcome the weaker starting point of these schools compared to urban ones (as it happened in early 20th century). It is also an attempt to illustrate current implications of Progressive Education principles in 21st century Spain, and finally, a way to deepen the paradox driving this article.

Research Project at “Ana de Austria” School

In 2008 we began a three-year research project¹⁷ in the “Ana de Austria¹⁸” public school. The school is situated in a rural area close to Valladolid¹⁹ (Spain), the capital city of the Autonomous Region²⁰ of “Castilla-León”. It presents a number of peculiarities in comparison with other schools (rural and urban) in the region, since it received an accreditation²¹ in 2010 for its excellence in the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). Hence, the school has infrastructure and technological resources to support innovations (smart boards, tablet PC’s, educational software, Virtual Learning environments, etc). Their current fortune comes as a result of the effort put forth by the school board in the last ten years²². Specifically, it is worth noticing the role assumed by the school principal, an active member of the “Concejo Educativo” Pedagogic Renovation Movement in our region, as well as a committed individual with the educational development of the community in which the school is located, Cigales²³. The following excerpt from an interview with the school principal illustrates his involvement:

When we started to provide the school with technologies, which happened at least ten years ago, I remember we walked a long way; we had to convince and provide training and support to all the teachers. It was hard. (...). At this moment we have a lot of ICT in the school, but we still have the dream of rethinking our teaching and learning practices by means of incorporating innovative strategies, which give meaning to the effort we have made the last years. (Ana de Austria school principal interview. 2009-04-01)

¹⁷ This work has been partially funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science project TIN2008- 03023/TSI and Autonomous Government of Castilla and Leon, Spain, project (VA107A08)

¹⁸ <http://www.colegioanadeaustria.es/>

¹⁹ More information on the city can be found at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valladolid>

²⁰ Spain is divided into 17 different Autonomous Regions called “Comunidades Autónomas”. More information can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_divisions_of_Spain

²¹ The regional administration of education has established a 5-level system to determine the quality of the integration of ICT at schools. With this regard every school is given with an accreditation to evaluate their excellence in the use of ICT according to the resources available, the quality of the didactic proposals put in practice, and the permanent teacher training proposals accomplished.

²² This public school has been funded by the Autonomous Region as well as by research teams and companies collaborating with them.

²³ A rural area mainly dedicated to produce wine, with around 4,000 inhabitants.

Nowadays Ana de Austria School is a good example of an institution deeply integrated in its community with a teaching staff eager to promote contextualized student-centered active learning methods. Moreover, the whole school system relies on John Dewey's "School as Social Center" experiment, initiated in Chicago in 1896. The Ana de Austria school stands for learning in the community, with the community and for the community. Furthermore, the school also functions as a community, which has been built in the last years through the following:

1. A stable annual teacher-training plan, democratically agreed, in which teachers are trained in a myriad of issues in accordance to their contextual and individual needs (e.g., methods and strategies of teaching and learning, such as project-based learning, collaborative learning, inquiry-based learning, and classroom-based assessment techniques). The school also promotes the discovery and the curricular integration of cutting-edge Web 2.0 tools and technologies such as augmented reality, e-portfolios, blogs, wikis, social networks, and podcasts²⁴
2. Several educational projects that are designed around a single central issue (e.g., the science year or knowing Roald Dahl). Teachers in all grades (K-12) are asked to design and put in practice several hands-on projects. Furthermore, teachers in early childhood education, are encouraged to design project-based learning activities following students' interests (Freinet, 1993). This innovation works so well that the school is trying to implement this initiative in all grades.
3. Regularly developed events with the aim of empowering the rural community around the school. They usually ask for participation during the enactment of the activities. An example of this is the annual activity called "Cigales Read" in which children and families are together for the reading of different excerpts of books in the main square of the village.

The aforementioned special characteristics of the school led us to believe that an in-depth study could provide a good chance to better understand current practical implications of PE. In this regard, we decided to focus on a particular issue within the complexity of the school—the specific way teachers put in practice active methods while designing and orchestrating technology-mediated activities in their classrooms. To do so we developed a three-year (2008-2011) research process based on an intrinsic case study²⁵ (Stake, 2005). The election of this particular interpretative method was due to our previous experience in case

²⁴Training on these issues is usually provided by advisors from Teacher Training and Educative Innovation Centers (CFIEs), University of Valladolid Faculty members and even by teachers of the school.

²⁵ Following the terminology of Stake's case study research (2005), we can say that ours is an intrinsic case study since we are interested in investigating the particular and specific designs and enactments of teachers at Ana de Austria school for its own sake.

studies (Jorrín Abellán, 2006; Ruiz Requies, 2009) and also because it constitutes a perfect way to deepen the tensions and particularities affecting specific contexts.

The research process was divided into three different stages: a) The proposal and development of co-design workshops for teachers to generate learning designs and enactments, b) An in-depth analysis of the designs and enactments developed in stage one, and 3) The implementation of professional development workshops to test the findings in Stage 2.

In the first stage of the process (2008-2009) we developed a set of co-designed workshops with the teachers at school in order to generate activities using Group Scribbles²⁶ (GS) (SRI, 2008) in conjunction with the technological resources available in the classrooms. At this time we were functioning as a community of practice. We learned from them how real practice works, while they were asking for some strategies to better incorporate ICT in their activities. In parallel, we interviewed participating teachers with the aim of understanding their previous and initial training in the use of ICT, their beliefs and issues in the use of ICT, and their personal involvement in the educational projects taking place at the school.

In the second stage of the process (2009-2011), we analyzed every single design and enactment generated in Stage 1. As was expected, most of the designs proposed by the teachers incorporated a collaboration component as well as a number of tasks to promote students' autonomous learning. Moreover, the designs emphasized active inquiry and investigation, favouring students decision-making. Other designs allowed students' engagement in active learning and problem solving, which constitute good examples of progressive methods. This initial analysis drove us to a more fine-grained description of the designs, giving us the opportunity to identify a series of pedagogical recurrent routines²⁷ (DeBarger, Penuel, Harris, & Schank, 2011; Prieto, Villagrà-Sobrino, Jorrín-Abellán, Dimitriadis, & Martínez-Monés, 2011) teachers were using while designing and enacting their activities, even when improvising. In addition, we were able to make up a catalogue of these design and enactment routines²⁸ (Prieto, Villagrà-Sobrino, Dimitriadis, Jorrín-Abellán, Martínez-Monés, & Anguita-Martínez, 2010) that emerged from the comparison of the analyzed designs and enactments.

Another relevant aspect we looked at was what teachers used to include additional tasks in order to complete and adapt the design according to the class needs (e.g., the teacher includes a new task if the previously designed one is too easy for the students). On the other

²⁶ Group Scribbles offers instructors and students a powerful metaphor for thinking about and realizing collaborative learning activities. This metaphor is based on common physical artifacts from the classroom or office: adhesive notes, bulletin boards, whiteboards, stickers, pens, and markers. More information on Group Scribbles can be found at its official site <http://groupscribbles.sri.com/>

²⁷ Understood as recurrent elements present in the teachers practice.

²⁸ The complete catalogue of design and enactment routines can be downloaded from <http://gsic.tel.uva.es/%7Elprisan/20100718RoutineCatalog.zip> (Last visit: 10 May 2013)

hand, we also came to know that they were including another set of emergent tasks to solve problems or take advantage of particular situations occurring in class. (e.g., during the assessment of an activity it was the teacher who usually led the flow, but other times she asked the students to do peer assessment on the fly). Thus, according to Sawyer (2011), teachers' practices are based on discipline improvisations in which small innovations sometimes happen although the teachers do not realize it. This way, we came to know that these routines can be used as "analytic lenses" for teachers to reflect on their own practices as well as to be aware of the different paths in which active learning methods can be implemented. Figure 3, shows an example of these routines.

<p>Clues <i>Tasks are distributed among students, by means of an enigma incorporated into the task. The solution to the enigma points to the student who has to solve the task.</i></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Each post-it note has a task with a simple arithmetical operation and also the name written without the vowels. For instance, for a student who is called Jose, the task includes the clue "J_S_" • In a task about completing a sentence, a simple arithmetic operation is included. The result of this operation is the list number of the student who has to solve it (e.g. $4+5$ implies student number 9). 	<p style="text-align: right;">Support/task</p> <p>Use the digital board to exemplify <i>Using the digital whiteboard, the actions to be taken in a task are exemplified by the teacher, so that students can reproduce them later on.</i></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The teacher puts on the board an example of a three digit number, and breaks it down in units, tens and hundreds • The teacher writes the symbols "< and >" on the board to remind students about those concepts
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Figure 3. Design (on the left) and enactment routines (on the right) are presented, in the form of paper cards that included their name, a short description and 1-2 examples of use in the classroom context.

As a result of the second stage, we identified the main tension that would lead the inquiry process hereinafter: How can we use these recurrent routines as particular strategies to promote teachers' professional development?

We then conducted several research activities to answer the question above. Nevertheless, for the sake of brevity, we will not describe all of them here²⁹. We will just focus on an illustrative 2-hour teacher workshop where participants were asked to share information about their educational designs using ICT, and to experiment with alternative ways of designing and enacting (orchestrating) technology-enriched activities.

Professional development workshop and findings

The session was audio and video recorded, and observed by two researchers. In the first hour teachers were asked to reflect on the main problems they have when designing activities involving ICT in general, and Group Scribbles in particular. With the aim of noticing if the recurrent routines would help them to overcome these issues, we asked them to generate in groups an activity using ICT. To do so, the name of a didactic unit was given to them, The Solar System. Teachers were also asked to generate a design including contents of at least two subjects (math, language, science, English, etc). Once the designs were created and shared

²⁹ See Villagr  Sobrino (2012) for more information about this research process

among the different groups, a second stage was conducted. We gave each group a set of cards with the recurrent routines identified in phase one of the research, and asked them to enrich their design. Each card had the name of the routine, a brief explanation, and a couple of examples of its possible uses. The left side of Figure 4 shows one of the initial designs generated by a group of teachers, consisting of an initial brainstorming (1) regarding the elements of the solar system, a classification (2) of its main elements according to their number of syllables, and (3) a classification of the planets in alphabetical order. The right side of Figure 1 shows the same design, but this time enriched with the recurrent routines. In this way teachers decided to incorporate an initial task before the brainstorming to search for information on the solar system in a few sites on the Internet. They also included a matching routine (B), a voting routine (C) and a summary one (E) by the end of the design.

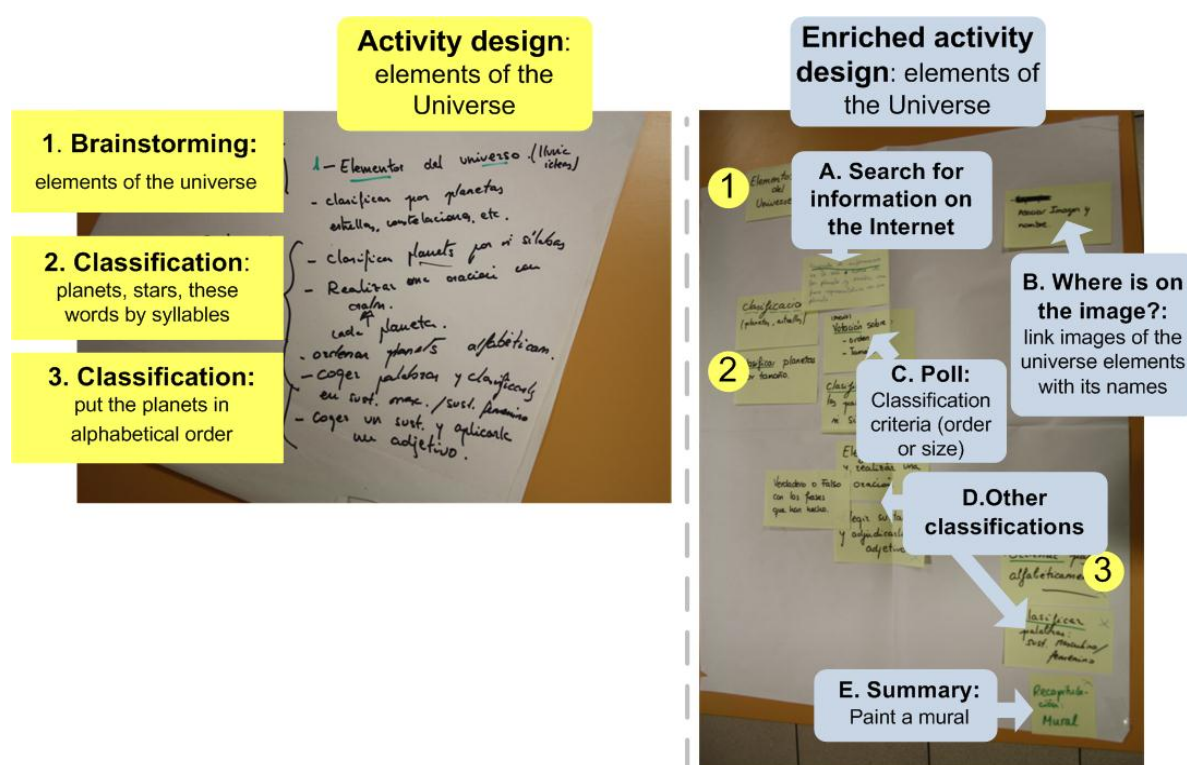


Figure 4. Example of the initial activity design (left side) and its enrichment with routines (right side)

After the very first part of the workshop, teachers were asked to perform a role play enacting one of the previously enriched activities. To do so they selected one of the designs generated in the initial groups. One of the teachers that proposed the design acted as “the teacher” while the rest of the teachers were asked to assume the role of different conflictive students (e.g., one student that copies the solution from another classmate).

When the initial role-playing was finished, we gave participants a new set of cards with a number of recurrent enactment routines to enrich if possible. These cards also had the

name of the routine, a brief explanation and a few examples on how they could be used. After the two sessions we asked teachers to answer a questionnaire in order to see if the design recurrent routines were close to their practice, and if they could help to enrich the designs. We also asked them if the enactment recurrent routines were showing problems of their real practice and if they could help to overcome them in some way. Some of the examples gathered with this regard are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Some evidence gathered from teachers' questionnaires about the design and enactment routines. "Ana de Austria Primary School". 2009-2011

About design routines	About enactment routines
<p>To the question: Have you ever used these design routines? Which ones? L: Many of them are close to my daily teacher practice. Some of them, that are different and less utilized, I think that I could use them in the immediate future E: Not all the design routines are known to me but most of them, yes.</p>	<p>To the question: Could any of the enactment routines be applied to the simulated activity? B: Yes because I could harmonize the differences among students and achieve the activity's objective L: It was very complicated, because we were few people and everything was going very fast. In any case, yes, the situations are common in the classrooms. I think that we can assess its success in the short or medium terms.</p>
<p>To the question: Did the design routines help you in enriching the design? Why? L: Yes, at least to gain awareness that its use improves not only the design or the planning of any educative task. I think that its use guarantee the success of the process and obtaining the desired results.</p>	<p>To the question: Do you think these routines are useful for your practice during the enactment of ICT activities? L: Yes, because ICT is very attractive for students. For me, it is a challenge, but in any case try to apply ICT in the classroom imply a change in the way of we normally do the things. Is an opportunity to improve our practice. E: The technology is part of our daily teacher practice. I find more possibilities as I used it more. I think that practice is a set of routines that each teacher applies to his daily practice. Thus, I think that the catalogue is useful.</p>

As can be seen, feedback given by teachers was positive. Nevertheless, further research is needed in the identification and abstraction of these recurrent elements, and also in the way they could help teachers to share, recognize and make connections between the ICT pedagogical knowledge and particular educational contents (Mishra & Koheler, 2006).

The overall research process as well as the identified catalogue of routines can be seen as an attempt to particularize teachers' pedagogical innovations and also as a way of transferring their practical knowledge to other schools and communities of teachers. In addition, it can also be understood as a practical tool for the training of teachers in student-centered teaching methods that are inquiry-driven and organized around problem-solving and investigation.

An additional finding of the study was the proposal of a method to represent and analyze teacher orchestration. Figure 5 shows a representation of the flow in the “solar system” activity generated by teachers in the workshop. This diagram not only shows the complexity of technology-enhanced designs, but also the enactment and flow of the routines. As can be seen in the figure, this representation pays special attention to the social dimensions in which activities occurred (i.e., whole-class activity, individual work, or small group work) and the routines that were associated to each phase of the activity for the students and for the teacher.

This method for the representation of the orchestration teachers perform, the proposed catalogue of routines, as well as the teacher training experiences we promoted, like the one previously narrated, constitute illustrative practices that are aligned with current implications of progressive education in teachers’ professional development in rural schools. All of them understand teachers as the basis for progress and innovation, encouraging their training and acknowledgement of their central role.

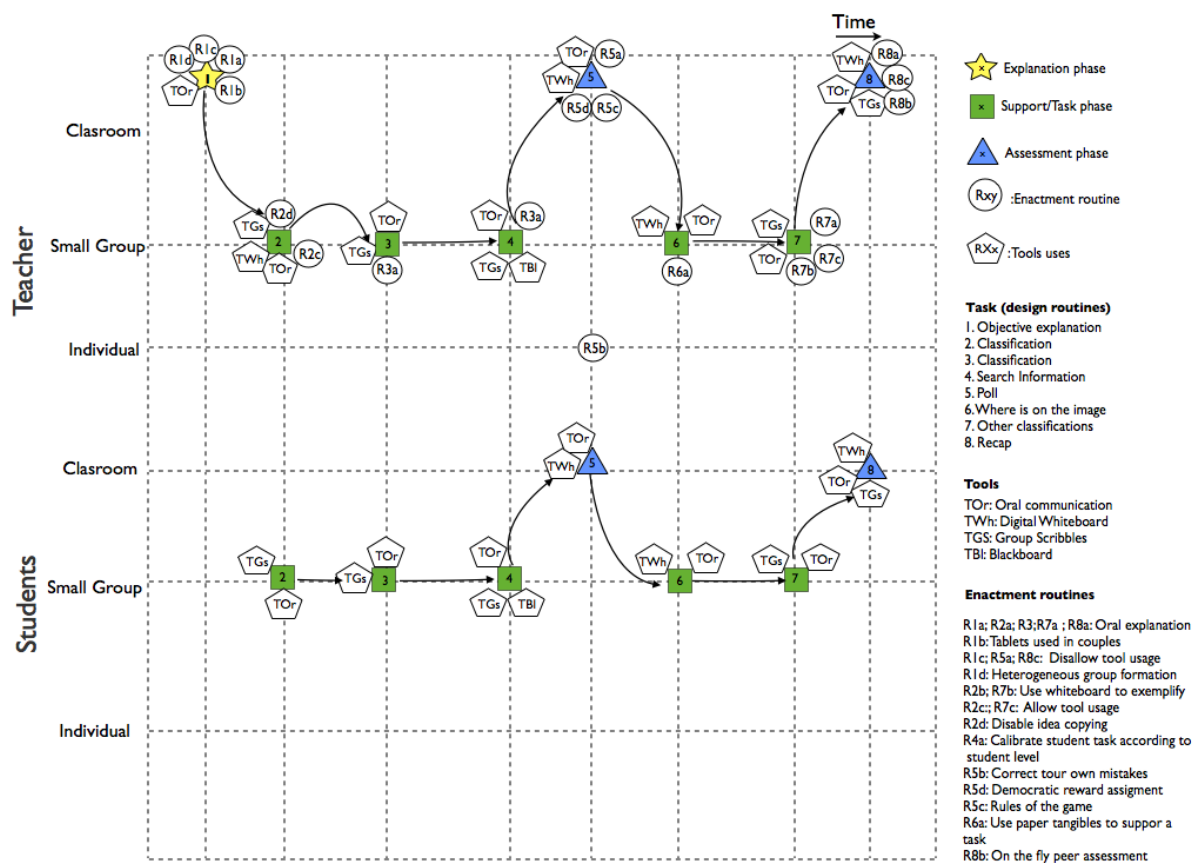


Figure 5. Enactment flow and routines detected in the “Solar System” activity during the role playing with teachers. (Prieto et al, 2010)

We have shown some evidence underscoring the fact that after almost a hundred and forty years from the beginning of Progressive Education movement in Spain, its principles

and ideas still remain active. In our particular case, they help to overcome some of the challenges posed by the digital era to our current schools and teachers (Pérez-Cavana, 2009).

The “*Ana de Austria*” rural school constitutes an endless source of knowledge for us urban educators, since it is a place where Progressive Education happens in some sort of organic way. For instance:

- 1) The school promotes the education of students as engaged citizens that involves at least two essential elements, respect for diversity (meaning that each individual should be recognized for his or her own abilities, interests, ideas, needs, and cultural identity), and the development of critical, socially engaged intelligence (Miller, 1997, para.1), which enables individuals to understand and participate effectively in the affairs of their community in a collaborative effort to achieve a common good.
- 2) The school works as a social center that has an important role within the town of Cigales. It also promotes the collaboration with the families to better meet the needs of child-life.
- 3) Children are at the center of the learning process and constitute the main reason why the school promotes teacher training.
- 4) The school principal is an engaged member of an active Movement of Pedagogic Renovation (MRP) that believes in PE methods and tries to put them in practice.

As shown in this section, active and reflective methods in teachers professional development can help renew teaching methods according to progressive principles. Moreover, the democratization of education promoted by the advent of Information and Communication Technologies, or ICT (Solomon & Schrum, 2007), has put some rural schools in Spain on the cutting-edge of pedagogical innovation. Nonetheless, we educators and educational researchers still need to cope with the challenges posed by Dewey to make education a more reflective process, and to promote the social participation of individuals in the exchange and use of knowledge.

Conclusion

We have elaborated on the historical roots of Progressive Education in Spain by showing a number of initiatives developed between 1875 and today. In this long trip, initial work accomplished by the “Institución Libre de Enseñanza” was crucial for the evolution of innovative educational methods in our country. In between ILE foundation (1876) and the current time, several schools have been following PE ideals. That is the case of “Mont d’Or”, “La Mutua escolar Blanquerna”, “Cervantes”, “Príncipe de Asturias”, and “Alfonso XIII” schools in the middle thirties, and the case of the “Colegio Estilo” in the sixties. We have also discussed the role played by the “Movements of Pedagogic Renovation” since their foundation in the seventies. Besides these few examples of the work done by Spanish educators in the last two centuries, we can now say that they constituted the seed of projects

like the one presented in the “Ana de Austria” rural school. This three-year project has given us the chance to learn from current innovative practices that take place in rural schools. Moreover, we have identified a set of recurrent elements (design and enactment ones) that could be easily integrated in pre-service teachers initial training, and in professional development courses for in-services as well. This research project has also given us the possibility of developing a method for the analysis and representation of the ways teachers orchestrate the enactment of technology-enhanced activities.

These findings could be of interest to professional development for 21st century teachers. We have come to believe that teachers’ initial training and life-long professional development should be deeply grounded in reflective collaborative processes where practice, experience, inquiry, innovation and discussion are paramount.

In addition to the findings achieved in the process, and also as an emerging result of the community of practice created among school teachers, doctoral students and faculty members around the “Ana de Austria” school, we have created a web-tool called “CReA-TIC³⁰”. This wiki site was designed following a participatory approach, and helps the creation and sharing of innovative designs for practice that incorporates ICT. The web is open to the community and is currently growing.

Even though Progressive Education has a long history in our country, we have tried to show in this paper its need to be continually recreated in new situations. Furthermore, the promotion of reflective communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), like the one described in Section Three, brings back Sprague Mitchell’s (1931) ideas on the importance of teacher education as a key to educational reform and innovation. It also gives some hints about the role we researchers could play for the evolution and betterment of Progressive Education. Training teachers to incorporate ICT into their practice in an innovative fashion implies providing them with meaningful experiences to reflect on their own practices. Studying and understanding the differences between learning designs and their enactments (i.e., in the form of routines) in authentic daily practice, has the potential to highlight the affordances of technology and foster practices inspired by/in PE methods.

Futhermore, we live in a world where online learning has become a challenging reality for traditional teaching and learning practices. This new paradigm relies deeply on digital media and Web 2.0, making necessary the rethinking of teacher professional development. Now more than ever, we need to incorporate PE methods in the training of teachers. This article is an example of the different places where innovative practices can be found, and a stimulus to keep on searching for new paths for 21st Century Progressive Education.

³⁰ The web tool is available at <http://www.gsjc.uva.es/CReA-TIC>

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Mining the present: Reconstructing progressive education in an era of global change

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Abstract

This paper explores what might be seen as a paradox at the heart of the current push to “globalize” education: at a moment when administrators, especially in higher education, are seeking to globalize their programs (often for reasons having to do with increasing international competition and decreasing funding for education), global education offers a window through which progressive ideals might be re-asserted in increasingly standardized teaching and learning environments. To demonstrate, we offer our own attempts to globalize our teaching practice, through both personal and historical narratives. Ultimately, the paper seeks to complicate global education—both historical and contemporary versions—as we draw upon the work of John Dewey in an attempt to reconstruct our own particular version of a location-specific, globally minded, progressive education practice.

Keywords: Global education, teacher education, progressive education

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Mining the present: Reconstructing progressive education in an era of global change

Recently, the first author of this essay spoke with a department chair at a major research university. The talk turned to the first author's work in global education, to which the chair responded, "My dean said I have to globalize our teacher education program, but what does that really mean?"

What *does* this mean, indeed? The dialogues around teacher preparation often involve questions about study and teaching abroad opportunities, preparing teaching candidates and k-12 students for the challenges of international job markets, and considering the methods of teaching math in Asia. But is *this* global education? We believe that global education must be more than this. In this paper, we ask what that "more" might be, and do so through the lens of Deweyan progressive education.

This paper therefore explores what might be seen as the paradox at the heart of the current push to "globalize" education: at a moment when administrators, especially in higher education, are seeking to *globalize* their programs (often for reasons having to do with increasing international competition and decreasing funding for education), *global education* offers a window through which progressive ideals might be re-asserted in an increasingly standardized teaching and learning environment in the United States (and perhaps in other places as well). We believe that this pressure "to globalize" presents, perhaps paradoxically, new possibilities for a globally-minded progressive education.

Our paper is divided into four sections. In the first section, we introduce and talk about our own attempts to "globalize" our teaching by examining work we do in an experimental teacher education program at Michigan State University. Next, we locate the historical precedents for that work as we analyze prior waves of research on global education, and examine its essential contributions to progressive pedagogy during the Cold War era in North America. In the third section, we seek to complicate work in global education—both historical and contemporary versions—as we draw upon the work of John Dewey in an attempt to reconstruct our own particular version of a location-specific, globally minded, progressive education practice. We conclude the essay in the fourth and final section with the implications for future work in both pre-service teacher education and progressive education in a global context.

Making "Global Education" Concrete: A Narrative Examination of Our Own Work

Our interest in global education as an opportunity to reconstruct progressive ideals for the present time emerges out of our work at Michigan State University, where we both teach in the College of Education's newly constituted, globally focused teacher preparation track.¹ In this section, we discuss our experiences from within our particular institutional location, as teachers of a particular course, talking to a particular group of pre-service teacher candidates. Because this paper draws much of its inspiration due to the murky nature of verb, "to

globalize,” we will leave, for the moment, all references to “the global” undefined and untroubled. We ask our readers’ forbearance in this, as it is an issue we will return to later in the paper.

In order to write this section, we have drawn broadly from the tradition of narrative inquiry, particularly as conceptualized by Jean Clandinin and Michael Connelly (2000). As these authors note, “. . . experience is the stories people live. People live stories, and in the telling of these stories, reaffirm them, modify them, and create new ones. Stories lived and told educate the self and others . . .” (p. xxvi). Therefore, we bring before the readers the story we have lived together as co-teachers and co-creators of this course, drawing in particular upon the artifacts of our everyday professional life (course syllabi, assignments, and student work) so as to locate the meaning of our shared work. We tell what we tried to do, and in that telling, suggest what we think we might have accomplished—understanding, of course, that each one of our students would talk about the course in ways differently than we have.

Contextual Features of Our Work

In the fall of 2008, Michigan State University admitted its first cohort of students to its newly instituted, experimental teacher preparation track, the Global Educators Cohort Program (GECP).² These students enrolled in special global sections of the standard set of courses taken by pre-service candidates at the University. They were additionally required to have a global experience, which is generally understood to be some type of international study trip, as well as attend extra-curriculum sessions that seek to cultivate a global perspective. In all of their clinical work, up to and including their student teaching, candidates would be given global field placements.

Beginning with the second cohort of admitted students, pre-service candidates in the GECP were also required to take two additional, GECP-specific courses in their second year of university study. These courses are meant to be early-program capstone experiences. In the fall semester of 2010, we designed and taught the first iteration of one of the second-year capstone courses. The title of the course is *TE 352: Immigration, Language, and Culture*.

The course itself pre-existed the GECP, previously being offered to pre-service candidates wishing to focus on literacy instruction. While our own section of TE 352 was open only to candidates in the GECP, our first task was to imagine the ways in which a course with this title might be used to leverage issues in global education and program goals. That is, we had to “infuse” global education into a pre-existing slot within the university curriculum—a strategy that pre-shadows the primary approach we took when talking to the candidates about the prospects of enacting progressive global education in their own future schools and classrooms.

In the opening of the syllabus,³ we decided to address our students, teaching candidates, in this manner:

This course seeks to add to your knowledge of global education by both synthesizing and expanding upon your prior learning and beliefs. In this course, we will start with *children* and their needs. In particular, we will focus our discussion on the children of immigrants. As teachers, we interact with children via the creation of a *curriculum*. The context for this course is, therefore, *pedagogical*: we will ask how children and the curriculum can be brought together in order to create rich and varied learning experiences.

In so doing, we attempted to take an institutional space that had previously been devoted to “Minority language communities and cultures. Family literacy issues and values. Emergent and adolescent literacy development. Parenting and parental involvement. Home-school connection. Family literacy programs,” and reframe it into a specifically progressive context, whereby we follow Dewey’s famous dictum to see that “the child and the curriculum are simply two limits which define a single process” (1902/2001, p. 109).

The Intended and Enacted Curriculum

Like many university-based teacher education courses, we worked to model for the candidates our own vision of “good teaching”: learner-centered, activity-based teaching. Substantively, we chose research and writing that we hoped would focus the candidates on classic definitions of global education, the salient characteristics of (immigrant) children as learners, (second-)language learning, and the importance of travel and life-long learning for (global) educators.

Like pre-service teacher candidates in our larger teacher education program, GECF students are overwhelmingly white. The GECF admits students preparing to teach anywhere on the P-12 public school spectrum, as well as special education teachers. Yet the majority of the candidates are females who wish to gain an elementary teaching license. A majority of the candidates are from southeastern Michigan, most coming from suburban or exurban locations in the larger Detroit Metropolitan area.

Through research, conversation with candidates, and some good old-fashioned guesswork, we had some notion of what might attract candidates to a special teacher preparation program grounded in global education. For some candidates, it was an “easier” route by which to gain formal admittance to a program with relatively high entrance standards. For others, attraction to the program was based on the notion that an additional credential would set them apart in a relatively tight hiring market. But for a bulk of our candidates, we also knew that they were drawn to the cohort by their past experiences, and future desires, for international travel.⁴ This was the “raw material” from which we would work.

Our course is committed to working with this “raw material.” In our first offerings of the course, we showed the students Google Earth Tours, which we had created about our own lives—the places we have lived, learned and loved, and the experiences that have made us

who we are today.⁵ We then spent time teaching students to construct their own tours. The results of this project astounded us by the richness of the experiences present in the class. This richness ranged from candidates who have done faith-based social justice work in other parts of the globe, to candidates who were born while their parents were working overseas; from candidates who have taken Caribbean cruises, to candidates who have never left the state of Michigan. Whatever the scenario, we encouraged them to mine the locations of their lives for the experiences that have led them to an interest in global education.

Such early initial conversations had multiple purposes. Foremost, perhaps, is the effect it had on us as instructors. For in viewing the concreteness of a single life, and the emotions and desire invested in them, we were immediately pulled up short of typecasting our students. Second, we were able to introduce seminal readings about the nature of global education and to build upon their own life experiences as we sought to define what it is exactly that makes global education “global” (Chase, 1993; Pike & Selby, 1999). Finally, we were able to have candidates compare their experiences to those presented in a film we watched, *The Short Life of José Antonio Gutierrez* (Specogna, 2006), a film that is particularly good about raising the question of “who is a U.S. American,” and about troubling notions of unidirectional cultural assimilation.

Another example of a way we encouraged candidates to become more aware of their thoughts and definitions of global education was our next course assignment—a Global Educator’s Creed. Each candidate wrote, in their capacity as a global educator, to future parents or students in a letter or newsletter format, providing a statement that addresses their vision and practices as a global educator.⁶ As part of their statement, we asked them to imagine and explain what global education is, why globally educated people might be needed, and what that education could look like in their own concrete practice. This creed was then revised or re-written at the end of the course, to encourage a revisiting of their beliefs and goals as they developed as teaching candidates.

Having worked to locate our own salient life experiences, we then moved to research which would help the class start to understand better the salient life experiences of their future students, and, as noted above, most particularly immigrant children (Florez & Burt, 2001; Hatch, 2007; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Taylor, Bernhard, Garg, & Cummins, 2008; Valdés, 1998). Based upon these readings and our discussions, candidates were asked to create Immigrant Student Questionnaires.⁷ This task was meant to help students “think like a teacher,” and to see the importance of concrete knowledge of individual children as a basis from which to plan curricular experiences. The candidates each developed a 10-item questionnaire designed for future students. After each question, candidates provided a research-based rationale for each question, using both course materials and life experiences to support their argument. Then they wrote about how the information gathered would help them better respond to the needs of their own students.

We then returned to the notion of formal curricula, reviewing with students the distinction between a problems-based curriculum *integrated around* global issues versus a

disciplinary-based curriculum *infused with* global issues. For example, an interdisciplinary unit, based on the problem of *creating an equitable global water supply*, and which draws upon the various disciplines in its search for meaning and solutions, might be compared to a disciplinary-based unit that examines scientific knowledge as it relates to the water cycle, bringing in issues of the equity and quality of the water supply as an extension, where possible (Pike & Selby, 1999). Both approaches can be successful. The integrated approach of creating an interdisciplinary unit around the problem of equitable water supply, however, has the advantage of being more holistic in its approach to knowledge and action, and more directly addressing issues of global social justice.

In particular, we used these discussions to try and imagine what value global education might have in an era where school administrators are forced to be so cognizant of meeting standardized benchmarks and school-testing goals. Alongside the pragmatic advantages of infusion over integration, we also had our students read an article by David Ferrero (2006) on high-performing schools in Chicago that attempted to overcome the progressive/traditional debate by a careful mix of different types of learning experiences and community-building around shared values.

We closed the course by talking about travel opportunities and the meaning of teaching as community development work. To structure those discussions, we asked students to read about the life of Paul Farmer, as documented in Tracy Kidder's (2009) book, *Mountains Beyond Mountains*. In the candidates' final exam, they wrote about Farmer's work in global health, and they were asked to find connections between his life and the life they might hope to lead as a teacher.

Summary

In this section, we have shared what we attempted to do in our course, and some of the things that happened in the teaching of that course, particularly as it relates to getting to know our students. In this way, we have suggested what global education and progressive education looks like in our institutionally situated lives.

As noted, however, we have left the larger question of what "globalizing" education really means unaddressed. In order to start to do just that, we next turn to a discussion of the development of global education as a formal field of learning, teaching and research.

Global Education in Historical Context

Global education emerged as a reform movement in the 1960s in the United States. Seminal scholars whose work shaped the field were anchored at Indiana University, Ohio State University, Northwestern University, and the Center for Teaching International Relations in Boulder, Colorado, and included such stalwarts in the field as Lee Anderson, Chadwick Alger, James Becker, Robert E. Freeman, Steven Lamy, and Robert Hanvey. Later scholars, reflecting a more school-based approach and drawing upon transformations enacted

in the United Kingdom and Canada, included Graham Pike, David Selby, Barbara and Kenneth Tye, and Merry Merryfield. These scholars were all united by their insightful descriptions of the deepening of global interconnectedness, the rise of global systems, and the increased importance of non-state actors in these various processes, across the second half of the twentieth century.

The field itself is sometimes traced back to the November 1968 issue of the journal *Social Education*, an issue whose theme was “international education for the twenty-first century” (Gaudelli, 2003). Robert Hanvey’s seminal work, *An Attainable Global Perspective*, was published in 1975; soon after, in 1979, came Lee Anderson’s classic work, *Schooling and Citizenship in a Global Age*. Undergirding much of this scholarly work was an incredible amount of local and regional work with teachers around curriculum materials and reform.⁸

Generalizations are always somewhat insipid; in this case, they are unable to capture the richness and excitement of both the scholarly and practical work undertaken at the time. That said, we feel that a return to the history of the field is productive in situating our own current moment, and we therefore hazard a few observations based upon our own reading of the literature—now, at nearly 50 years removed. These include, first, the importance of the Cold War context for the rise of the global education literature, and second, the relatively brief moment of the field’s full flowering, before the onset of the currently dominant global discourse of market-based reforms as the best solution to the problem of radical inequity in outcomes as diverse as GDP, individual measures of happiness, and collective measures of health.

The Cold War Context for the Emergence of the Field

Even a relatively quick glance at the early global education literature shows that the centrality of Soviet-U.S. tensions for the development of the field. Indeed, the threat of nuclear holocaust was mentioned in nearly every piece we read, and in ways that powerfully remind us how fraught the 1960s were with the lived tension of the possibility of instant annihilation.⁹ That said, other themes are also clearly present in this body of work: liberation struggles in the formerly colonized areas of the world (Third-Worldism), technological revolution, and ecological crises (population growth, pesticide use, and even global climate change). The bipolar world is commented upon, but as only one important theme among many other pressing issues. Rather than its sole focus, then, the Cold War should be seen as an insistent background for the development of a U.S.-based, global education literature.

The early work in global education was primarily driven by political scientists with substantive expertise in international relations—scholars who had, it would seem, relatively little prior contact with schools and teachers. The U.S. federal government, in particular, funded some of the work through Part N of Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.¹⁰ Much of the early seminal work in global education was long on substance (both in terms of rationales for why global education is needed, and in terms of the key content that should be taught), and, in comparison, relatively short on the process

whereby curriculum materials developed by experts are best transformed into learning experiences for individual, flesh-and-blood teachers and children.¹¹

For those familiar with the history of curriculum studies in the United States, this story should sound familiar. A little less than two years after the 1957 Soviet launch of the Sputnik satellite, the Woods Hole Conference was put on by the National Science Foundation, the United States Office of Education, the U.S. Air Force, and the RAND Corporation (Bruner, 1960). The list of participants, came together to “examine the fundamental processes involved in imparting to young students a sense of the substance and methods of science” (Bruner, 1960, p. vii), excluded school- or university-based curriculum workers. Yet the point here is not that the work of the early global educators was somehow driven by a U.S. Cold War agenda, nor that their work was a “sell out” to a militaristic world view (far from it!); rather, it is to point out the particular social context in which they had to struggle for both academic credibility and the attention of school administrators and teachers.

The Field’s Full Flowering: The Work of Progressive Global Educators at the Conclusion of the Cold-War Era

While it is only one read of the field, in our opinion, global education reached its peak attainments when it started implicitly to re-integrate previous themes from the history of progressive education— both in the U.S., but even more so, internationally— into global education’s prior focus on world systems, global interdependence, and non-state global actors. This reintegration spoke most clearly to the themes of schools as embryonic, socially-just communities, where the growth of children and teachers is put front and center, and sought through conjoint academic study and service to local, national, and global communities.

Two monographs represent, in our opinion, the best of this work: Graham Pike and David Selby’s (1988) *Global Teacher, Global Learner*, and Barbara and Kenneth Tye’s (1992) *Global Education: A Study of School Change*. In combination, these two works spoke clearly to the potential role of the school in effecting both individual growth and positive social change.

Summing up this work, nearly a decade after it first appeared, Pike and Selby (1999) defined global education as the intersection between worldmindedness—“a commitment to the principles of ‘one world,’ in which the interests of individual nations must be viewed in light of the overall needs of the planet” (p. 11)—and child-centeredness—a “lineage that has drawn inspiration from some notable progressive educators in many countries, including John Dewey, Friedrich Froebel, Maria Montessori, A.S. Neill and Leo Tolstoy” (p. 11). Worldmindedness is the experiential acquisition of head and heart knowledge of the locally-grounded and globally-connected planet, while child-centeredness is the acknowledgement that the quest for personal meaning is the best means for constructive change on a world-wide scale. Inner and outer dimensions of individual learning and social change converge, in the quest for a vision of global development that is at once spiritual and economic, all the while

grounded in a commitment to the protection of the Earth itself.

While the impact of this work has not been as widely distributed as we would like, it remains important to educators across the globe. Indeed, as we have seen, we used the work of Pike and Selby in our own global education courses. We view it as the best hope we have for rediscovering the heart and soul of progressive education in our own age of standardization, credentialism, and high-stakes testing. It is therefore back to our own work, as described above, that we wish to return—to view it both in the light of these more recent progressive global educators, as well as through the long shadow cast by Dewey over anyone attempting to do progressive work in our current age.

Working through the Ambiguities of Global Education: A Critique of Our Own Work

We were very fortunate to be able to share our syllabus, and an earlier draft of this paper, with someone whose work has been an inspiration for our own: Graham Pike. His responses were generous, but critical, and moved us to reflect on a variety of issues. Two things that he said stood out. First, this:

I wonder if, in your course, you encourage critiques of economic globalization, or is this phenomenon, in its present dominant forms, just accepted by default? This is often a difficult area for global educators, but if we are to move towards a more equitable and sustainable economic system, I believe we have to help teachers and students begin to develop critiques and look at alternative models of globalization. (2011, personal correspondence)

That is, he questioned the degree to which we engaged in critical discourse around what he called “asymmetrical interconnectedness.”

A second of Pike’s critiques was in direct response to something we wrote in the syllabus. In a section of the syllabus entitled, “Where We Are Coming From,” we had written this:

As the world becomes more interconnected, the ability to work, play and live in different cultures becomes more important. Looked at in a certain manner, we are all “immigrants,” because people today are so mobile, and will all likely encounter unfamiliar cultures and beliefs.

Pike responded in this manner:

I like the idea that “we are all immigrants,” as this draws on historical movements as well as the contemporary necessity for mobility. However, I’m sure you are aware of the need to be sensitive to Native American communities when you make such a statement (unless you are taking a very long historical perspective!). (2011, personal correspondence)

That is, he again questioned the implicit moves we made in our syllabus to “level off” differences that cry out for analysis. In both critiques, Pike is surely right about the dangers inherent in what we were saying to teaching candidates. More to the point, Pike points to the inherent slipperiness in the whole enterprise of “global education,” which can be enacted in a variety of forms, from less to more justice-focused, from an implicit valorization of market-based reform models to a direct challenge of them.

John Dewey himself never addressed “globalizing” discourses, nor ever identified his project as implicating “the global;” yet he nonetheless clearly spoke in ways that resonate with much of what we have discussed in this paper (his critiques of the dangers inherent in educational projects that are institutionalized and that support unthinking acceptance of the status quo). In particular, we think it is important to recall that the early work of Dewey, during his time of greatest concentration on the issues of public schooling, is absolutely clear about the limitations of imagining that a single social institution could simultaneously realize and promote both individual growth and intelligent social change. Rather than an unequivocal victory for public reformers, Dewey saw in the rise of nineteenth-century, state-based public schooling as a danger (1916/1997)—a theme picked up by subsequent scholars, such as Pike and Selby.¹²

In his later work, Dewey re-asserted his faith in bottom-up democratic social relations, and his insistence upon the search for what he calls “the great community.” Here, he acknowledged that “the old Adam,” that is, “the unregenerate element in human nature,” whereby the interests of the few are elevated above the interests of the many, always remains a danger (1927/1954, p. 154). The solution, optimistically, is communication: more talk, more listening, and better attuned action—“the perfecting of the means and ways of communication of meanings so that genuinely shared interest in the consequences of interdependent activities may inform desire and effort and thereby direct action” (1927/1954, p. 155).

Our teaching candidates in the GECP generally loved reading Tracy Kidder’s book about the life and work of Paul Farmer, *Mountains Beyond Mountains*. And it is through this book that we believe a possible reconstruction of our own intentions as progressive teacher educators can be made, in dialogue with the difficulties of enacting a global education practice that is both cognizant of what teaching candidates bring with them to *our* classroom, and the radical inequities likely to be found in *their future* classrooms—classrooms that most surely will include students from around the globe.

As Dewey noted, “the old Adam” is always present with us as teachers and learners. Resisting blind ignorance, becoming aware of how our actions impact thousands (if not millions) of others around the globe, requires the ability to listen and learn—to hear, and come to see, how our actions shape opportunities for equitable living for others. A book like *Mountains Beyond Mountains* vividly brings the consequences of our actions and inactions in the United States to life. And it does so by indicting both structural forces and personal in/action. Its biographical narrative makes you think that you could be the next Paul Farmer,

while at the same time pointing out the insanity of his life, and the utter infeasibility of voluntaristic, individual solutions to the problem of global inequity.

As we ended our course, we asked our teaching candidates to choose a favorite quote from the book, and to reflect on how it helped them understand what global teaching, global learning, and global schooling might look like. There are several scenes and moments of the book that our students often return to, but one in particular seems to capture the complexities and contradictions of global education in a way that we feel Dewey would appreciate. Through it, we hope that our teaching candidates come to understand the importance of a global perspective, and the lived contradictions of the work of teaching— an acknowledgement of ugly human tragedies while still persisting in finding beauty, hope, and a shared sense of humanity:

I straggled out of another ravine and as usual found Farmer waiting for me. He stood at the edge of a cliff, gazing out. I walked over to him. The view from where he stood was immense. Scrimps of rain and clouds and swaths of sunlight swept across the yellow mountains in front of us and the yellow mountains beyond these mountains and over the Lac de Péligré. The scene, I realized, would have looked picturesque to me before today. So maybe I'd learned something. Not enough to suit Farmer, I suspect. Education wasn't what he wanted to perform on the world, me included. He was after transformation.

I offered him a slightly moist candy, a Life Saver from my pocket. He took it, and said, "Pineapple! Which, as you know, is my favorite," and then went back to gazing.

He was staring out at the impounded waters of the Artibonite [River]. They stretched off to the east and west and out of sight among the mountains. From here the amount of land the dam had drowned seemed vast. Still gazing, Farmer said, "To understand Russia, to understand Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Boston, identity politics, Sri Lanka, and Life Savers, you have to be on top of this hill."

The list was clearly jocular. So was his tone of voice. But I had the feeling he had said something important. I thought I got it, generally. The view of drowned farmland, the result of a dam that had made his patients some of the poorest of the poor, was a lens on the world. His lens. Look through it and you'd begin to see all the world's impoverished in their billions and the many linked causes of their misery. (Kidder, 2009, pp. 43 - 44)

Implications and Conclusions

What are the opportunities to reinvigorate progressive education? We think that the current trend toward "globalized" education is one of our best opportunities to promote embodied, learner-centered, socially conscious learning. In this paper, we explored the history and possible futures of global education and its relationship to issues important to progressive educators, as manifested in our own teaching. We feel that issues surrounding

global teacher preparation—for economic competition, for social and geographical mobility, for social justice, and/or for democratic social participation—might help us come to see some of the emerging opportunities for doing progressive education work. Yet we cannot do so without losing sight of the many dangers.

Ultimately, we do not suggest that progressive education and global education are the same, nor do we suggest they merge. What we propose to educators is that there are many similarities to be aware of, and that they should be emboldened to incorporate these progressive practices in their classrooms, as institutional spaces open up which might be appropriated—if only momentarily—for progressive ends. We hope that identifying the intersection between global education and progressive education opens up dialogue about progressive ideals to a much wider audience, thus providing a platform to broaden its influence even further.

As John Dewey concluded his book on the public and its problems—a book which seems as timely as ever, as we search out new opportunities to find transnational publics—Dewey asks us to consider the possibilities of *art*: as among the best ways to promote the types of conjoint social experiences that lead to the formation of intelligent publics. In one of the most poetic passages Dewey ever wrote, he claimed:

Common things, a flower, a gleam of moonlight, the song of a bird, not things rare and remote, are means with which the deeper levels of life are touched so that they spring up as desire and thought. This process is art . . . Artists have always been the real purveyors of news, for it is not the outward happening in itself which is new, but the kindling by it of emotion, perception and appreciation. (1927/1954, p. 184)

Viewed in this way, a politics that seeks to address global inequities is a politics that requires the cultivation of our deepest human sensitivities. This type of politics is “global” in scope and in its mode, because it calls upon the full range of human capacities, as we seek to connect out from the inner dimensions of our own personal journeys so as to support and sustain all living creatures on the planet. And, of course, the very planet itself. This, in our view, is a global education worth pursuing.

Endnotes:

¹ While our own work is determined by the current structural forces in play in higher education, global teacher education, as an idea and an ideal, is nothing new. For example, see the work of Anna S. Ochoa at Indiana University (Ochoa, 1986).

² See: <http://education.msu.edu/globalcohort/about>.

³ See: <http://te352.wikispaces.com/syllabus>.

⁴ On the importance of international travel as a formative experience for global educators, see Merryfield, 2000.

⁵ See: <http://te352.wikispaces.com/google+earth+directions>. For examples of our own tours, and two examples from our students, see: <http://te352.wikispaces.com/Mining+Progressive+Education>.

⁶ See: <http://te352.wikispaces.com/global+educators+creed>. For example of creeds from two of our students, see: <http://te352.wikispaces.com/Mining+Progressive+Education>.

⁷ See: <http://te352.wikispaces.com/Immigrant+Student+Questionnaire>.

⁸ See for example the reports by Becker (1982) and Freeman (1986).

⁹ As some examples: “the world seems well along to becoming a kind of tribal village . . . but the natives are armed with nuclear weapons instead of spears” (Becker, 1968, p. 637); “there is increasing recognition in cities and towns of their growing links to the world and the common fate they share-- both economically and as potential nuclear targets--with cities and towns in other countries” (Alger & Harf, 1986, p. 8); “the arts, it is believed, can not only contribute to the understanding and attitudes needed to stay an ever-threatening holocaust but can also contribute significantly to man’s quality of living in a world which, hopefully, will survive” (Goodlad, 1964/1997. p. 52); and Lee Anderson quoting Barbara Ward’s work on “spaceship earth” (itself, of course, suggestive of the Cold War context), which stresses that “above all, we are neighbors in the risk of total destruction” (Anderson, 1968, p. 642).

¹⁰ The history of this funding for k-12 schooling programs, which is referenced in several places (Becker, 1982, p. 1; Freeman, 1986, p. vi), is complicated. It appears that it originally was located in Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965, in section 603, known as the “Citizen Education Amendment,” before being reassigned to NESAs in 1980, before being dropped in 1981. The purpose of the funds was to help U.S. citizens to “make informed judgments with respect to the international policies and actions of the United States.”

¹¹ A strong caveat is the regional work with teachers, as referenced above. That said, questions could be raised about how much of that regional work involved “external experts” working with teachers--a model that has been strongly questioned in much of the more recent teacher learning and induction literature.

¹² Pike and Selby (1988) go so far as to call the institution of public schooling—correctly, in our opinion—a “human potential dustbin” (p. 38).

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The New DEEL (Democratic Ethical Educational Leadership) and the Work of Reclaiming a Progressive Alternative in Educational Administration from PreK-20

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Abstract

Facing repressive accountability regimes and high-stakes testing in the US and beyond, university and practitioner educators around the world decided to take action. Inspired by the democratic administration movement of the 1930's and 1940's and current scholarship in ethics, we started a movement called the New DEEL (Democratic Ethical Educational Leadership). Our mission is to create an action-oriented partnership, dedicated to inquiry into the nature and practice of democratic, ethical educational leadership through sustained processes of open dialogue, right to voice, community inclusion, and responsible participation toward the common good. New DEEL leaders include faculty, students, staff, parents, administrators and community members. Since our inception in 2004, we have grown to include colleagues from over thirty universities as well as numerous school districts in the U.S., Canada, U.K., Hong Kong, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan and Jamaica. Results from our work include scholarship, new graduate programs, 6 successful international conferences, and support for emerging Progressive leaders in the K-12 system and in higher education. Our article will illustrate the difference our international movement is making in the lives of students, families, practitioners, and university faculty as we strive to reclaim a Progressive alternative in our field of educational administration. We are presenting a descriptive account of our recent history along with an agenda for future development. We think our example will be useful in an era when Progressive Education is under direct attack in most of the world's developed economies.

Keywords: Democracy, Ethics, Social Responsibility, Social Justice

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The New DEEL community has provided me ... the opportunity to engage in some of the most important issues pertaining to schooling in both the US and abroad. The “movement” has helped to support, develop, and sustain ideas about the important ends of schooling and how we might better aspire to those ends with enlightened leadership. I continue to make connections between the activity of the New DEEL and likeminded organizations... and authors....,who eloquently discuss the ideals of democratic action. Professor William Frick

New DEEL enables me to crystallize my beliefs with like-minded scholarly practitioners to ensure that in by behavior, thoughts, and actions I model ethical leadership showing a strong sense of self. The notion of being an educational leader with integrity, someone whose values and actions are consistent, is an imperative for me. New DEEL helps me to assure that the ethical basis of my thinking is rooted in shared values both of the educational system and my own inner core. The New DEEL allows me to have a filter to test this in light of all of the competing values outside of education.

Professor Valery Storey

Introduction

Facing repressive accountability regimes and high stakes testing in the US and beyond, university and practitioner educators around the world decided to take action. Inspired by the democratic administration movement of the 1930's and 1940's and current scholarship in ethics, we started a movement called the New DEEL (Democratic Ethical Educational Leadership). Our mission is to create an action-oriented partnership, dedicated to inquiry into the nature and practice of democratic, ethical educational leadership through sustained processes of open dialogue, right to voice, community inclusion, and responsible participation toward the common good. New DEEL leaders include faculty, students, staff, parents, administrators and community members.

Since our inception in 2004, we have grown to include colleagues from over thirty universities as well as numerous school districts in the U.S., Canada, U.K., Hong Kong, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan and Jamaica. Results from our work include scholarship, new graduate programs, six successful international conferences, and support for emerging Progressive leaders in the K-12 system and in higher education.

Our article will illustrate the difference our international movement is making in the lives of students, families, practitioners, and university faculty as we strive to reclaim a Progressive alternative in our field of educational administration. We are presenting a descriptive account of our recent history along with an agenda for future development. We think our example will be useful in an era when Progressive Education is under direct attack in most of the world's developed economies.

Background

By the dawn of the 21st century, the field of educational administration in the US had turned away from the promise of the 1990's. The days of local innovation and what was

called *school restructuring* were largely gone. The new bywords of change were accountability and high stakes testing and the vehicle driving this movement was No Child Left Behind (NCLB). For the first time in American history, the federal government seemed bent on evaluating all public schools, based on a single indicator, known as Adequate Yearly Progress or AYP. Nor was this movement limited to North America. As far away as Australia, educators saw their freedom to make local decisions limited by ever more detailed plans created at departments or ministries of education. Few of these plans fit even the loosest definition of the hands-on experiential learning typified by Progressive education advocates.

Equally disturbing was the neo-liberal argument that if countries raised test scores and permitted market forces to dominate education policy, that income inequalities and high rates of poverty would somehow disappear. These policies were adopted by both Republican and Democratic administrations in the US and were touted as self-evident truths.

Given the punitive nature of NCLB and the power of the conservative think tanks and media supporting this attack, a hard shift to the right in education policy seemed in full swing. Progressive education appeared doomed and local democratic decision-making seemed out of favor. Yet, there was another narrative emerging from scholars in the field of educational administration calling for more Progressive, ethical and democratic forms of renewal for schools in the US and abroad (Aiken 2002; Begley, 1999; Begley & Zaretsky, 2004; Boyd 2000; Davis 2003; Gross 2004b; Reitzug & O'Hair, 2002, Sernak, 1998; Shapiro & Purpel, 2004; Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2005; Starratt, 2004; Young, Petersen, & Short 2002).

These writers were part of a long tradition linking social justice, democracy, with education. Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr made the same connection at Hull House (Addams 2002) as did Hilda Worthington Smith at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry (Smith, 1929). At the height of the Great Depression, FDR initiated the Civilian Conservation Corps for unemployed men, also based on much the same logic, while Eleanor Roosevelt made a valiant effort to offer the same kind of program for women (Cook 1999, Gross 2004a).

Today's scholars also drew inspiration from the democratic administration movement of the 1930's and 1940's in the US. The parallel between the two eras seemed apt; the US faced harsh economic times in the Depression. At the turn of the 21st century, the technology bubble had burst and our economic future dimmed. The US faced a threat to its democracy from Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Imperial Japan then, and faced an era of terror, war, and challenges to civil liberties in the post-9/11 world today. Therefore, it was instructive to recall our reaction in school leadership programs in the 1930's and 1940's was to emphasize democratic power sharing among administrators, teachers and parents. ¹

Also central to the thinking of this new group of scholars was the philosophy of John Dewey. In *The School and Society* (1900) Dewey railed against education that sought to mold children like so much raw material.

I may have exaggerated somewhat in order to make plain the typical points of the old education: its passivity of attitude, its mechanical massing of children, its uniformity of curriculum and method. It may be summed up by stating that the center of gravity is outside the child. It is in the teacher, the textbook, anywhere and everywhere you please except in the immediate instincts and activities of the child himself. (p. 34)

In *Democracy and Education* (1916) Dewey called on educators to re-think the connection between schools and the larger world:

But as civilization advances the gap between the capacities of the young and the concerns of the adults widens. Learning by direct sharing in the pursuits of grown-ups becomes increasingly difficult except in the case of the less advanced occupations. Much of what adults do is so remote in space and in meaning that playful imitation is less and less adequate to reproduce its spirit. Ability to share effectively in adult activities thus depends upon prior training given with this end in view. Intentional agencies-schools-and explicit material-studies- are devised. (pp.7-8)

The previous year, John and Evelyn Dewey depicted exemplars of what this kind of schooling would look like in their book, *Schools of Tomorrow* (1915). Everywhere in that text are scenes of children learning about the world through hands-on activities including model building, operating small stores, and acting. The connection between experiential learning and preparation for democratic citizenship is clear and intentional. Just as clear is Dewey's contention that the life of children, as children, matters rather than the concept of childhood as merely a preparation for adulthood (Kliebard 1987).

So while the external policy world of the early 21st century seemed dominated by an accountability movement reminiscent of the Essentialist ideals of William Bagley (1938) combined with market forces privatization inspired by Milton Friedman (1962), a counter perspective was emerging. Instead of training educational administrators to manage schools that marched to the beat of accountability and top-down management, a small but growing group began to work in an opposite direction. Raising the next generation of young people capable of running a democratic society was their first priority. A key to achieving this was to immerse future educational leaders in ethical decision-making. (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2001, 2005, 2011, Starratt, 2004).

In *God has a Dream* (2005), Archbishop Desmond Tutu's description of *ubuntu*, illustrates the potential of democratic-ethical educational leadership:

According to *ubuntu*, it is not a great good to be successful through being aggressively competitive and succeeding at the expense of others. In the end, our purpose is social and communal harmony and well-being. *Ubuntu* does not say, 'I think, therefore I am.' It says rather, 'I am human because I belong. I participate. I share.' Harmony, friendliness, community are great goods. Social harmony is for us the *summum bonum* – the greatest good. Anything that subverts, that undermines this

sought-after good is to be avoided like the plague. Anger, resentment, lust for revenge, even success through aggressive competitiveness, are corrosive of this good (p. 27).

In 2004, two Temple University faculty members, Steven Jay Gross and Joan Polinar Shapir decided to take action and moved to organize other like-minded educational administration academics and field administrators. They agreed on the name New DEEL, standing for Democratic Ethical Educational Leadership, and challenged themselves with the daunting job of changing the direction of educational administration in the US and abroad.

Early Development

Almost immediately, Gross and Shapiro shared their vision for a new movement in educational administration with faculty and department leaders from The Pennsylvania State University, the University of Vermont, Rowan University, the University of Oklahoma, the University Council of Educational Administration and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro as well as US and Canadian practitioner leaders. The group agreed that democratic citizenship and ethical leadership were the top priorities for our educational system in any era, and especially in the new century where violence, economic dislocation, and environmental degradation were daily news events. To develop the New DEEL, two winter strategy sessions were held at Temple University, the first in 2005 and the second in 2006. These resulted in refining the concept of the New DEEL, its implications for educational administration programs and the following mission statement that united the group:

The New DEEL's mission statement focuses on these values:

The mission of the New DEEL is to create an action-oriented partnership, dedicated to inquiry into the nature and practice of democratic, ethical educational leadership through sustained processes of open dialogue, right to voice, community inclusion, and responsible participation toward the common good. We strive to create an environment to facilitate democratic ethical decision-making in educational theory and practice which acts in the best interest of all students (Gross & Shapiro 2005).

Gross (2009) described the emerging values of the group in this way:

New DEEL members believe that the first job of the school is to help young people become effective citizens in a democracy. Learning how to earn a living is crucial but it is a close second, in their opinion. Democratic citizenship in any era is a complex task but it seems especially difficult in our era where international conflict and growing economic and social inequality are the rule. New DEEL members consider the either/or choice among school improvement, democracy and social justice critiqued above to be a false dilemma. They believe instead, that there is no democracy without social justice, no social justice without democracy, and that these

mutually inclusive concepts are indispensable ingredients to school improvement worthy of the name.

Just as important, the group's concept of educational leadership applied to teachers, students, parents, and community members just as much as the person sitting at the principal's desk. Moreover, to respond to the challenges of our era, educational leaders needed to move beyond their buildings and their school system's structure to make alliances with community leaders in areas such as health care and commerce.

All of this was inspiring but soon people asked just what was a New DEEL leader going to look like and what difference was there between this person and the typical educational administrator. The Mission Statement set a general direction aimed at reclaiming a more Progressive, socially just, and responsive school system, but now specifics were required. In response, the New DEEL vision for educational leadership was developed (Table-1)

Table 1: *Comparison of New DEEL Vision for Leaders with the Behavior of Traditional Leaders* (Gross, 2009)

New DEEL Vision for Leaders	Behavior of Traditional School Leaders
<i>Transformational</i>	<i>Transactional</i>
1. Guided by inner sense of Responsibility to students, families, the community and social development on a world scale.	Driven by an exterior pressure of accountability to those above in the organizational/political hierarchy.
2. Leads from an expansive community-building perspective. A democratic actor who understands when and how to <i>shield</i> the school from turbulence and when and how to <i>use</i> turbulence to facilitate change.	Bound by the system and the physical building. A small part of a monolithic, more corporate structure.
3. Integrates the concepts of democracy, social justice and school reform through scholarship, dialogue and action.	Separates democracy and social justice from guiding vision and accepts school improvement (a subset of school reform) as the dominant perspective.
4. Operates from a deep understanding of ethical decision making in the context of a dynamic, inclusive, democratic vision.	Operates largely from perspective of the ethic of justice wherein obedience to authority and current regulations is largely unquestioned despite one's own misgivings.
5. Sees one's career as a calling and has a well developed sense of mission toward democratic social improvement that cuts across political, national, class, gender, racial, ethnic, and religious boundaries.	Sees one' career in terms of specific job titles with an aim to move to ever greater positions of perceived power within the current system's structure.

This table contrasts the five transformational qualities of New DEEL leadership with the corresponding transactional qualities of more traditional leaders. In each of the five areas, the New DEEL leader is someone who sets off in a different, more challenging, and hopefully more rewarding direction. Item 1 contrasts the contractual demands of the accountability system with the deeper demands of following one's inner sense of responsibility for students, their families and the wider community. New DEEL leaders cannot focus solely on gaining better scores on standardized tests. Nor can they believe that making AYP is a route to a more just society.

In section 2 leaders are encouraged to act in democratic ways to help develop young people. This means understanding how turbulence works (Gross 1998, 2004. Shapiro and Gross 2008, 2013) and finding ways to protect those they work with from its excesses. In contrast, the traditional leader is a small part of a hierarchy that places constant demands and expects compliance. Members of the New DEEL feel strongly that the former models democracy while the latter exhibits authoritarian behaviors that undermine the school's attempt to educate for democratic life.

Item 3 speaks to the need for a coherent vision that connects rather than atomizes the values of democracy, social justice and school reform while encouraging dialogue and high quality scholarship.

A major element of New DEEL scholarship comes in item 4, namely the work of learning and practicing ethical decision making from a multi-dimensional paradigm. New DEEL leaders understand that the ethic of justice, encompassing laws, rights, rules and even guidelines, is important because it tells us what statutes and laws have to say on a given matter. But there are other ethics to consider in making important decisions. For example, there is also the ethic of critique that asks: Who made the law? In whose best interest? The ethic of care does not take notice of the law at all. Instead it asks: Who may benefit or be hurt by my decision? What are the likely long-term effects upon different people? Finally, the ethic of the profession takes into account professional ethics from different appropriate organizations as well as one's own code of ethics, both personal and professional. Above all, it asks: What is in the best interests of the student? Stopping with the ethic of justice will not suffice (Shapiro and Stefkovich 2011, Starratt 1994).

Finally, item 5 deepens the discussion of being an educator from merely holding a job to a life long calling. Members of the New DEEL believe that this is essential because only that kind of commitment will energize leaders sufficiently to transform our current system. Equally, seeing education as a *calling* honors the energy and sacrifice that these individuals have made.

The group developed a strong conceptual base and it quickly grew from a handful of academics, mostly in the US, to include educational administration faculty from over 30 universities and practitioner colleagues from Canada, Australia, Taiwan, Sweden, the UK, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Jamaica, as well as the US. Now a plan to turn the Progressive,

democratic ideals of the mission statement and vision for leaders into action was required. Using Furman's (2004) concept of the ethic of the community, the New DEEL was headed for the creation of an alternative way of envisioning and educating school leadership that centered on nurturing a new kind of community. Neither compliant behavior nor shallow heroics that might damage a person's career, were deemed acceptable. Instead, development in four interconnected areas was proposed and will be described in the following section of this article.

Coordinated Approaches to Realize our Progressive, Democratic and Ethical Vision for Educational Administration

Organizing our ideas into a coherent form and daring to say that we aimed to change the direction of our field was a start, but then came the task of developing a feasible strategy. Dedicating ourselves to this long-term process challenged each of us to live up to the five elements of the New DEEL vision for educational leaders, described in Table 1. Above all, item 5 had a profound effect. The concept of a *calling* and not a mere *job* resonated with all of us. We pondered just what it meant to change a field's direction and how would this be accomplished in a way that built a Progressive community from P-20.¹

First, we believed that a new body of scholarship needed to be developed, while existing appropriate scholarship needed to be collected and shared. Second, we needed to bring people together with our own conferences to exchange ideas and perspectives and to enrich everyone's networks. This was both collegial and strategic. We realized that the development of community, with common values, was essential in an era of high stakes testing and accountability to make certain that Progressives did not feel isolated and vulnerable. Since 2007, we have seen our scholarship and conference initiatives grow. More recently, we decided that there was a need to add two additional projects: enhanced technology and a mentoring program for P-20 educators. Below we will examine our experience in each of these:

Building a Foundation for Transformational Change: Promoting New DEEL scholarship

If a Progressive movement in educational administration was to be constructed, its foundation needed to rest on a body of scholarship, new research, and the continuing evolution of questions and debates that are the hallmark of any rich field of inquiry. This meant developing new writing and helping our community access existing articles and books. Since the whole question of taking an ethical stand against the accountability movement's excesses was central to our mission, some of our own work in the field of resolving ethical dilemmas became important to share.

Two books, in particular, are notable in this area both for their content and in the way graduate student practitioners were made central to their development. The first is *Ethical Leadership and Decision Making in Education: Applying Theoretical Perspectives to Complex Dilemmas* (Shapiro and Stefkovich 2001, 2005, 2011). In this book, Shapiro and

Stefkovich expanded upon earlier work of scholars such as Starratt (2004) to develop a Multiple Ethical Paradigm of the ethics of justice (Sergiovanni 1992, 2009), critique (Giroux 1988), care (Gilligan 1982, Noddings, 2002) and the profession. Their addition of the ethic of the profession asks educators to consider what is in the best interests of the student as they ponder ethical dilemmas. This question looms large for everyone in the New DEEL as we ask: Are high stakes tests and a lock step, narrowed curriculum really in the best interests of the student? Just as importantly, we ask: Is our social inequality at all compatible with our country's democratic ideals?

Shapiro and Stefkovich provided a theoretical background and then shared ethical problems, developed by their students, thereby making the dilemmas authentic. Using the Multiple Ethical Paradigm, students then explored questions surrounding their dilemma showing its complexity and ways in which thoughtful solutions might be developed. Again, this process fit our New DEEL approach since it placed heavy responsibility upon individual educators to think through challenging problems rather than simply be willing to accept the dictates of an authority figure. In our view, democratic life demands this kind of skillful reasoning from citizens. This is also an example of our use of Progressive education's hands-on approach to learning and connecting school-based learning with conditions in the world beyond the halls of the academy. Shapiro and Stefkovich followed through in community building by creating graduate student panels at national and international conferences where they not only presented successfully but also made important connections to other P-20 educators facing similar dilemmas.

In a second book, *Ethical Educational Leadership in Turbulent Times: (Re)solving Moral Dilemmas*, Shapiro and Gross (2008, 2013) connect the Multiple Ethical Paradigms with Turbulence Theory. Turbulence Theory (Gross 1998, 2004b) helps students of organization consider the severity of a given dilemma, how that dilemma might be seen by different people, its chances to cascade into a larger problem, and how to gauge the relative stability of an organization facing turbulence. According to this theory, turbulence can be experienced at four levels (light, moderate, severe, and extreme), similar to the experience of airplane pilots. In addition, the forces of positionality, cascading, and stability act upon turbulence individually and in combination in ways that either raise or lower turbulence. Finally, a turbulence gauge can be constructed that allows students to consider current and possible future levels of turbulence as they weigh their response to the ethical dilemmas they confront. The combination of the two approaches now gives students a powerful way to face and reason through the problems facing conscientious educators in this era. The pattern of using student-authored dilemmas was followed in this book as well as was the habit of bringing practitioners to conferences to present.

While these two books are relevant to the New DEEL and are widely used by our group, they are only a small part of the scholarship supporting us. One can now find a growing number of books, book chapters, case studies, dissertations, and journal articles. Almost all of the authors are part of the New DEEL in one capacity or another. Some of the work was specifically written about the New DEEL, such as Storey's *New DEEL: An Ethical Framework for Addressing Common Issues in Florida Schools* (2011). Others, such as

Normore's *Leadership for Social Justice: Promoting Equity and Excellence Through Inquiry and Reflective Practice* (2008), included numerous contributions by scholars attempting to confront the core issues of social justice and social responsibility in the context of our current educational policy environment.

Many authors are American but others consider the issue of democratic life and its implications for school from an international perspective. Woods' (2011) *Transforming Education Policy: Shaping a Democratic Future* is one such example from the UK. Several writers are senior academics but the list is more than balanced by young scholars at or recently past the tenure stage of their careers. In many instances, they have been successful in finding co-authors among their New DEEL colleagues. Similar to making a point of bringing graduate students to conferences, this collegiality has become an integral part of building a strong, mutually supporting Progressive community. Publishing together grows our scholarship while it helps the authors establish some career stability. This is an example of what we mean by daring to change our field while not asking people to risk their positions.

If developing and enriching the literature on democratic and ethical educational leadership is a first step, sharing that scholarship is a logical next part of the sequence. Rounding out our commitment to develop and share a body of scholarship is the creation of new courses for masters and doctoral students in educational administration. Since our programs attract future leaders in elementary, secondary, and tertiary institutions, new courses offer us an excellent chance to build on our concept of a P-20 continuum of democratic ethical educational leadership in the making.

One course, developed just for the New DEEL by Gross, is called *Profiles of Democratic Ethical Leadership*. Using a wide cross-section of women and men from the US and around the world, both in our own time and from time past, students consider the common qualities these leaders demonstrate as they faced their greatest personal and professional challenge. Some come directly from the field of education, such as Ella Flagg Young. Others are identified with different professions, for example, Desmond Tutu and Soong Ching-ling. All have had a major impact on society and have, therefore, shaped education. Students consider the work of these leaders and construct a vibrant and organic definition of democratic ethical leadership that will inform our professional practice. Jerome Brunner's Concept Attainment Model (1966) is used to help in the creation of this definition². His inductive, engaging approach is instrumental in helping students see the complexity of being a democratic ethical leader in any era.

Profiles of Democratic Ethical Leadership is one example of new coursework, but it is not an isolated case. At Temple University, the whole range of principal preparation courses was reworked and now has adopted a consistent New DEEL perspective. Similar work has taken place at other universities affiliated with the New DEEL.

Developing a Progressive, Democratic Ethical Educational Community through Conferences, Technology, and Mentoring

At our second winter strategy session, held in 2006, we were at a crossroads. Interest was increasing and pressure was building for us to take the next step and develop a conference of our own. The goal was to bring New DEEL scholars and practitioners together to exchange ideas, debate approaches and build a sense of common purpose and direction. In February, 2007, we held the first of these conferences with the title *What Do We Mean by Democratic and Ethical Leadership in an Era of Contention?* As the title suggests, the conference helped us to sharpen our common understanding of crucial ideas while it also helped us to broaden our audience. The following year presidential politics was heating up and we decided that the theme needed to reflect the aspirations and concerns of many in the US and around the world. *Fear versus Possibility* captured that spirit.

By the spring of 2009, much of the advanced economies in the world faced the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. We focused on the challenges and potential opportunities of the times by entitling our conference *Reconstructing Our World: Developing Democratic Ethical Communities in Turbulent Times*. Yet, by the following year, policy pressures from those emphasizing market forces as the ultimate priority in education caused us to refocus our attention in a conference called *Our Children: Economic Warriors or Democratic Ethical Citizens?*

In 2011 we reflected our commitment to social justice and social responsibility by recalling Franklin Roosevelt's appeal to the nation to build upon the first Bill of Rights. *Really Leaving No Child Behind: It's More than Time for FDR's Second Bill of Rights* crystallized this possibility and caused many attendees to broaden their perspective by including Roosevelt's advocacy of Progressive legislation (Sunstein 2004). At this conference, we came to the conclusion that our society faced a crossroads. On the one hand, there was a vision that a laissez-faire, market-based economy would ipso facto result in an equitable society. On the other hand was Roosevelt's contention that democracy required assurances of stability, outlined in his Second Bill of Rights, and that this foundation would create a fair society and inspire generations who would value education.

Our conferences are designed to be intimate yet large enough to spur dialogue and debate. Typically this means between thirty to forty papers presented by scholars, graduates students or practitioners coming from many universities and school districts. A list of institutions represented at our conferences is included in the appendix to this article and includes a wide range of US universities as well as those from Australia, Canada, Sweden, Taiwan, and the UK. Our 6th conference was held in May 2013.

New DEEL keynote lectures honoring the ideals of scholarship and practice, women's leadership, excellence in teaching, and citizen service to education are a highlight of every conference. Over the years, these have focused on topics meant to challenge and inspire our group. For example, Arizona State University's David Berliner's lecture, *How the Lack of*

Caring for America's Children Impacts the Performance of Our Nation's Schools and Damages our Democracy, underscored our foundational connection between education policy and Progressive social policy. Temple University's James Earl Davis highlighted a similar concern, this time regarding racial inequalities in his address, *Leadership among "The Least of These": African American Males and the Challenge of Schools*. University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) Executive Director Michelle D. Young reminded us of the weighty decisions that groups like our need to consider in *The Politics and Ethics of Professional Responsibility*.

One of the most important things we do in the New DEEL is to nurture an intergenerational community of scholars. So we started to hold graduate student workshops at the conclusion of our conferences connecting established academics with the rising generation. At these sessions, senior scholars meet one-on-one with graduate students to help mentor them as they pursue early research projects. Often, these relationships carry on and deepen as graduate students launch their own careers as K-12 practitioners or higher education faculty.

In July 2010, we added a new kind of conference by holding the first Camp New DEEL in Vermont. Camp New DEEL was designed to build community, share our writing, enjoy a common reading, develop a vision for the schools and universities we would like to see, and plan for the future of the New DEEL around the world. By establishing this community, we followed a long tradition of summer institutes to built by cultural and politically focused communities in the United States.³

Creating Camp New DEEL was also inspired by the scholarship of Charles Tilly's writing on social movements (2004) in which he claims that successful social movements demonstrate worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment or W.U.N.C. Tilly also describes the conditions needed for social movements to promote democracy.

In short, social movements promote democratization when-either as explicit programs or as by-products of their actions- they broaden the range of participants in public politics, equalize the weight of participants in public politics, erect barriers to the direct translation of categorical inequalities into public politics, and/or integrate previously segmented trust networks into public politics (p.143).

Along with our conferences and camps, we have made numerous presentations at the American Educational Research Association's (AERA) annual meetings and have created an important niche for ourselves in our learned society, The University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA). In fact, UCEA, through its Executive Director and members of its Executive Committee, have been crucial New DEEL colleagues giving key direction to us since our beginning. UCEA has a wide audience in the US and abroad and a growing number of UCEA members are affiliated with the New DEEL. We see our work at these conferences as community building as well, and we typically host a special New DEEL dinner for friends and families to socialize and share experiences.

International Reach

The New DEEL orientation has been international from the outset and that perspective became formalized in 2010 when we joined with like-minded centers at Nipissing University, Canada, Australian Catholic University, Umea University, Sweden, Penn State, and the Hong Kong Institute of Education to become the Center for the Study of Leadership and Ethics (CSLE). As one of UCEA's official centers, CSLE unites scholars and practitioners in the field of educational administration by holding annual conferences, and by publishing and sponsoring research opportunities. With colleagues in five countries around the world, we are better able to compare conditions and challenges and establish partnerships.

Research trips by Gross to Australia and Sweden have uncovered similar patterns of a narrowed, teacher-centered curriculum, heavy emphasis on high stakes testing, and the advance of market forces and privatization. In presentations before hundreds of administrators in both countries, the New DEEL mission and priorities for action have been well received. As one principal from a school near Stockholm recently put it, "I am a Progressive educator, but there is pressure to move away from those ideals." It is clear to us that the need for international ties and support is growing.

Acknowledging the Difference We Have Made To Date:

We continually ask ourselves what difference have we made to date and how would we know it. Clearly, the policy world has not been turned around; in fact, the case can be made that things have gotten worse for Progressive educators in the years since we started our work. Yet, it would be wrong, in our opinion, to conclude that we have not made a contribution to the creation of an alternative vision for education in an age dominated by neo-liberal market forces and high stakes accountability policies.

First, we have brought together hundreds of scholars and practitioners representing three generations of Progressive educators through our conferences. Their shared stories, scholarship, and passion have helped to create an alternative community with its own history and values.

Next, we have helped to nurture numerous young scholars from their doctoral work into their first academic jobs and through to tenure and promotion. While many of these people are at our own university, many more come from across the US and abroad. They represent the next generation of educational leadership and administration professors who, in turn, will teach practitioners and future higher education faculty. Since we believe that our work will require a multi-generation approach, this is a critical role for us to play. We provide publishing opportunities, presentations at national and international conferences, and chances to network with like-minded academics and practitioners.

Finally, we have identified and honored key individuals in the areas of citizen service to education, scholarship that impacts practice, women's leadership in education, mentoring,

and graduate teaching that is inspired by Progressive education principles. Each of these is reflected in a lecture and award at our conferences. In this way, we believe that we have helped to sustain key Progressive education traditions for our students and colleagues in the US and abroad.

Preparing for the Work Ahead:

The coming academic year (2013-2014) will mark the end of our first decade making this a good time to consider the challenges and directions that we see ahead. At times, it feels as though we are in mid ocean; far away from either shore and facing heavy seas. Still, our community is growing and we have plotted a reasonable, though long course. While the general conditions that inspired us still pertain, new challenges have emerged.

The first of these is the coming of the Common Core State Standards, now adopted by nearly every state. This is a historic change from previous experiences in American curriculum history since the Common Core marks the first attempt at what amounts to a nationalized curriculum (Mathis 2010). While some consider the Common Core a mere outline of advisable directions for the nation's public schools, the multiplicity of suggested instructional material and the coming of two national tests to measure acquisition of Common Core skills makes this a robust project, and to our way of thinking, a dangerous one.

By organizing the broad outlines of the curriculum at the national level, local experiments, often associated with the very hands-on experiential learning associated with Progressive education, will likely be viewed with suspicion since they do not directly connect to the larger pattern of top-down mandates. In addition, such a sweeping change in curriculum control threatens to accelerate the pattern of curriculum narrowing witnessed in the implementation of NCLB (Ravitch 2010). What role can community related projects possibly play when a nationalized test will determine success or failure for the individual student as well as for her teacher and school? Preparing for such a limited future evaluation seems to us the antithesis of Dewey's contention that learning matters for the child as she or he is now.

The fact that much of the impetus and funding for the Common Core came from the Gates Foundation, and is being pushed directly from Bill Gates himself, speaks to the role of what is now referred to as Venture Philanthropists (Saltman 2010). The power of the Venture Philanthropists represents the second new challenge. Foundations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, The Walton Family Foundation, and the Broad Foundation now appear at the center of this movement which is dedicated to market-based and high stakes accountability reforms that challenge, not only Progressive education, but the public schools themselves since these groups favor charter schools, both privately and publicly managed. Those of us in higher education are not immune from the reach of these foundations since privatization in such fields as leadership preparation has long been a staple of the Broad Superintendent's Academy. Reading the literature coming from the Venture Philanthropists, it is clear that their goals for education are more narrowly confined to career preparation rather than raising the next generation capable of sustaining a democratic society (Baltodano,

2012).

Finally, those supporting Progressive education must act in a world where threats to physical security, economic dislocation, radical technological transformation, and environmental crisis are taken as part of daily life. Each of these conditions could easily ratchet up tensions for our students, their families, and their communities. Taken together, they raise the potential for serious ethical dilemmas that today's and tomorrow's educators must learn how to resolve. That is why we made these issues the centerpiece of our 6th New DEEL conference.

At this point perhaps the best we can offer are thoughtful questions: In a dangerous world, how do educators contribute to a sense of realistic security for our society's children? In a world filled with tensions and adversarial relationships, how do we help our young expand the sense of "we" to include "the other"? How shall we advocate for our most needy school children and their families in a time of budget cutting? What kind of economic security do we envision for our youth and how might we advocate for that vision? How do we encourage technologies that do not exploit fellow educators (the on-line challenge)? What can we do to help our young use technology rather than being used by technology (including cyber bullying, hyper-consumerism, hurried lives)? How can we raise awareness of the environmental price we ask the world to pay for our lifestyles in a fair and constructive way? What vision do we want to share with our children for the world they are to inherit from us? What kind of models do we want to be for saving the environment from abuse? How will we infuse the curriculum with these ideas? Questions such as these make the need for ethical decision-making more important than ever for tomorrow's educational leaders.

Over the next decade, we will have to find new and more effective ways to respond to all of the challenges raised above, as well as unforeseen ones just over the horizon. In addition to accelerating our work in scholarship and continuing our international community building efforts we will need to invent new approaches.

One possibility is to further develop our New DEEL curriculum work for aspiring P-20 educational leaders. While our own program has adopted a New DEEL perspective into course work, this is not sufficiently the case in universities where we have colleagues. We have networked within the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), our learned society, from our earliest days and it seems likely that this will increase over time as we push for more influence over the direction of our field.

Allied with our curriculum plans is the development of P-20 mentor/protégé cohorts. As described earlier in this article, mentoring has long been a goal for the New DEEL since we believe that our work cannot be done well in isolation. At this point we have an intergenerational team working with scholars who specialize in mentoring research. Each team member is currently in a mentoring relationship with a colleague and the team will comprise the first cohort. From there, they will design a methodical plan to expand the mentoring program for New DEEL colleagues in the US and abroad. The team will submit a

proposal to present its work and related research at the 2014 American Educational Research Association (AERA) annual conference.

A third aspect of our work is to break out of the current silos we find ourselves in and engage in consistent dialogue with the wider community. Simply put, there are severe limits on what we can achieve if we only work within our own circle of academic and practitioner colleagues in our own programs and schools. Like our plans for the mentoring program, we have started this project first with our own practice.

During his sabbatical year, one of us (Steve Gross) attended state board of education meetings regularly and presented policy papers relevant to board agenda items in his home state of Vermont. He also testified at the state senate, spoke out at county legislative breakfast meetings, and joined a community planning team for local school reform. Joan Shapiro served as Temple University Faculty Senate President in the 2012-2013 academic year. Her term included the arrival of a new university president and the appointment of a new provost along with a new budgeting model that held serious implications for every program across all campuses. Joan emphasized shared governance and other New DEEL values into her work with university leaders, faculty, and board members. In both cases, being a consistent presence over time broke down previous barriers and helped to build new alliances. We need to find ways for all of our New DEEL colleagues to break out of their usual confines and start dialogues like these. In our view, not doing so merely concedes the field to those who oppose Progressive education and its values.

Fourth, we need to build bridges to like-minded organizations in the US and around the world. Our own network is expanding but not fast enough and we know that we are only one small piece of the robust response needed in the coming decade. We have made a start by finding such organizations as the National Education Policy Center (NEPC) at the University of Colorado. Their reviews, publications, and blogs have become an invaluable source for research-based facts on such issues as the efficacy of charter schools or the negative implications for democracy resulting in NCLB. As we speak out more publicly, we will need to transcend our necessarily focused areas of expertise and organizations such as NEPC can help us broaden our perspective. But we also need to forge reciprocal alliances and find where our work fits that of others. These are early days for that effort but time is short and the threat to democratic public education is more real than ever, in our view.

Together these four elements represent our effort to imagine a new level of engagement that combines a greater intensity in teaching our New DEEL approach to rising educational leaders with the support and strategies that will help them to succeed both internally and beyond the confines of their workplace. It is our best strategy so far in helping them become exemplars of the New DEEL vision for leadership in our turbulent era.

Conclusion

Since the founding of our field nearly a century ago, there has been a tension. Cubberly (1916) urged educational administrators to behave like the business leaders of that era.

Echoes of that argument have cascaded down to our own time and have picked up momentum in the past thirty years. Yet, there is a different and equally established tradition for educational leaders, namely emerging from the ideals of Ella Flagg Young and John Dewey, who emphasized Progressive education and democratic school leadership.

The accountability movement did not achieve its dominant position over night, but rather evolved over the decades since the Nation at Risk report (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983). Those of us who desire a very different direction for our field and the children we serve need to have an equally long-range perspective. In the eight years since our beginning, we have made a small but successful start. We believe that the New DEEL represents one pathway towards the development of a Progressive, democratic, educational community that can nurture the rising generation of scholars and practitioners of educational administration.

Perhaps the words on Dewey's tombstone best describe our need to remember our place in the long line of like-minded educators and our duty to the future:

The things in civilization we most prize are not of ourselves. They exist by grace of the doings and sufferings of the continuous human community in which we are a link. Ours is the responsibility of conserving, transmitting, rectifying and expanding the heritage of values we have received that those who come after us may receive it more solid and secure, more widely accessible and more generously shared than we have received it. (From: A Common Faith. John Dewey UVM Class of 1879)

Endnotes:

¹ We were inspired by the Democratic Administration movement in our field, yet we had to acknowledge that the field of Educational Administration had a strong conservative tradition often modeled on corporate hierarchies. The foundational work of Cubberly (1916) and the critique of this pattern by Counts (1927) are two prime examples. So we realized that the New DEEL was going to have to swim against strong anti-Progressive currents.

² Our version of Brunner's Concept Attainment Model involved the examination of examples of a given concept, in this case democratic ethical leadership. We would then write down the example's attributes. Then a second example was then provided. Attributes from the first example that are found in the second example were kept, those that not in evidence were eliminated. We also asked about qualities found in the second example that may have also been in the first as a double check. This process was repeated until we have looked carefully at all of the characters in the course. From this, our grounded definition of democratic ethical leadership emerged.

³ These included: the Chautaugua Institution founded in 1874 (Morrison, 1974); The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers founded in 1921 (Heller 1984, 1986); The Bread Loaf Writers' Conference established in 1926 (Bain & Duffy 1993, Morrison 1976); and the Highlander Research and Education Center that began its work in 1932 (Adams & Horton 1975, Horton, Kohl, & Kohl 1990).

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Structures of Participation in the “University of Local Knowledge”

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Abstract

“Structures of Participation” concerns a recent media arts project, the University of Local Knowledge (ULK). ULK is simultaneously a critique of established academic institutions and disciplines and a system for self-organized learning among the residents of Knowle West, an area of south Bristol (UK). Beginning in 2009, the Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC) in Bristol facilitated this digital and face-to-face collaboration, aiming to uncover and celebrate local skills, talents and wisdom. While phase one of ULK focuses on making tacit knowledge explicit in videos, phase two is particularly concerned with how the content areas of the videos are organized or restructured by those who shared their experiences and ideas. This article examines ways in which ULK creates structures to invite Knowle West residents to participate in knowledge-sharing and self-organized learning.

Keywords: Knowle West, local knowledge, community knowledge, self-organized learning, video art

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Structures of Participation in the “University of Local Knowledge”

“We live there, we should know.”¹
Health Project of Hartcliffe *Report*, 1990

“Structures of Participation” is a story about an early-twenty-first-century media arts project, the University of Local Knowledge (ULK). ULK is simultaneously a critique of established academic institutions and disciplines and a system for self-organized learning among the residents of Knowle West, an area of south Bristol (UK). Beginning in 2009, the Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC) in Bristol facilitated this ambitious digital and face-to-face collaboration. The organizers of ULK aim “to explore hierarchies of knowledge through uncovering and celebrating the skills, talents and wisdom that exist locally” (Hall, 2011, p. 183). Over the past four years, they have been asking: How does local knowledge connect to what happens in the rest of Bristol? Who are other brokers of knowledge and who decides what has intellectual rigor? The interaction of many of the content areas, within ULK and among other organizations, increases credibility for local knowledge. While phase one of ULK focuses on making tacit knowledge explicit in videos, phase two is particularly concerned with how content areas are organized by those who shared their skills, talents and ideas. This article examines ways in which ULK creates structures to invite Knowle West residents to participate in knowledge-sharing and self-organized learning.

Knowle West, the Media Centre, and ULK

Knowle West is a geographical area of 22,000 people within Bristol’s city limits. Predominantly consisting of social housing, this post-war estate is high in the government’s indices of deprivation. The ward of Filwood—which includes Knowle West—officially ranks among the worst wards in England for poverty, unemployment, smoking, fear of crime, mental and physical health, educational under-achievement and low levels of skills and training (Bristol City Council, 2010, ff.). As a result of these official statistics, Knowle West has been the recipient of substantial resources, but the community has not necessarily received what it wants from these interventions. It has been “done to.”

KWMC is a non-profit organization that for nearly twenty years has been located in the outskirts of Bristol, one of Britain’s key academic and cultural centers. (Figure 1) KWMC works with the residents to develop and support cultural, social and economic regeneration. Carolyn Hassan, director of KWMC, and Penny Evans, assistant director, are both artists with backgrounds in photography, filmmaking, social work, and organizing. Central to the organization’s vision is the direct engagement and empowerment of the community at every level. In practice, this means supporting people’s activism in education, employment, and local decision-making. The KWMC has a particular focus on digital media; it is committed to the exploration of excellent and innovative socially-engaged arts practice in a very local context, yet with international reach and influence. Artists, technologists, and academics work with the center to develop new ideas and ensure sustainable, locally-owned solutions, strategies, and interventions that will enable people to recognize their assets and thrive.

In conversations with the community during the winter of 2009, KWMC staff explored ways to share and give value to some of the knowledge, skills, and expertise that reside in Knowle West. While ULK emerged out of the media center's ongoing work on the estate, it represented an ambitious increase of engagement with people. ULK provided a structure to make a whole range of experiences accessible. Now ongoing, the two-part ULK is intended to have a large-scale impact in Knowle West through a breadth of engagement with the 5,500 households and a depth of relationship with individuals. ULK began by gathering community assets in the form of 1,000 videos from estate residents, but it is much more than a video art project. In addition to collection and organization of video conversations through a website (<http://ulk.org.uk/>), ULK also includes locally-based seminars, screenings, and related public events.

ULK was conceived and produced by the KWMC, residents of Knowle West, the U.S.-based artist Suzanne Lacy, and project partners, Arnolfini (a contemporary arts center and gallery), University of Bristol, Bristol City Council (through Art and the Public Realm), and the BBC. In order to create ownership of ULK by the whole community, KWMC chose not to "brand" the project as a media center initiative. Rather, the center acted as a facilitator of community involvement. Still, the trust that the KWMC had established in previous efforts and the ways in which the media center team was embedded in the community were crucial to the launch of ULK; many residents participated because KWMC was involved, whether or not they initially understood the "what" and "why" of the specific activity.

The Knowle West estate is a long, expensive bus ride from the center of Bristol; the clusters of houses are encircled by open space that provides a buffer from central Bristol below, yet also increases the distance from some urban amenities. (Figure 2) Knowle West is a resilient community, however, with very strong sense of community and close family networks. Many use the undeveloped land to graze horses, harvest produce, catch rabbits, and race pigeons. (Figure 3) Knowle West-born "trip hop" musician Tricky (born in 1968 as Adrian Nicholas Matthews Thaws) released "Knowle West Boy" in 2008; his single, "Council Estate," includes the lines, "We do the council flat and we do some jail/We don't like school, in a week we go once." Countering those lines, however, are words from "Knowledge is Power" that the rappers, Mos Deep and Lady K, wrote and performed at the ULK launch event in June 2010: "This is a Knowle West thing/Listen to what I sing/Out of our minds the knowledge spills/We got the talent, we got the skills" (Hall, 2011, p. 186).

The artist collaborating on ULK with KWMC, Suzanne Lacy, has been a leader in feminist culture and politics since the 1970s. In 2009, Lacy began a doctoral program at Gray's School of Art at Robert Gordon University in Aberdeen, Scotland, and continues involvement there as a visiting professor. During her initial time in Aberdeen, she met the director of the Arnolfini, Bristol's contemporary art center, Tom Trevor. When Lacy then visited Bristol, Trevor showed her around and introduced her to the KWMC. Lacy was interested in the collaborative practice of Penny Evans and Carolyn Hassan at the media center and Evans and Hassan were interested in Lacy as a feminist and artist-mentor. At this early stage, however, there was no funding for a joint project.

Lacy has used what she calls “performance structures” to provide access for various participants into her long-term, complex art works. When Lacy and the media center staff discussed ideas for a “performance structure” in Knowle West, video was a medium with which Lacy, Evans and Hassan were very familiar. The media center regularly involves its constituencies with video and audio production, large-scale projects involving multiple organizations, and digital inclusion activities that span the arts and social issues. It is not surprising, then, that these artists were drawn to each other. Other approaches for engagement with Knowle West residents included local conversations—called seminars--witnessed by interested onlookers. Lacy also suggested that some of these conversations occur among cars parked in formation, and others over group meals to amplify their impact. (Figure 4)

Evans, ULK’s creative director, is 17 years younger than Lacy. In the eighties, she was an active feminist in London protesting against Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s anti-union policies prior to and during the National Union of Mineworkers pit strike in 1984-85; visiting Greenham Common and marching with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament against the Polaris missiles being put into place in the UK; and developing political theatre at The Cockpit, a cultural hub that is part of the City of Westminster College. The “soundtrack” for Penny’s activism was ska, reggae, and punk music. Punk culture, with its strong do-it-yourself (DIY) spirit and the production of alternative spaces and platforms, also informs ULK. Hassan has an education in photography, film and media, and also in social work. She is particularly interested in a collaborative practice that demonstrates the role of the arts in grass roots activism through the sustained development of an organization that maintains close links with the surrounding community. Lacy’s experiences with long-term, large-scale projects, deep engagement with communities, and with negotiating complex partnerships, resonated with both Evans and Hassan.

While visual imagery is important to the media center and to Lacy, ULK’s aesthetics emerge out of relationships among people. As Mark Smith noted in *Local Education* (2000), “Learning [and, we would add, art] is not so much what individuals ‘do’ in their heads as what happens when people participate in certain forms of interaction” (p. 81). Rephrased in the words of Steve Belgium, the KWMC caretaker, who has lived on the estate for most of his life: “I’ve always been taught by my father that you learn a bit of everything and you get on better in life. And it’s worked. Like I say, I don’t read.... A lot of my knowledge is either through your doing stuff, or being taught by going out and doing it with other people” (S. Belgium, Irish interview, June 29, 2010).

ULK: Definitions and Purposes

The title “University of Local Knowledge” begs for some examination. Guy Berger and Pierre Duquet (1982) noted in their report for the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation: “Communities have problems, universities have departments” (p. 127). Just as knowledge loses depth or interest by dividing ideas and concepts into “departments,” so too community “problems” often remain inadequately addressed when they are categorized apart

from people interconnected in time and place. Ira Harkavy and John Puckett (1994) stress that the “unintegrated structures” of universities “work against understanding and helping to solve highly complex human and societal problems” (p. 308).

The “University” in ULK is used somewhat ironically because its framework is decidedly informal and voluntary. Barry Walsh, one of the contributors to a ULK video on community youth work, noted, “you can't spell knowledge without having ‘Knowle’ in it...” (ULK, 2011). By enabling ULK participants to share a broad range of information and skills not only through short videos, but also through public screenings of the videos, conversations, and meals, ULK activities contribute to a pool of knowledge that is animated by real people who learn in a variety of ways. This ever-shifting flow of information can be organized and re-organized to connect apparently disparate ideas, or to support an innovative combination of skills to meet a need. Knowle West resident Lesley Belgium created a drawing in 2009 showing interrelated ideas about rabbiting, connecting many disciplines in her scheme. (Figure 5)

How does the University of Local Knowledge relate to progressive education, the focus of this journal? There are some obvious connections in ULK’s emergence out of community-centered networks and generational family exchanges of knowledge, and the conversations and reciprocal relationships that characterize progressive educational approaches. Central to ULK is a vision that makes the boundaries permeable between the media center, the council estate residents and other institutions in Bristol. Similarly, progressive educators have long supported the infusion of lived experience into curricula, and curricula that engage with situated issues.

Making the expertise, wisdom and cultures of Knowle West residents visible and explicit, and linking it to other knowledge within and outside of the estate, validates previously-tacit knowledge. Connecting local knowledge to other sources of information may generate new investigations and audiences. Sandra Manson, the KWMC Youth Media Coordinator, queried in August 2012 at a workshop: “It’s not a new idea, but how often does it happen? We are not speaking for people; we are not giving them a voice. They *have* a voice. We are just providing the platform, the outlet, for that. I think ULK has provided this for so many people to speak about [what] their knowledge is, and that’s really important. It makes people feel that they have a skill, that they are valued and have something to share. It makes them feel special.”

Fraser Ford, a resident of south Bristol who has participated in a number of media center activities, commented: “ULK’s all about sharing knowledge, so if you are an artist, it goes in that direction.... It’s all things, to be honest. If people know it, then they share it, then they learn it. It expands and expands. Like a big library of things” (F. Ford, Irish interview, June 29, 2010). On another level, ULK is more than a “library of things,” more than bits of digitized knowledge from individuals. ULK is a city-wide effort to connect educational and cultural institutions in Bristol to each other as well as to social enterprises. Iris Eiting, CEO of the charity Re:Work in Knowle West (<http://www.reworkltd.org.uk>), said of the ULK

collaborations: “We are inventing ‘umbrella aims’: we can publicize the aim, that isn’t an organization,...and therefore you do not need to worry about the different missions and different agendas of the organizations. All they have to do is agree with that aim.” (I. Eiting, Irish interview, June 27, 2010). Thus, the “university” of local knowledge might also be viewed as the “umbrella” of local knowledge, with many South Bristol residents gathering to value each others’ life experiences.

According to a city report, “South Bristol is particularly affected by [Education, Skills and Training] deprivation. Four [areas, including two in Filwood] are in the most deprived 100 nationally” (Bristol City Council, 2010, p. 39). There is no high school in Knowle West, for example. Identified as educationally deprived by government agencies, then, Evans and her team ask: how might residents be convinced to share their knowledge, view their experiences as valid ways of knowing, and expand their learning networks? It is crucial that ULK be accessible and not scare away participants, as happens with the other universities in Bristol.

Bristol has two formal institutions of higher education, the University of Bristol (UoB) and the University of the West of England (UWE). In the last decade, access to public institutions of higher education in the U.K. has shifted as admission of students from private schools has risen along with the cost of fees. Tuition fees were first introduced in the UK in 1998; now for new full-time students they cost up to £9,000 (“Education and Learning,” 2012; Mulholland, 2010). While fee waivers are available for low-income students, they are not offered to those attending part-time. In short, the local universities in Bristol are culturally and financially at a great distance from south Bristol residents like those in Knowle West and quite a contrast to the “University” of Local Knowledge. Even if the universities were free, however, residents of Knowle West view the university as a very intimidating place; they don’t feel clever enough to apply there. Further, the universities and private schools are sited in north Bristol, so they also are geographically far from the estate in the south.

Methods of Inquiry: Gathering the Videos

Evans observed in Knowle West that really valuable knowledge and expertise often was not acknowledged or valued if it came from life and circumstance, and was stored in the body and not in textbooks. Rather than lose that knowledge and dismiss people’s life experiences, Evans and her colleagues—based on long acquaintance with the community—initiated ULK. Filming sessions set up as conversations elicited participants’ knowledge. (If residents had been given flip cameras, for example, or approached the filming as interviews, Evans believes that many of the residents would not have shared, recognized, or identified their knowledge.) Given Evans’s familiarity with Knowle West, she and the ULK team identified people who could “perform” these conversations in the context of a video “platform.” These “performers” have been an integral part of the process.

As creative director, Evans has been intimately involved in ULK from its inception, collaborating since 2009 with Knowle West community members, media center staff,

institutions in Bristol, international artists, and government entities. She was involved in every aspect of the conception, administration, implementation and production of ULK from the start, but she particularly directed and edited video, shot and edited photographs, and raised funds tirelessly.²

The KWMC adopted various strategies to create the ambitious collection of ULK videos; the center organized discussions around themes, for example. Initiating new relationships, talking about the concepts of ULK, and inviting people to discuss what they might like to share with the rest of their community created momentum and a sense of ownership around the project. The subsequent video conversations were filmed in local venues--private homes, garages, dance halls, football pitches, and gardens--as well as specific filming days at the KWMC.

To expand the visibility of ULK, bring in more participants, and gain feedback from contributors, the center distributed specially-designed postcards to write down knowledge and then deposit in ULK "mail" boxes; flyers, newsletters and social media reinforced word-of-mouth, which is the most common way of sharing information in Knowle West. A communal "Lunch on the Green" in front of the community center helped launch ULK by announcing the project to the estate residents and providing a locally-sourced sit-down meal for about 250 people in attendance, along with entertainment and opportunities to create and view videos. (Figure 6) During the "Lunch on the Green," three video crews were on hand to record the local knowledge of the attendees. Six public screenings of the videos then occurred in different parts of the estate.

Four "seminars" were held in Knowle West, facilitated by KWMC and the University of Bristol. The seminars entailed discussion-based conversations among estate residents and those from elsewhere in Bristol who shared similar interests, on subjects ranging from equine welfare to education and exclusion (or school suspension, as it is called in some countries). Individual experts in Knowle West who were willing to share their knowledge and/or interpretation of a subject in a public exchange were paired with academics who had an interest in discussing the same subjects. The seminars aimed to integrate different communities on equal footing around topics of common interest. All of these approaches--communal meals, seminars, video screenings, postcards--are structures of participation intended to expand the network of people involved in ULK and, by extension, the knowledge gathered and generated.

Working with Evans's comprehensive knowledge of the videos created to date, we identified vignettes that illuminated the community's ideas about education and its attendant conditions. Further, audio interviews conducted by Irish supplemented the videos. For example, Irish spoke with Davina Froom, a former youth worker with the Knowle West Media Centre. When asked how she explained ULK to people, she said:

It's really hard [to explain]. ULK is about getting knowledge from everybody else about something that they know that other people wouldn't know.... I try and break it

down into simpler terms, especially when I am working with young people because they find it really hard to understand big words, just like I did when I was younger. You don't talk to them with huge words, like "university" because they find that scary anyway, it's like growing up (D. Froom, Irish interview, June 29, 2010).

Fraser Ford, who managed the "cinema" where some videos were screened during the June 2010 launch of ULK, remarked: "University means a big building with a bunch of suit people standing around telling you what to do and you just nod and you go 'yeah'..." (F. Ford, Irish interview, June 29, 2010). Both Ford and Froom are in their early twenties. Clearly "university" to them and/or those with whom they work has off-putting connotations, including of presumptuous people (suit people) giving unwelcome instructions.

Irish visited Bristol when Lacy and the media center were preparing to launch ULK. As of this writing, Irish has interviewed about twenty people (some more than once) during two visits to Bristol, in June 2010 and June 2011, and participated in the ULK inaugural event, Lunch on the Green, in 2010. She also witnessed three of the four seminars in 2011.³ Irish also used the Local Studies Collection of the Bristol Central Library.

Local Knowledge in Knowle West

Few people on the estate aspire to obtaining a university degree in part because there are few role models, and because there are no high schools on the estate. A long-time resident of the estate, Denise Britt, noted:

It's just one primary school now, that's all that's there.... We haven't got secondary school in Knowle West at all. And our children now got to go to about half a dozen, probably it could be more, secondary schools, across the estate. And out of those they can only get a bus, a direct bus, to two. Secondary schools amalgamated.... The educational side of it sort of said, they didn't want the schools and they started to run them down gradually over a period of time....

When our children started going to different schools, there was lots of trouble ... because [of the attitude toward] children from Knowle West: "I don't want my kids mixing with them." It went not only from the parents and the teachers, it went down to the kids; there was lots of bullying. It also has a knock-on for the after-school clubs because the schools are so far away. They all got to travel across major roads to be able to get to those schools, there's lots of traffic. Children can't stay behind and do the after-school clubs because of transport, and buses.... So our kids were hanging about on the streets with nothing to do. It's not fair. It's our kids that suffer in the long run (ULK, 2011).

The "knock-on" effects, or consequences, of what Britt described—the bullying, the social isolation, and the limits to participating in after-school activities—include a compounding and pervasive lack of confidence in themselves on the part of Knowle West residents. Resident and university graduate Emily Smith noted in a ULK video:

I went to University with people who actually weren't that clever, to be honest...but they absolutely brimmed with confidence.... In Filwood [Knowle West] and in a lot of the places in south Bristol that we are talking about, people's role models are maybe cleaners. Their parents or their grandparents cleaning, or manual labor. They don't aspire to anything higher. I also know how that feels because when I got my degree (I got a very reasonable degree), I remember leaving and was looking in the *Evening Post* for a job and I was looking in the cleaning section. Seriously! ...You don't feel that you should succeed at anything other than something quite low. I think the most important thing that our schools can instill in our children in Knowle West—I have children now--is the confidence in their own abilities and that actually they can achieve anything they want if they set their minds to it. For so long we have been put down.... (ULK, 2011)

“Local is a relational category: for something to be local, something else has to be distant,” according to author Mark Smith (2000, p. 9.) Clearly a university education is distant for most south Bristol residents, financially out of reach and, for some, perceived as “scary.” What else defines “local” in the context of ULK? We’ve noted how two “local” universities—the University of Bristol and the University of the West of England—likely seem far removed from most young people in south Bristol. Smith further examined how “local” knowledge is *situated* knowledge. He asked: “[T]o what extent is all knowledge ‘local’? Ideas and images are not things that we simply retrieve from our memories, but have to be created at the time of use” (Smith, 2000, p. 17). Gail Bevan from Knowle West stressed the importance of knowledge and place at a 2012 workshop, *Exploring Change and the Future of Bristol: New Ideals, Visions and Concepts*: “ULK gives people confidence. It’s been done where the person feels confident and nobody’s had to go out of their way. It’s all been done around them; that makes them feel more comfortable as well.”

Knowledge is literally located in place, time, and relationships. It emerges or is validated when the sharer hears him/herself telling a camera or another person something that they know from experience or observation. When knowledge is exchanged between generations, time becomes a factor as well. Because context is so critical for meaning, ULK provides a variety of structures for participants to join, assemble, organize, and adapt knowledge in “their” university. A grandparent caring for her grandchild she officially adopted, for example, reflects on her experiences in a video interview. Watching the video of herself reflecting, she has the opportunity to hear herself, at a slight remove, via the digital account. This act of self-revelation is a means of knowledge creation through media. In a “seminar” setting, when the grandmother joins others in a discussion about larger issues related to carers, she not only listens to herself, but others witness her stories, and she witnesses theirs. The experiences connect across individual lives and expand people’s knowledge networks, in addition to affirming people’s experiential knowledge.

The expertise of KWMC staffer Steve Belgium demonstrates how knowledge is based in relationships—often across generations--and in place. By preference, habit and

necessity, his Romany family has been foraging, raising, and hunting food for several generations. (Figure 7) While plucking a pheasant in front of the video camera he said:

Dad always hunted. [Pheasant hunting's] not always legal to be honest, but that's the way it was around here.... My oldest daughter plucked her first pheasant when she was eight. So did my middle daughter. And my son done it same age. They ain't got no fear now.... They're used to it basically.... These big, big shoots, what shoot over 1500 birds, they don't take nearly half the birds back, which I find a waste of money, waste of time. What's the point of going to shoot just for sport? I've always done it for food.... If you eat any animal, you should be prepared to kill it, in my book (ULK, 2011).

Belgium passed on his father's and his own knowledge about hunting to his children, all of whom have lived in and around south Bristol. Belgium's knowledge is local and shared inter-generationally. In *Local Education*, Smith (2000) noted that learning lies "not so much in the individual mind as in interactions between people in communities" (p. 38).

ULK allows participants to link oppressive and embodied challenges such as school exclusions (called suspensions in the US) and unemployment, for example, to generative performances such as composing poetry and raising rabbits for food, among hundreds of other topics showcased in the videos. Because there are multiple "structures of participation" in the social and artistic framework of ULK--multiple ways of making tacit knowledge explicit--various people can connect ideas at their own pace, in their particular situation. As Raphael Samuel (1994) noted, "[H]istory is not the prerogative of the historian.... It is, rather, a social form of knowledge; the work of a thousand different hands" (p. 8).

Part Two of ULK: The Website and Beyond

Emily Smith, who went to the University of Bristol in the 1990s, recounted her post-graduation experience. "The prejudice around people from, say, Knowle West or Filwood going to university is [big].... [T]hat prejudice is still there. It is really strong when you get outside of the estate" (ULK, 2011). Another estate resident, Sandra Manson, the KWMC Youth Media Coordinator, who grew up in Knowle West and continues to live and work there, described what is called "post code discrimination." In June 2010, Manson observed: "People assume that if you're from this area, you're rough, you're unemployed, you're claiming benefits, you're not a nice person, you don't know how to hold a conversation, you're uneducated, the list goes on and on." (S. Manson, Irish interview, June 29, 2010)

ULK's video archive resists the stereotypes of Knowle West residents as uneducated, or rough. While that is all well and good, the positive aims of ULK now are to include more estate residents in this "university" and validate their knowledge. Further, by using a web-based interface, the ULK project can extend beyond south Bristol and contribute to knowledge in locales outside the estate. The ULK website is crucially more than a digital representation of discrete individuals; it is a site of knowledge exchange and restructuring of

that knowledge through juxtaposition and creation. ULK is shifting even as it is being created and expanded. Evaluator Roz Hall (2011) noted: “The success of the project is about reaching beyond gatekeepers and people who regularly engage in such opportunities, to work with people who are not usually involved. This involves expanding networks beyond those that already exist and finding ways of reaching people who aren’t part of existing networks but who might be interested in contributing” (p. 185). Paul Coyne, the Community Spaces Coordinator in Knowle West, described one group of people whom ULK especially wants to reach: “There are some people around here who don’t give themselves enough credit to actually have a voice” (P. Coyne, Irish interview, June 29, 2010).

The second phase of ULK, now underway, combines embodied and digital experiences. For example, the “seminar” on grandparent carers has met again to draft a research agenda using case studies. The “seminar” on equine welfare met at the University of Bristol’s School of Veterinary Practices to continue their collaboration. A “freshers’ fayre,” mirroring an undergraduate orientation, was held in Knowle West to showcase and launch the website and publicize local groups and businesses, such as clubs and exercise programs. (Figure 8) The website is being piloted throughout this “academic year” by providing ULK “pop-ups” for the residents to explore the site and organize their own “playlists” of videos, building their own structures for learning and sharing. (Figure 9) Members of the “student body” are working with fellows (members of the ULK steering group) to restructure and upload new knowledge. There have been over eighteen thousand views of the videos! Those who participate in making and sharing their playlists are ULK lecturers; when new material can be uploaded, those doing so may join a faculty. There will be further recognition via graduation ceremonies. In contrast to the costly institutions of higher education in Bristol, ULK is an accessible university, with distributed knowledge-sharing and no fees.

As community audiences increasingly become content providers as well content users (prosumers), the lines blur between doing and viewing, teaching and learning. The video archive of ULK will be publicly accessible and, to an extent still being determined, editable. The video screening events held to date allowed contributors to “view their own films and see how they had initially been categorized within the University of Local Knowledge...” (Hall, 2011, p. 187). Sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) noted that “many personal problems cannot be solved merely as troubles, but must be understood in terms of public issues—and in terms of the problems of history making” (p. 226). Thus the archive becomes a means to validate people’s collective experiences.

Living as Form was a 2011 exhibition (and now book) organized by Nato Thompson, chief curator of Creative Time. Thompson (2012) claims that the projects he selected “indicate a new social order—ways of life that emphasize participation, challenge power, and span disciplines ranging from urban planning and community work to theater and the visual arts” (p. 19). Thompson included artist Lacy’s earlier work in the exhibit, and his words provide a usefully broad context for ULK:

In a world of vast cultural production, the arts have become an instructive space to

gain valuable skill sets in the techniques of performativity, representation, aesthetics, and the creation of affect.... If politics have become performative, so too, has knowledge—in other words, you have to share what you know. Researchers and scientists [and educators] who feel a sense of political urgency to disseminate their findings might use the skill sets of symbolic manipulation and performativity in order to get their message out (pp. 22, 24).

ULK has introduced structures for Knowle West residents to perform and share their knowledge in videos, represent their experiences and feelings within an arts framework, and connect what they know to larger issues in their own locale as well as Bristol as a whole. As the website link is disseminated in the next year, the online organization, expansion, and restructuring of community knowledge will instantiate the shifting networks of learning that provide lifelong challenges and upliftment.

Endnotes:

¹ Quoted by A. Ravetz, 2001, *Council Housing and Culture: The History of a Social Experiment*, p. 226.

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³ Evans has signed release forms for all the video participants. Irish received Institutional Review Board approval from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign to conduct interviews with ULK participants over a three-year period. (IRB #10738) Irish conducted interviews in Bristol with Michelle Baughan, Steve Belgium, Jane Bradley, *Karron* Chaplin, Rachel Clarke, Paul Coyne, Martha Crean, Iris Eiting, Penny Evans, Fraser Ford, Davina Froom, Roz Hall, Carolyn Hassan, Ken Jones, Suzanne Lacy, Sandra Manson, Tom Trevor, and Misty Tunks. (No one requested anonymity; oral consent was obtained.)

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Appendix



Figure 1. Knowle West Media Centre, Bristol, UK. The straw bale building has a computer lab, auditorium/gallery, sound studio, and office space for rent, among other amenities. Photo courtesy of Knowle West Media Centre.



Figure 2. Aerial view of Knowle West showing the triangular open space in front of the community center, where the ULK Lunch on Green was launched in June 2010. Shops and flats face the green on the other sides. Photo courtesy of Knowle West Media Centre.



Figure 3. Knowle West, Bristol, viewed from the surrounding green space. Photo courtesy of Knowle West Media Centre.



Figure 4. Knowle West resident Ted Cockerall sharing his knowledge about classic cars with Penny Evans. Louie Blystad Collins is on the camera. Photo courtesy of Knowle West Media Centre.

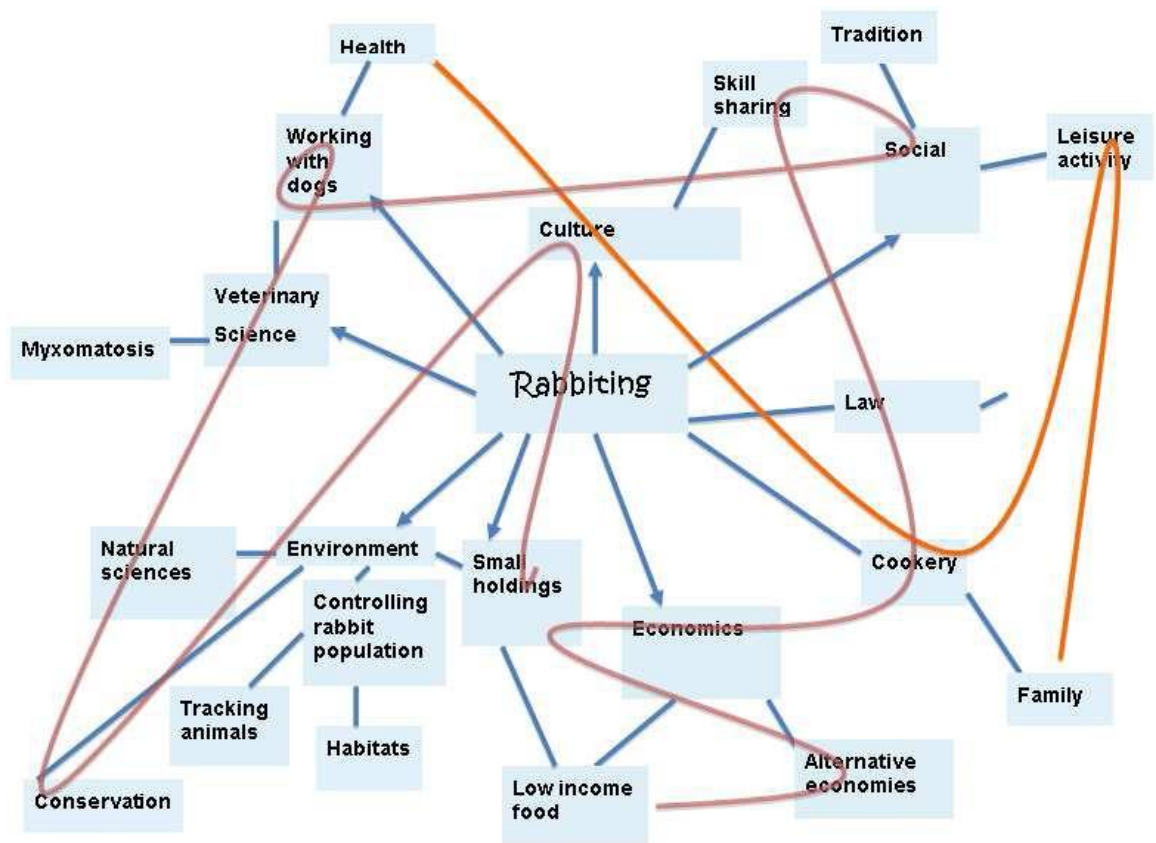


Figure 5. Diagram of Rabbiting Knowledge, based on a 2009 drawing by Lesley Belgium. Courtesy of University of Bristol.



Figure 6. ULK's Lunch on the Green at Filwood in Knowle West, Bristol, on June 26, 2010. Michelle Baughan, videographer from San Francisco, helps record local knowledge. Another video crew works behind her. A sit-down meal was just one of the activities of the afternoon, which also included live entertainment, children's events, and screening and creating of video vignettes. Photo courtesy Knowle West Media Centre.



Figure 7. Steve Belgium plucking a pheasant. Photo courtesy of Knowle West Media Centre.



Figure 8. Freshers Fayre, showing balloon artist and literature table at the Knowle West Media Centre. Photo courtesy of Knowle West Media Centre.

THATS NOT BAD
IS IT?
GOOD FOR HER AGE...



YVONNE WATCHES THE FILM ON BELLY DANCING



Figure 9. Sketch of a “pop-up,” when residents gather around a computer to watch the ULK videos, 2013, Joff Winterhart, artist. Courtesy of Knowle West Media Centre.

Banzhuren and Classrooming: Democracy in the Chinese Classroom

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Abstract

The issue of education and democracy has become more and more important in China. This paper firstly explains the theory of democracy in Chinese classrooms, and then focuses on the Chinese banzhuren who is responsible for classrooming, an important educational area equal to instruction. We illustrate how Chinese students achieve development through classrooming, and show the activities, relationships and self-awareness from the perspective of developing the individual and community democratically. Finally, this paper discusses a new direction of democracy in Chinese classrooms in the global context, with the view of making education and society better.

Keywords: banzhuren, classrooming, democracy, education, progressive education

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Introduction

During the last three decades of significant and rapid changes in China, the issue of education and democracy has become more and more important in education research, practice and policy. With the relationship to the Progressive Education movement that began in the early decades of the 20th century, especially through John Dewey's 1919 visit (Wang, 2007), and an understanding of Dewey's *Democracy and Education* and other classic works, Chinese theorists and educators are now conducting rich practice and research on democracy in schools.

The classroom community is becoming a laboratory for democracy in today's China. This new kind of education is referred to as "classrooming" and mainly conducted by *banzhuren*, a very particular teacher in Chinese schools.

While visiting Chinese schools, one American principal wrote:

We talked at dinner about the state of Confucian traditions in current Chinese pedagogy, about commonalities between Dewey and Confucius, and about the importance of a role in Chinese schools that has no equal in the US. This person is a kind of general advisor, perhaps a classroom teacher for part of the day but more importantly a constant presence outside the classroom for the 40, 50, or 60 students in a typical Chinese classroom group. The revered figure in this role loops with the same group for several years in many cases, knowing each student and helping the whole group wherever and whenever they need, on and well beyond the campus. Our hosts pointed to that role as crucial in the experience of students... (Durnan, 2013)

This person is Chinese *banzhuren*, similar to the U.S.A.'s home classroom teacher, advisor or counselor, but actually very different. He or she is the leader of teachers, and the key person to develop the whole community of students by classrooming.

In this research, we put forward such questions:

1. How can classroom life contribute to democracy?
2. What can the Chinese *banzhuren* do to promote democracy in Chinese classrooms?
3. What is the direction of Chinese classrooming?

To answer these questions, we took three steps. The first was to understand the relationship between Chinese classroom life and democracy. We reread the books and articles from Progressive Education, especially from John Dewey, and rethought the meaning of democracy in contemporary China's context. In this way, we focused on the particularity of Chinese school and classroom life, and discussed the meaning of "classrooming". The second was to understand what Chinese *banzhurens* were really doing now by analyzing new data.

Finally, we would think more on the development of classrooming and banzhuren, with the view of promoting democracy in China.

Methodology

This article explains the theory and practice of democracy in Chinese classroom, and introduces some new educational concepts. So, philosophical thinking is needed. What's more, the authors will use the cases and onsite observation resources, mainly come from the *New Basic Education Project* (NBEP), to express the topic.

NBEP was conducted by professors, principals and teachers from 1994 with the aims of reforming the schooling and developing Chinese Education Science. The professors from East China Normal University and other universities are leading the project and collaborating with school educators and district leaders. The first author has been in the project for over 13 years, and has access to do observing, interviewing and data gathering, very similar to what Philip Jackson, the David Lee Shillinglaw Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus at the University of Chicago and the author of *Life in Classrooms* and *Untaught Lessons*, and his colleagues had done (Jackson, 1990; 1992; Jackson, Boostrom, & Hansen, 1998). For example, during March 2010 to June 2010, the author spent 29.5 days at the laboratory schools of NBEP with banzhurens to design, participate, observe and assess the classrooming.

During October 2011 to October 2012, as a visiting scholar, the first author spent totally 30 days visiting 17 schools at Nashville and Chicago, such as the University School of Nashville, Linden Waldorf School, and the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools. The classroom visiting, observing and interviewing at home and abroad gave the author many chances to reflect on democracy in the Chinese classroom.

We also surveyed several participants, mostly in December 2012. The questionnaire was designed by the authors, with a few years of critical thinking and experiments in Chinese classrooms. It's mainly about the students' development in classroom lives, and includes student and teacher questionnaire. Its contents can be divided into four aspects, educational expectation of banzhuren and students, practice of students and banzhuren in classroom, relationships between students and banzhuren, and self-assessment of banzhuren and students. We distributed our questionnaires in 17 NBEP schools that had been in the project for over 5 years, including elementary and junior high schools at Shanghai, Changzhou and Huaian, and recovered 6275 student questionnaire copies which include 5830 valid copies, as well as 546 banzhuren questionnaires copies and all of them are valid. Demographic information is as followed, and figures are shown in count followed by percentage in brackets.

Table 1

Demographic information of student questionnaire

Contents	Options	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	3068	52.6%
	Female	2747	47.1%
Grade	The Fourth	2014	34.5%
	The Fifth	1904	32.7%
	The Sixth	1359	23.3%
	The Seventh	295	5.1%
	The Eighth	254	4.4%

Note. During the investigated 5830 students, 15 students miss the question of gender and 4 students miss the question of grade.

Table 2

Demographic information of banzhuren questionnaire

Contents	Options	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	39	7.1%
	Female	506	92.7%
Grade	The Fourth	92	16.8%
	The Fifth	92	16.8%
	The Sixth	88	16.1%
	The Seventh	110	20.1%
	The Eighth	97	17.8%
	The Ninth	66	12.1%

Note. During the investigated 546 banzhurens, 1 banzhuren miss the question of gender and 1 banzhuren miss the question of grade.

Theoretical Framework

Dewey's Theory

Democracy is about the individual and society. Dewey said "If we eliminate the social factor from the child we are left only with an abstraction; if we eliminate the individual factor from society, we are left only with an inert and lifeless mass" (Dewey, 1897/1940, p. 6). In *Democracy and Education*, Dewey clearly shared his thought that, "A society which makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic" (Dewey, 1916/1944, p. 99).

Democracy is about a way of life. In Dewey's view, "A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a model of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey, 1916/1944, p. 87). Wang focused on Dewey's transformation from "associated living" to "communal life" (Wang, 2007, p. 105). Dewey put it best in *Democracy and Educational Administration* (Dewey, 1937/1940, p. 337-338) when he wrote:

The keynote of democracy as a way of life may be expressed, it seems to me, as the necessity for the participation of every mature human being in formation of the values that regulate the living of men together: which is necessary from the standpoint of

both the general social welfare and the full development of human beings as individuals.

Such aim must be achieved mainly by education, and “education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform” (Dewey, 1897/1940, p. 15). The Chinese may agree with Dewey that “such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder” (Dewey, 1916/1944, p. 99).

The process and method to democracy just lie in life, and we can only *live* democratically to achieve democracy. Dewey (1938/1940) highlighted this insight in *Democracy and Education in the World of Today*.

Mutual respect, mutual toleration, give and take, the pooling of experiences, is ultimately the only method by which human beings can succeed in carrying on this experiment in which we are all engaged, the greatest experiment of humanity—that of living together in ways in which the life of each of us is at once profitable in the deepest sense of the word, profitable to himself and profitable and helpful in the building up of the individuality of others. (p. 370)

With such understandings of democracy, we see how democracy is a part of everyday life, both within classrooms and in the larger society.

Chinese Classroom

With Dewey’s ideas, we can say that the classroom is a *new world* for education and democracy.

Firstly, perceiving a classroom should be holistic. In Dewey’s opinion, the school should be organized in a new way: “It gets a chance to be a miniature community, and embryonic society” (Dewey, 1959, p. 18). We must pay very close attention to the words “*miniature*” and “*embryonic*” which need to be considered in a holistic way, not separately. It must be questioned again: what is a miniature school or embryonic school? In a Chinese teacher’s opinion, it will be a classroom about more than English or math teaching. Dewey’s theory can be accepted with the relation to Chinese philosophy, especially the holistic thinking way and the belief of “*Jia*” (home or family).

Secondly, the structure of daily life in Chinese classroom is quite complex. Chinese schooling is very different from western countries. We have large-scale class and school. In 2002, MOE conducted a national survey and divided the class size into six levels. According to the survey, the large class size means the class has 56-65 students and the super class size means it has more than 66 students. By 2010, the large class size has reached 20.03% in primary schools and 51.34% in junior high schools. The super class size has occupied 5.42% in primary schools and 14.76% in junior high schools (Liu, 2011). What’s more, our teachers always loop with students and only teach one or two subjects.

After many years' observation, the author is certain to say that the "home" classroom is central to Chinese students' school life. Students have their own classroom, and every morning the first thing is to go to the classroom. It is really a social base for students to go out to other places and return for more education, such as advice, courage or support. Students stay with the same group of peers for 3, 4, or 6 years, through all the grades of elementary or junior high school. Every student takes a rotating class job, and nearly all the decorating, managing and culturing of the classroom are conducted by students. They have a classroom meeting every week and ten-minute meeting every day, and there are many kinds of class meetings planned, organized and assessed by the students and banzhuren. As for the large class size, there are always a few groups with familiar members in different classes for enough time before changing to other groups. The group size varies with the age group, and you can find student council or student government in every classroom, not only at school level. Some classrooms even have their own clubs! Though Chinese teachers are always organized by offices and departments, most of them have a common space and focus, the classroom. With the development of classrooming, a new kind of teachers' organization actually is forming and becoming influential, which is led by the banzhuren (Li, 2010).

Thirdly, the classroom is a miniature and embryonic society. It is not only a place to study language, mathematics or science, but also a real world to live together, to develop individual and community, and to experience and experiment democracy. From the opening day to the commencement day, classroom lives are in the process with great uncertainty and complexity. It develops by, with and for the students. The students may experience all kinds of communal lives, including the social, economic and political lives with full of democratic potential. Noddings viewed that schools "like homes, are special places in the lives of children. They should be centers of stability and community" (Noddings, 2005, p. xxi). For the Chinese students, the most important space, time and organizations are in the classroom.

Classrooming as Democracy/Education

What happens in the classroom can be full of educative meanings. In China, *classrooming* is a formal education, conducted by the banzhuren and all of the students. The banzhuren always stays with the same class of students for 3 or even 5-6 years, and is responsible for the development of the class and students, with the leadership of other teachers and parents. Classrooming means transforming the social demands into the educational aims, process, and methods, or fulfilling the potential of lives in classroom. This is shown in the framework below.

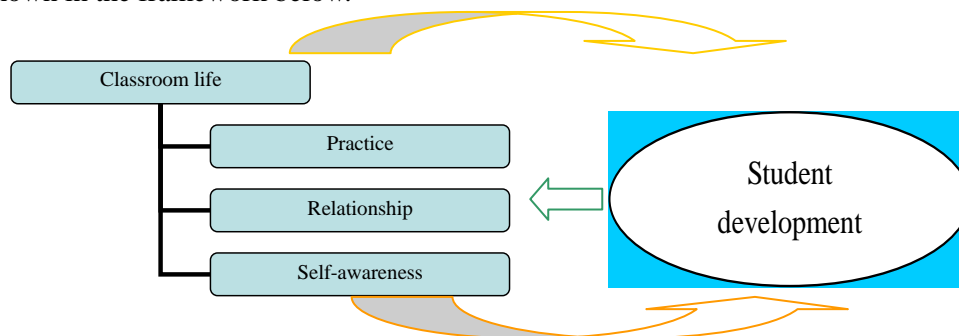


Figure 1. Relationship between classroom life and student development

We use the term “practice” to refer to all the purposeful actions of students. Different kinds of practice with different natures, challenges, contents and forms, will lead to different relationships between individual and community, and different development. In the classrooming context, the phases of students’ practice will change and the practice is comprehensive with emotional, rational and social dimensions. As a result, the community and students will develop together. The practices include:

- Classrooming leadership and service
- Classrooming culture
- Classroom meetings and thematic activities
- Learning content area subjects
- Involving the school or grade-level lives
- Collaborating with neighborhoods and families
- Collaborating with other social agents or natural world

Below is an example from an elementary class. This example is extracted from an article “On Student Leaders in Elementary School: Election, Operation and Assessment” written by Ms. Min Lu from Shanghai Huaping Elementary School in 2011. Ms. Lu has made great achievements as an excellent banzhuren. The article is a summary of her experience to educate student leaders in her own class.

According to the needs of different ages, we create many kinds of effective activities and give every student a chance to be a student leader, so as to help them developing themselves in the process of managing their class and organizing activities.

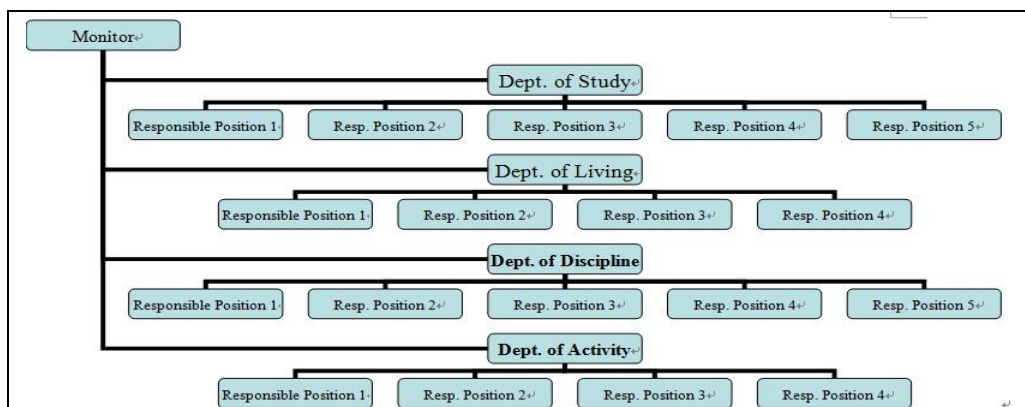
1. Changing the methods to select student leaders and providing every student the chance to be a student leader.

- At the Third Grade: By the way of layered selection to replace the old leaders. That is to say, 7 of the new student leaders will be chosen from those who have never been a leader, and 2 are from the old ones. What’s more, the 2 leaders will be treated as the mentors of other 7 leaders to help them getting familiar with all the things.

- At the Fourth Grade: Managing the class in the form of double class committee. Firstly, we select members of the two committees respectively, especially from those who have no or little experience of being a leader. And then, we group those members into “Committee A” and “Committee B”, according to their abilities and relationships between each other.

2. Changing the methods to operate class organizations with the view of arousing every student to take part into the classrooming.

- At the Third Grade: Improving the structure of class organization. We integrate the leader organization and “Classroom Responsible-Position” (some jobs related to the classroom service, such as cleaning the blackboard). The class monitor is responsible for all the things, and other departments should collaborate with him/her. In this way, we can establish the harmony relationship among different leaders and between leaders and students. For example, Ming is the monitor and the leader of Liang; but Ming is also a member of *Department of Discipline*, and Liang is responsible for the department, so Liang is the leader of Ming too.



- At the Fourth Grade: Improving the operation of class organization. We try to let “Committee A” and “Committee B” compete, collaborate and supervise each other, to develop a kind of atmosphere for them to get along well with each other and learn from each other.

3. Changing the methods to cultivate leaders, so as to develop all the students instead of part of them.

- Inside the class, we encourage the new leaders to learn from the experienced ones, and we also encourage the experienced ones to help developing the new ones during the organizing of class activities.

- Outside the class, we set up a platform to provide chances for both of them. They can participate in and organize some important school activities, which is not only very helpful to develop them, but also to improve the whole class’s influence in the school.

4. Changing the methods to evaluate leaders and achieve their self-awareness.

- The form of evaluation: we adapt different forms to evaluate, according to different situations, such as self-assessment, student leaders committee assessment, classroom meeting, department symposium, and reporting to all students on some activities.

- The period of evaluation: we pay attention to the length of the time period, so we evaluate by the month and term. As well as, we think highly of the process rather than the result.

(Written by Min Lu from Shanghai Huaping Elementary School. Translated by Jing Chen & Jiacheng Li. 2011, November.)

From the pictures below, the readers may get some impression of classrooming in China too. It’s worth mentioning that the name card in the first picture is very common to find in NBEP schools. From the name card, one can know the basic information of this class quickly. It contains class emblem, class song, class pictures, and curriculum schedule and so on.



Name card of one class



Decorating the classroom



Classroom librarians



Classroom meeting

The relationship between the individual and society is the key to democracy. There are different kinds of communities in the classroom, and the child is growing up in them. With the expansion of the groups, the students involve into different communities, and all of them are experiencing real lives. In this way, the relationship between individual and society can be shaped and reshaped.

The self-awareness of the students and educators is very important. Only with the awakening and development of self-awareness can long-life education be achieved, and democracy lives be learned and transformed again and again. It is not only about the sense of togetherness and oneness, or the sense of process and outcome, but also or more importantly about the sense of education and development in educational context.

Data Analysis

From the survey, we found that banzhurens from the NBEP laboratory schools afforded rich activities and relationships for the students, and most of the students became self-aware of their development through classrooming.

Practice

Firstly, students were greatly involved in the communities' development (see Figure 2). 73.9% students agree that "almost all the students like and participate actively", only 0.8% students greatly disagree with this. Secondly, students play an important role in organizing class activities (see Figure 3). 70.3% students agree that class activities are guided by teacher but designed and conducted by students, and only 6.2% students think that these are done fully by teacher. Thirdly, group work is quite common with a total of 81.1% students agreeing that "class activities are always conducted through group or team" (see Figure 4). Fourthly,

the reflective habit is developing too (see Figure 5), and totally 66.9% students agree that “student leaders will summarize for us when one semester or an event is over”.

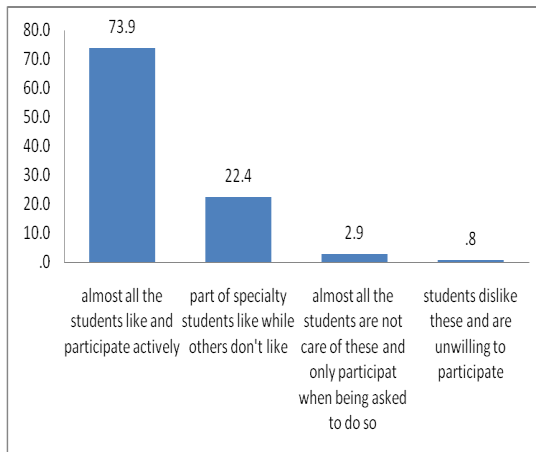


Figure 2. Situation of students' involvement into communities' development. Figures are shown in percentage (N=5811)

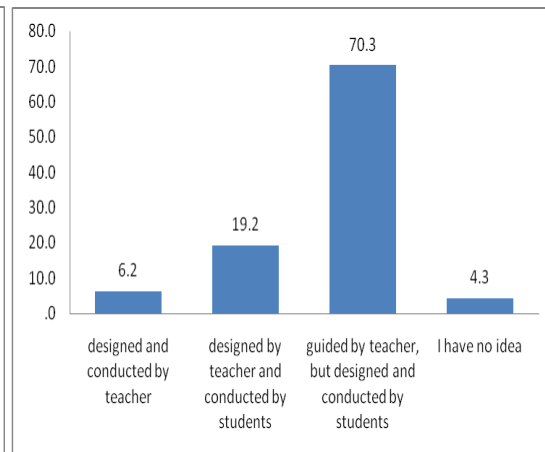


Figure 3. Organization of class activities Figures are shown in percentage (N=5761)

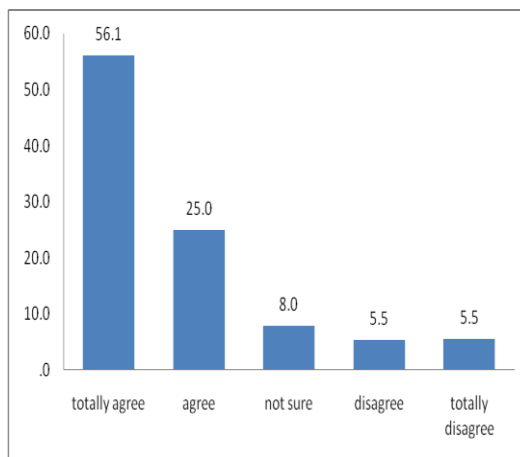


Figure 4. Class activities are always conducted through group or team. Figures are shown in percentage (N=5736)

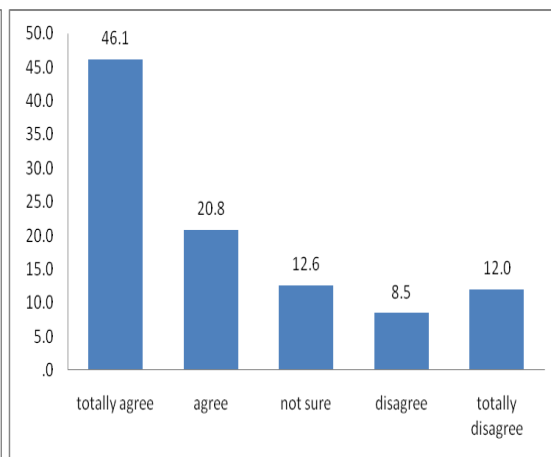


Figure 5. Student leaders will summarize for us when one semester or an event is over. Figures are shown in percentage (N=5674)

In Chinese schools, the student leader is a very important role for the classrooming and has great attraction for the students. We find that classroom election is becoming popular. 58.8% students point out that their student leaders will be selected in public and totally different with last year, which means more and more students have the chance to take part in classrooming. Based on this, most of the students start to cultivate their abilities in classrooming, because 78% of the students disagree that “most of classmates do not have the abilities to participate in classrooming”.

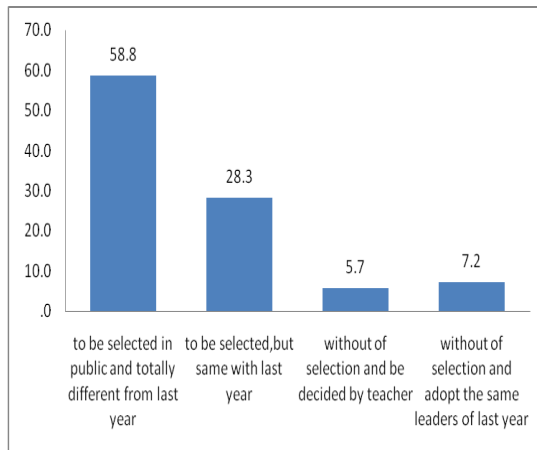


Figure 6. Selection of our student leaders. Figures are shown in percentage (N=5807)

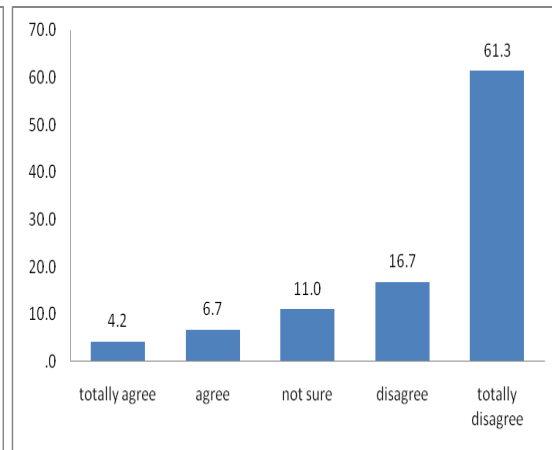


Figure 7. Most of classmates do not have the abilities to participate in classrooming. Figures are shown in percentage (N=5773)

Relationship

In the classroom, a communal relationship has been developed. Firstly, the most important relationship for students is with the banzhuren. From the perspective of students, they have been cared for and respected by their banzhuren. We can see from the survey that 86.4% students agree that the banzhuren will discuss with them or listen to their advice when organizing class activities (see Figure 8), and 74.5% of the students think that their banzhuren understand what they prefer and what they are talking about in their everyday lives (see Figure 9).

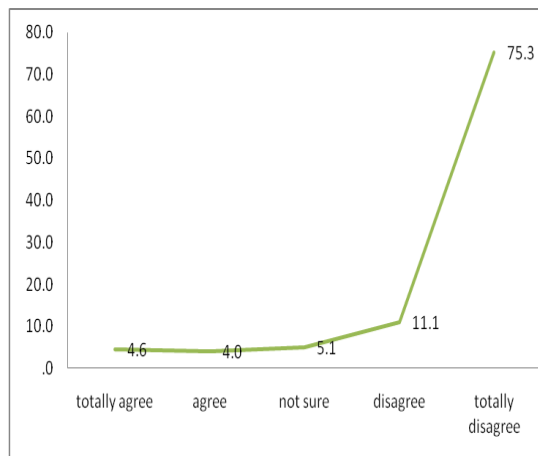


Figure 8. Banzhuren seldom organized class activities discussing with or listening to our advice. Figures are shown in percentage (N=5762)

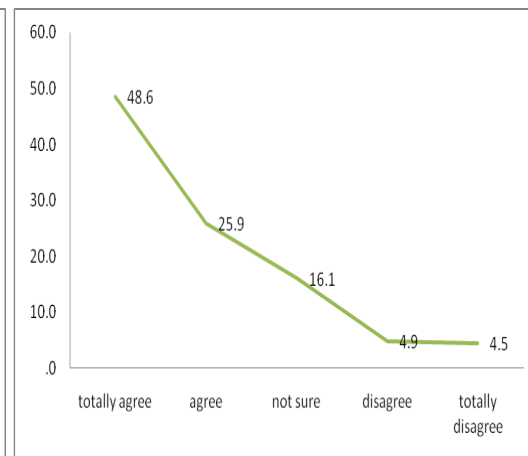


Figure 9. Banzhuren understand what we prefer and what we are talking about in everyday lives. Figures are shown in percentage (N=5744)

Secondly, they are developing relationships with students in other grades, too, which will effectively expand their views and awaken their awareness of community. 71.4% of the students have made friends with those from other higher or lower grades (see Figure 10). Finally, in some Chinese schools, the principal and other teacher leaders have not enough time or interest to work directly with students, but the survey shows that the student leaders are becoming more brave and active to work with the school leaders directly (see Figure 11).

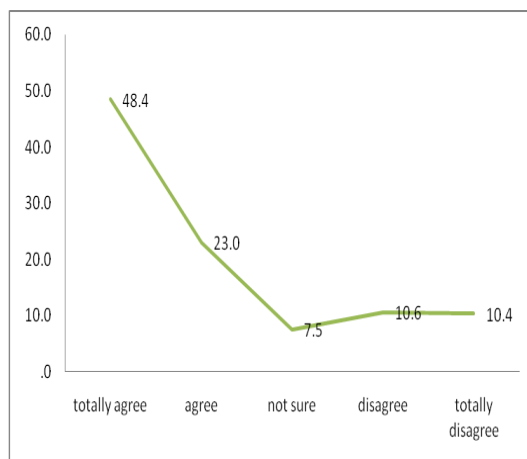


Figure 10. I have many friends in other grades (higher or lower grade)
 Figures are shown in percentage
 (N=5742)

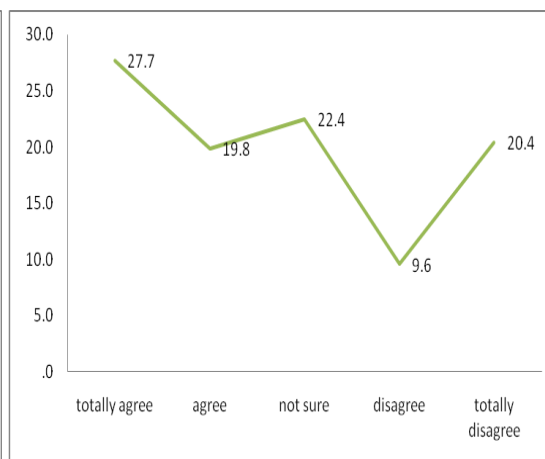


Figure 11. Student leaders often actively contact with school leaders or relevant departments for class work and activities
 Figures are shown in percentage (N=5721)

Self-awareness

Most of the students experienced love from the banzhuren, with 88.6% students agree that “banzhuren loves our class”. This is quite lovely! Over 68.3% students have done something for the classroom decorating or classroom culture. The self-esteem and sense of pride came from within. Comparing with instruction, 74.5% of the students said that they have obtained a unique experience and practice in their class activities or lives. All these positive experiences, self-efficiency and self-esteem are powerful for classrooming, education and democracy.

Table 3
Banzhuren loves our class.

Options	Frequency	Percentage
Totally agree	4536	77.8%
Agree	628	10.8%
Not sure	403	6.9%
Disagree	125	2.1%
Totally disagree	97	1.7%

Note. During the investigated 5830 students, 41 students miss this question.

Table 4
I have made contributions to the class decorating, blackboard design and so on in this semester.

Options	Frequency	Percentage
Totally agree	3131	53.7%
Agree	852	14.6%
Not sure	442	7.6%
Disagree	424	7.3%
Totally disagree	899	15.4%

Note. During the investigated 5830 students, 82 students miss this question.

Table 5

Comparing with instruction, I have obtained unique experience and practice in class activities or lives.

Options	Frequency	Percentage
Totally agree	3702	63.5%
Agree	643	11%
Not sure	421	7.2%
Disagree	195	3.3%
Totally disagree	771	13.2%

Note. During the investigated 5830 students, 98 students miss this question.

Banzhuren

From the survey, we can see that more than 80% of the students think their banzhuren prefer the work (see Figure 12). So, what do banzhuren think about their work? We can get some information from banzhuren questionnaires.

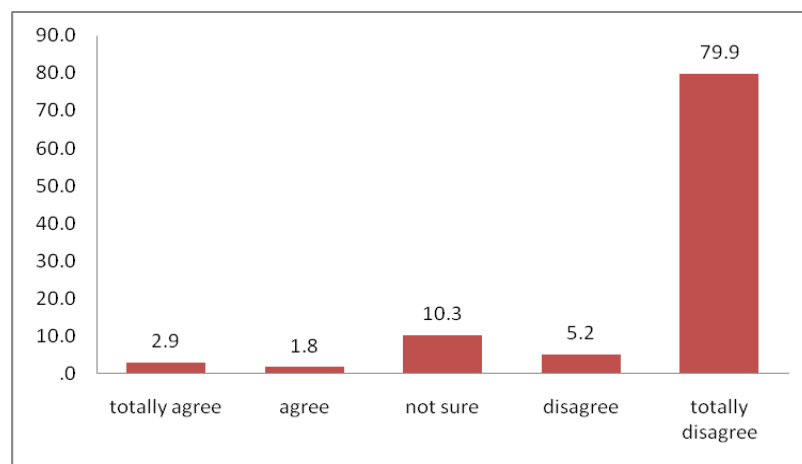


Figure 12. Our banzhuren hates to be a banzhuren. Figures are shown in percentage (N=5756)

Banzhuren think highly of their work too. Nearly 95.8% of the banzhuren admit that their work has made a positive influence on their subject teaching (see Figure 13). What's more, 88.8% of the banzhuren agree that classrooming is also beneficial to student development on thinking way, just like subject teaching (see Figure 14). It is good for banzhuren to realize the importance of their classrooming responsibility.

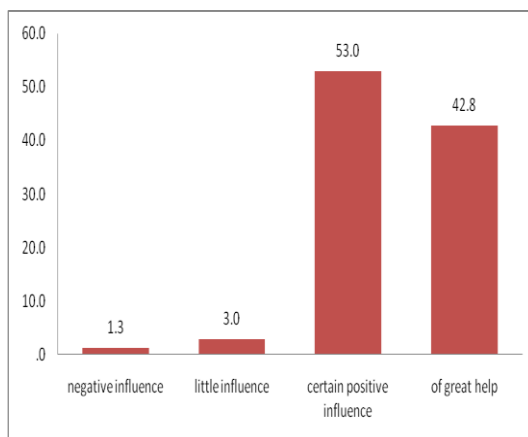


Figure 13. Influence of banzhuren work on my subject teaching. Figures are shown in percentage (N=542)

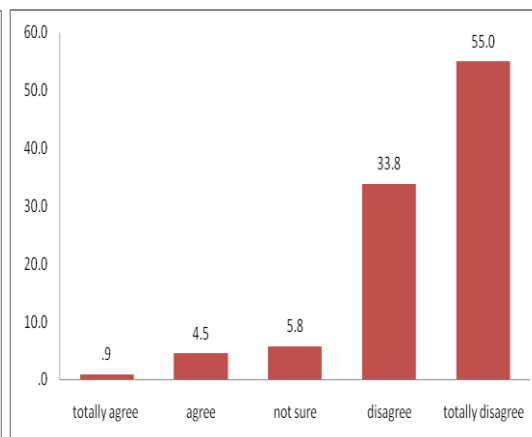


Figure 14. Compared with subject teaching, banzhuren work has little influence on students' thinking way. Figures are shown in percentage (N=535)

From the research, we see that the professional development of banzhuren is becoming very urgent. The skills of carrying out research on students, organizing or creating the educative materials and context, educating in everyday lives, and horizontal-connectedness are quite important for them (Li, Zhang & Gu, 2012; Yuan & Li, 2012). Just like parents, banzhurens influence the kids deeply, and must work with head, heart and hand; their jobs are closely related to their lives; and they create life meaning in the work (Fung, 1948; Ye, 2006).

New Directions

China needs to transform the culture from inside, with the long tradition of Chinese life mode, values and style, to be able to compete and collaborate in the global economy, to be an engaging, responsible and innovative member of the international community; and to conduct political, economical and educational reform. Such demands are becoming more urgent. In such a new context, the experiment of democracy in Chinese classroom still has more space to grow.

National Standards and Comprehensive Policies

By now, there are some policies encouraging the banzhuren to work better, and to be better paid for their heavy-burden work. Compared to instructors, the banzhuren's professionalism has not been well recognized, and not everyone recognizes their patience, warm-heartedness and work ethic. A professional support system is absent obviously.

Based on the recognition and respect of classrooming, a new national standard should be designed or researched in the near future, to pull, conduct and support the educators. Such standard should include:

- the nature of classrooming
- the aims of classrooming
- the contents of classrooming
- the methods and process of classrooming
- the professional support system of classrooming
- the qualities of the banzhuren
- the training and management of the banzhuren
- the assessment of classrooming and student development

This kind of professional support system can not only meet the demands of banzhuren and benefit to their development, but also help to promote the transformation of schools.

Education Research and the Theory of Classrooming

Chinese education researchers are doing more jobs and involving themselves more into the schooling reform since the reform and opening-up policy from 1978 for over thirty years. Unfortunately, most of them are in the area of curriculum and instruction, but very few in classrooming. Most of the banzhurens are just doing some action researches by themselves.

Classrooming is important with close relation to instruction, and can successfully contribute to the whole-person development. The authors and their colleagues are trying their best to develop the theories from within. Such theories can unquestionably enrich the education field, help more educators, and encourage more international collaboration. Some of the most important theoretical issues are: the theory of particularities of classrooming; the theory of the relationship between classrooming and democracy; the theory of value and aims of classrooming; the theory of content, method and process of classrooming; the theory of banzhuren as an educational subject; the theory of professional system for classrooming; etc. Such theories should be developed by professors and educators together to make the research full of sustainability, vigor and innovation.

Creative Practices and Networks

Banzhurens may be the largest amount of teachers in China, and every school treats them as very important members from the perspective of management. The principal always assigns banzhuren firstly and then other teachers for a classroom. Banzhuren is responsible for the development of all students and always ready to help other teachers in teaching and learning areas. However, there is no professional title for banzhuren, and most of teachers treat teaching as the most important profession. Even under such circumstances, Chinese banzhurens are creating many great educational moments in their classrooms.

Unfortunately, they always don't know each other very well. Because of the busy daily work, they have limited ways to communicate with colleagues, even in the same school. Some of the banzhurens have negative perceptions of their work, and pay more attention to the subject teaching which they think is more important than classrooming. And even worse, some of teachers treat banzhuren jobs to be part-time or temporary. Though Chinese teachers have more communication and dialogue, banzhurens are always excluded from such learning moments. More professional communities, in the school, district, nation or globe, should be set up, and such kind of learning network will make a great difference to today's schooling. As a result of more understanding of the creative work, and the professional support system to develop banzhuren's leadership, pedagogical wisdom, as well as improvement of their living sphere, banzhurens can work more positively and actively.

Global Communication and Collaboration

What has happened and is happening in Chinese classroom have great influence on Chinese educational practice, theory and policy, and can be learned in the global context of progressive education. With the development of global democracy, more experience and experiment are welcomed by the world.

But on the other hand, compared with the areas of curriculum, leadership or PLC, this area has little dialogue with western countries, which has decreased the quality of multicultural understanding and learning, though it is full of potential. Even for Dewey, visiting China also "gave him the opportunity to cast aside the institutional baggage of Western democracy and to emphasize the idea of community life as a more secure foundation for democracy" (Wang, 2007, p. 11). Therefore, we need to free ourselves and learn from each other globally, and more communication and collaboration are greatly needed today.

Classrooming is powerful for democracy, and the students living democratically in the classroom will lead to a new future of Chinese society. As an educator, Chinese banzhuren is responsible for affording rich activities and communal relationships to students, and awaking their self-awareness. What Chinese banzhurens are doing now can renew our understanding of democracy and education, and make Chinese schooling into new state:

holistic, professional, and humanistic. The future of democracy in China is in the hands, heads and hearts of banzhurens.

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The Educators and the Curriculum: Stories of Progressive Education in the 21st Century

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Abstract

This study, inspired by phenomenological and narrative methods, explored the question, “What does it mean to be a progressive educator in the 21st century?” Rather than a prescriptive piece about what progressive educators should or should not do, this study uses the experiences of three self-identified progressive educators to build a new understanding of this term. The participants, two heads of private school and one public school district superintendent, shared stories of their backgrounds, their current schools, and a time when they felt particularly successful in their work as progressive educators. Their stories reveal a commitment to risk taking, to achieving a balance between individual student and social needs, and to finding meaning in their connection with students and colleagues.

Keywords: Progressive education, personal practical knowledge, school leaders, phenomenological study, narrative inquiry, 21st century

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The Educators and the Curriculum: Stories of Progressive Education in the 21st Century

This is a story about education in the 21st century, but it is not about standards, “No Child Left Behind,” or accountability measures. This is a story about progressive education, but it is not about John Dewey. In fact, this is not just a story about progressive education, but, more importantly, about progressive educators. This is a story about three educational leaders, innovators, risk-takers. It is a story about how these individuals enact their philosophies, how they work within and around the established structures, and how they build curriculum and challenge existing notions about the purposes of education.

In this study I explored the question, “What does it mean – or rather, what does it *look like* – to be a progressive educator in the 21st century?” The participants spoke to many different aspects of progressive education, both in their explicit understandings of the term and through their lived experiences. Although I began the project with the intent to study specifically *Deweyan* progressive education, I, like Kliebard (1995), came to the realization that “the term [progressive education] encompassed such a broad range, not just of different, but of contradictory, ideas on education” (p. xv), that attempting to adhere to any one particular interpretation would be problematic.

Numerous scholars (e.g., Church & Sedlak, 1976; Kliebard, 1995; Labaree, 2005) have written about the complicated nature of the term “progressive education,” both as it applies to a particular historical period, and as it has been used in more contemporary contexts. Labaree (2005) provides a thorough explanation of two “overlapping and competing tendencies” that characterized the historical movement in education, which he terms “administrative and pedagogical progressivism” (p. 279). He notes that these labels roughly overlap with other authors’ categories, such as Church and Sedlak’s conservative and liberal progressives (1976), and Kliebard’s social efficiency and social reconstruction (1995). According to Labaree (2005), pedagogical progressivism ultimately “lost” to administrative progressivism, in terms of what actually happens in schools. The former offers a “romantic” (p. 280) vision of children and schools, emphasizing “child-centered instruction, discovery learning, and learning how to learn” (p. 277). In contrast, administrative progressivism’s more utilitarian message of preparing students to meet societal needs and its basis in scientific testing had a broader appeal among educational decision-makers.

Although the goals of these two groups were generally opposite, they were both part of the larger progressive movement in the first half of the 20th century. Today, the term progressive education usually refers to Labaree’s pedagogical progressivism, and is most closely associated with the figure of John Dewey (Labaree, 2005). Yet even within this tradition, there is still significant disagreement about how to interpret Dewey’s extensive collection of writings. Fallace (2011) notes that scholars have long used Dewey to support their own – often contradictory – theories of education, drawing on different texts “often without any reference to others” (p. 488). He argues for a more nuanced approach to understanding progressive education that focuses more on how educators have enacted progressive philosophies in schools, rather than their fidelity to any specific vision.

With such varied interpretations of progressive education, it would be impossible to hold today’s educators to a single standard of what progressive education “should” be. Accordingly, this is not meant to be a story about “good” or “bad” progressive education. Like Fallace (2011), I find more meaning in understanding how the individuals in this study live out their philosophies of progressive education today. These individuals’ stories are not meant to be fully representative of progressive education today. Instead, they offer glimpses into their particular lifeworlds and suggest possible themes of the progressive experience.

Their stories reveal aspects of what Connelly and Clandinin call the educators' "personal practical knowledge" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988). Rather than some static collection of facts and theories, personal practical knowledge is understood as "that body of convictions, conscious or unconscious, which have arisen from experience... and which are expressed in a person's actions" (Clandinin, 1985, p. 362). In this way, knowledge can only be "seen" in action: in the way an individual brings his or her previous professional and personal experience to bear in a situation. This type of knowledge is in the body as much as in the mind. Connelly and Clandinin (1988) emphasize that studying educators' personal practical knowledge "allows us to talk about [them] as knowledgeable and knowing persons" (p. 26). This approach asks us to value what these educators have to offer and to learn from their experiences.

The Study

Participants included three school leaders who self-identified as progressive educators: two Heads of small private schools, Henry and Paula; and Jim, the head of a small rural school district (all participant and school/district names are pseudonyms). Potential participants were identified through a variety of means: online search, in the case of Henry; personal recommendation of a colleague, in the case of Jim; and familiarity with the school, in the case of Paula. I emailed potential participants directly, explaining that I was conducting a study about what it means to be a progressive educator today, and asked if they personally identified as progressive educators. Thus, participants were able to self-identify as "progressive" and assign their own meaning to this term.

I conducted two semi-structured interviews with each participant. These interviews took place in the participant's office and lasted about one hour each. The first round of interviews focused on the educators' backgrounds and philosophies. To begin to understand their lifeworlds, we must first know something about these educators as people: where they come from, where they are going. Narrative inquiry views people as "in a process of personal change" at any given moment (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 30). Clandinin and Connelly relate this idea to Dewey's notion of continuity of experience, explaining that experiences both grow from and lead to other experiences. The educators' personal practical knowledge is embedded within the larger continuity of their life experiences. These experiences also occur within a certain physical, temporal, and social context. Thus, the participants began by describing their current schools and sharing a brief history of their lives as progressive educators.

The journeys that brought these educators to their current positions all involved several stops along the way. Their stories illustrated Clandinin's (1985) observation that personal practical knowledge is "not something which has an independent and objective standing apart from our personal lives" (p. 383). Numerous factors, both professional and personal, guided them from one experience to another.

After listening to their stories about their development as educators, I asked the participants to speak about what progressive education means to them. Not surprisingly, there was little agreement among the participants about what progressive education means today. It is important to note, however, that phenomenologists and narrative researchers argue that people's knowledge is embedded in experience and thus is not easily made explicit (e.g., Clandinin, 1985). I knew that asking participants to define progressive education might be "unfair" in this regard, but I felt that it was important to have a sense of how they conceptualize progressive education before seeing how they live it. Their explicit definitions and their lived experiences combined to paint a more complete picture of their priorities as progressives.

With a sense of their lives' journeys, in the second round of interviews I asked the participants to select a specific moment in their careers as progressive educators when they felt particularly successful. I had intended to ask participants to share two separate lived experience accounts, one about a success, and one about a time when they struggled in their work as progressive educators. I quickly realized, however, that for these individuals, success is not an isolated experience, but deeply intertwined with the experience of struggle. Indeed, this observation should come as no surprise. One cannot appreciate success without knowing what it means to overcome obstacles and risk failure. Gadamer (1996), too, predicted this realization. He wrote, "Every experience worthy of the name thwarts a previous expectation" (p. 364). The moments that stood out to the participants as examples of their greatest successes did so because the success was, to some degree, unexpected.

Sharing stories of struggle is crucial because, as Remillard and Cahnmann (2005) argue, "research that seriously examines and makes explicit the struggles that teachers face acknowledges and makes visible the real, multidimensional work of teaching" and "depicts teaching as a dynamic process, rather than a finished product" (p. 184). As the educators' stories show, progressive education can be messy and imperfect, but it is only through studying these "portraits of struggle" (Remillard & Cahnmann, 2005, p. 184) that we may appreciate the realities of what it means to work and learn in a school.

In the sections that follow, I have striven to let the educators speak for themselves as much as possible. Their stories are profoundly personal. Because their personal practical knowledge is so embedded in their actions, even putting words to an experience can be difficult. Using a combination of holistic and selective reading methods (Van Manen, 1990), I worked to isolate possible themes that frame the participants' understanding of progressive education. They spoke about making difficult, even unpopular decisions, about supporting individual students and the collective good, and about finding meaning in their connections with students and colleagues. These are their stories.

The Stories

Henry

Henry is the Head of Marsh School, an independent private school serving 115 students in pre-kindergarten through 8th grade. In the four years that he has been Head of School, this population has doubled and he hopes to continue expanding over the next several years with the ultimate goal of enrolling about 160 students. The school draws students from a wide radius and makes efforts to provide scholarships so that "cost is not a burden to families," he explained.

Describing himself as "closer to a nonprofit CEO than... a traditional public school principal," Henry noted that his involvement at Marsh School extends well beyond the academic day. He meets with teachers, parents, and the board of directors on a regular basis and knows all of the students, parents, and "probably most of the grandparents" by name. Henry is also closely involved with the school's current capital campaign, raising money to update their 1920's building and add a new gymnasium, library, science lab, and art and music facilities.

Always a teacher at heart, Henry works to find ways to stay involved with students, from stopping into classrooms throughout the day, to collaborating with the middle school humanities teacher to help teach a play or a book each year. About his work with students he said, "I think for my own sanity, it reminds me that what I'm doing in here is about children. And you can lose track of that way too quickly when you get bogged down on budgets and board issues and raising money." By maintaining this connection to students and to the work being done in classrooms, Henry models the type of open, supportive environment that he

values in the school.

Henry's journey.

Henry explained that his original ambition was to be a lawyer, and that he only began teaching as a way to pay his way through law school. "About the second year of law school I found myself spending more time talking about my kids and grading papers than proofing cases," he said. "And it became clearly apparent that that was where my interest was." In those early years as an English teacher, Henry would not have called himself a progressive educator, however. It was not until he took a job at the University of Chicago's Laboratory Schools (founded by John Dewey himself) that he began to learn about progressive philosophy and methods. Henry worked closely with a mentor there who challenged him to rethink his approach to education. It was at this point in his career, Henry explained, that he began making a transition from thinking mainly about "what to teach" to focusing on "how to teach." For him, this was a turning-point not only in his development as an educator, but specifically as a progressive.

After six years of teaching, he became the head of the middle school at "Lab," a position that he also held for six years. Next, Henry became the head of an east coast independent school for four years. A death in the family prompted Henry to begin looking for a position closer to his Midwestern roots. When he heard about the position at Marsh School, he was attracted by the school's mission statement, "the talk about experience-based learning, project based learning, child-centered-ness, interdisciplinary teaching. Talking about the partnership between parents and the school. Talking about a school community where children spend eight, nine, ten years together." What he found there, he said, "was a match" with what he believed in and had been working toward for the last several years in his career as a progressive educator and leader.

Henry's vision of progressive education.

Since his days at "Lab," Henry has been surrounded by Dewey's philosophies. It is not surprising, then, that his explicit definition of progressive education drew strongly on these ideas. He began by explaining that progressive education is based in experiential learning, noting that most adults can relate to the idea of an internship and that people learn better through hands-on experience than through reading and memorization. He returned to his point that progressive educators focus less on "what" they teach and more on "how" they teach, and perhaps even more importantly, "who" they are teaching. In this way, he said, progressive education is child-centric – taking inspiration from what the particular individuals in a class know, can do, and are interested in learning. Next, Henry noted that progressive education is not just about academics; attention is also given to students' social, emotional, and physical development, what he called a "holistic approach to teaching." For him, progressive education is project-based and interdisciplinary, meaning that content is organized not around traditional disciplines but around meaningful topics, which students explore through in-depth projects.

Next Henry said, "I think in good progressive teaching, you're group-oriented rather than individual." At first glance, this comment seems in direct opposition to his belief in child-centered teaching. Henry went on to explain that students in progressive classrooms are encouraged to work collaboratively, to co-create knowledge, in ways that might be discouraged in more traditional settings. Thus, a progressive educator must be attuned to the needs of the individual student, but also support the student as he learns to navigate the social world. Finally, he spoke of a common ethos or set of shared values in progressive education that apply equally to adults and children. These values – "respect, responsibility, caring, honesty" – help create an environment where people are able to take risks in order to learn and grow.

Henry's story.

Henry noted that he has worn many “different hats” as a progressive: administrator, teacher, and parent of two children who attended a progressive school. As an example of a successful experience, he chose to share a story from his time teaching 8th grade English in Chicago. His story shows how he lives out his progressive philosophies in a particular school context. He explained that he and a few colleagues decided to develop a humanities program. “So we spent the next three months developing an interdisciplinary American Studies program, bringing in history, English, writing, psychology, economics, the arts all into this 2-year sequence of American Studies.”

Henry described this process as “a little overwhelming... incredibly exciting, and very threatening.” He and his colleagues struggled because they had to set aside their previously successful curricula in order to create something new. Yet, As Gadamer (1996) suggested, it was through this experience of struggle that Henry reaffirmed and deepened his understanding of his work as a progressive educator.

The middle school team encountered both support and resistance from others in the Laboratory School community. The middle school administration was “inspiring” in their support of this new endeavor, while the high school staff felt threatened by this reorganization in the earlier grades. Henry explained that his peers at the high school were “very departmental, very traditional in their approach to teaching their content area, and afraid that somehow we would water down the program by creating this interdisciplinary thing.”

The impetus for this curricular reorganization came from various sources. The school's staff was working to develop a unique middle school identity, distinct from elementary and high school. Previously, Henry said, the middle school had felt like a “mini high school” in many ways. “It didn't feel very Deweyan,” he lamented. Henry and his colleagues began to read about middle school philosophy and progressive philosophy, which he explained, “merge neatly together” because both focus on students' cognitive, physical, and social development as well as a more interdisciplinary, project-based approach than traditionally used in high schools.

The new humanities program also arose out of a very practical need for more time. Henry explained that he and a friend who taught social studies had been feeling restricted by their short class periods. They envied the ability of the teachers at the elementary school to work with longer periods of time and “self-pace” their lessons. With the new humanities program, the entire middle school schedule shifted to 3-hour blocks. This allowed teachers to teach fewer students (for Henry, that meant 23 students rather than all 110 in the 8th grade), and to work with them for a longer time. In turn, this supported the development of strong relationships between teachers and their students. Thus, the humanities program benefited teachers by giving them more flexibility and benefited students by giving them more individual attention and recognizing their unique status as adolescents.

Ultimately, Henry felt that this experience was “probably the most fulfilling thing I had ever done as a teacher.” The new humanities program “made me go back to school and think about how children learn,” how the early adolescent might interact with a humanities curriculum. Henry and his peers also considered questions of method: “How do you teach for 90 minutes when you're used to teaching for 45? How do you make sure you keep children's attention? You shift from being deliverers of content to being project-based... more group-oriented.”

Henry saw the true measure of the new program's success not in test scores, but in individual students' connection to the curriculum. Because of the school's location in the Hyde Park neighborhood of Chicago, the humanities team chose to focus a large part of their

8th grade curriculum around the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, which took place only a few blocks from their doors. This allowed them to integrate local, national, and world history, as well as literature (they read *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*), music, and fashion of the era. They studied architecture and technological developments at the turn of the 20th century, and were able "to physically walk the grounds... where the World's Fair took place... We had kids who were taking rope and marking off where buildings were..." It was these kinds of learning opportunities, he said, that made what the students were learning come to life in a way that they would remember for many years to come.

Through our conversations, I came to see Henry's passion for child-centered education. In his "portrait of struggle" (Remillard & Cahnmann, 2005) and success, we can see the kinds of obstacles a progressive educator might face: accusations of "watering-down" the curriculum, fear about trying something new. Henry is deeply connected to Deweyan pedagogical progressivism and to putting this vision into action. He returned several times to the principle that progressive educators think constantly about how and who they are teaching. For him, education is about the student, not a textbook or standardized test. Questions of how to teach are frequently answered through collaboration with colleagues. Thus, Henry positions himself as very person-centered in his work with students in the classroom, with colleagues as a curriculum planner, and with the entire school community as a head of school. He finds meaning in his work through these personal connections.

Jim

Jim, the Superintendent of Wharton Public Schools, provided a unique perspective on what it means to be a progressive educator. Wharton is a small rural school district with five elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school of about 1,300 students. Like Henry, Jim spoke of increased enrollments due to rapid population growth in his town, the only community in the county to experience population growth in the last two years. He credits this growth to the strong vision that he has developed for the district: preparing students to be competitive in a global economy. In order to achieve this vision, the district implemented K-12 string music and world language (Mandarin Chinese and Spanish) programs, a middle school engineering program, and a "comprehensive biomedical curriculum" in the high school.

This vision also drives Jim's daily work, which he explained involves "reframing, retelling the vision, where we're going, how we're getting there." He shares the vision with staff members, encouraging them in their work. He also shares the vision with local and international businesses, building partnerships and revenue streams for the district. One major piece of Jim's global vision is a new collaboration with a high school in China. With about 20 students in China and 7 attending classes virtually from Wharton, this school is the product of Jim's efforts to connect globally and give students in both countries the best opportunities possible.

Jim's journey.

Although Jim began his career in education as a high school government and economics teacher, his journey has led him through many different careers in the public and private sectors. He explained that he enjoyed working closely with students both in and out of the classroom as a teacher, coach, and club leader. He felt so invested in these three roles that he "had no desire to leave teaching" when he was asked to take an interim administrative role in the district.

Despite his initial hesitation, Jim transitioned into being the high school principal as well as the district tech director. It was this latter position that sparked an interest in "how to use technology to improve teaching and learning." For three years, Jim visited schools

nationwide to learn about what others were doing to build “21st century schools.” Ultimately, he was disappointed but perhaps not surprised by what he found. “I came back and wrote an article about it,” he said. “I [posed] the question... what’s different when you remove the physical technology? The answer is nothing. Nothing’s different.” Jim took these experiences from around the country and created a model for developing educational facilities that would meet future needs, which he shared with administrators and other educational leaders through workshops and public speaking engagements. This led to the opportunity to travel nationally and globally, speaking at conferences about how to use technology in the classroom.

Like Henry, personal factors played an important role in Jim’s decision to return to his work in education and to take a superintendent position closer to home. He spoke of the strain his extensive traveling put on him, his wife, and their six children. He also felt a sense of “urgency,” after a year of traveling, “to take what I had learned and apply it. I didn’t want to talk about education; I wanted to be a part of education,” he said.

Jim’s first position as a superintendent was in Traviston, a small district in Michigan with a large population of at-risk students and steadily declining enrollments. Although at first he was reluctant to bring his family there, Jim made a point to look for the district’s assets, areas that he could develop during his tenure. Ultimately, Jim found that he connected immediately with the school board’s vision for the future of the district.

The board president said... “What we really want is to create a premier rural school district where our best students can compete against the best students for the best education and the best jobs. We want to create a big opportunity in a small school”... Well I was sold.

After spending four years reversing the district’s declining enrollments, eliminating pay-to-play fees for athletics, bolstering the arts, and initiating several innovative academic and community programs, Jim became the superintendent of Wharton, where he has worked since 2007.

Jim’s vision of progressive education.

When I asked Jim to define progressive education, his answer was very different from Henry’s. Whereas Henry spoke frequently about Dewey and a set of beliefs and practices commonly associated with this historical movement, Jim used the term “progressive” more broadly, in the sense of “forward-looking” or “innovative.” He began by saying that progressive education involves good leadership, or “knowing what to do.” In order to know what to do, a progressive educator must “follow the leading indicators of change; [pay] attention to how our world is changing.” By following the leading indicators of change, knowing what to do becomes “common sense,” said Jim. He added an important caveat, however, noting that true innovation requires a willingness to take risks. “To me when you say progressive,” he said, “it really is common sense and risk taking at the same time.”

In all of his work, Jim maintains an intense focus on his mission and vision for his district. A progressive educator, he explained, is focused on “strategic intent.” In Wharton, this vision involves preparing students for a global economy, while respecting the past. According to Jim, students who are educated in a progressive system should be able to communicate in more than one language, have a high cultural IQ, be flexible, problem solve in different situations, create and invent, and work as a member of an international team.

Jim’s story

In his story, he spoke about working with a struggling high school to build an exemplary arts program and to recognize student achievement in the arts as well as in

athletics. He began by illustrating the dire situation in the district: “My first two years in particular, I was under numerous death threats... One day alone [at the school], we had 27 cars vandalized. So I had 23 kids expelled my first year and 21 the second year.” Yet at the same time, “I was working on the arts program, trying to create an arts program for the kids who really didn’t have one.” Within five years, vandalism had dropped dramatically, student participation in arts programs had grown exponentially, and the school was home to a world-class theater.

Because he devoted so much energy to developing the arts program, I asked Jim if he was a life-long supporter of the arts or if his interest arose later, perhaps out of a need to give students a creative outlet. He laughed and explained that, actually, he had always been an athlete and “When I was in high school I thought the arts were for students who didn’t have talent.” It was only later, after seeing an embarrassingly bad band concert at the middle school where he was a principal, that he became involved in the arts program. At a meeting with the district superintendent, he made a suggestion that would change the course of his career: “I [said], ‘you know, we ought to do one of two things: either get rid of the arts because we don’t value it, or let’s make an exemplary program, but let’s not have this. This is embarrassing.’” To Jim’s surprise, the superintendent decided to put him in charge of improving the arts program. He continued, “To be [honest], it was not something I thought I wanted to do. In fact I thought he was punishing me for speaking up.” But with the help of the few existing members of the K-12 arts staff, Jim began to make plans to reinvent the program, providing the best facilities and best instructors, regardless of imagined financial restrictions.

One moment stood out to Jim more than any other in this process. He explained that until this point he was not “married to the arts;” he was simply taking on an assigned task and trying to do his best. Then one day he had given a presentation to some of the fine arts students,

And I’ll never forget [one student] coming up. She tugged on my shoulder... and I looked down at her and she had these crocodile tears coming down... I got emotional and I didn’t even know why... She just said, “Dr. S., are you serious about doing all of these things?” And I said, “yes,” and my voice was quivering at that point... And I left and went back to the office and was broken down emotionally, not knowing why other than thinking about, you know, why didn’t I have this attitude? Why am I not as deeply committed? Why do I not value the arts as much as I value athletics? Why is it these kids deserve anything less than the kids who are in sports or other activities? ... I just changed my whole attitude.

From that day forward, he said, he was “on a mission” for those students.

Jim’s stories raise a number of important questions about what it means to be a progressive educator today. His vision for his district aligns in many ways with the administrative progressives (Labaree, 2005), in that he is focused on preparing students to be competitive in a global economy by developing certain marketable skills (such as medical, engineering, and foreign language skills). Additionally, as Catherine Belsey (2002) points out, “common sense” is not an unproblematic notion. “On the contrary,” she writes, “the ‘obvious’ and the ‘natural’ are not *given* but produced in a specific society by the ways in which that society talks and thinks about itself and its experience” (pp. 2-3). Jim’s understanding of what is common sense may not be shared by all educators or all progressives; it is shaped by his ideologies about education.

Because Jim’s definition of progressive education differs so strikingly from someone like Henry’s, it may be tempting to write him off as “not a true progressive” or “the wrong kind of progressive.” While recognizing that his philosophy seems to draw more on neoliberal ideas than Deweyan progressive ideas, I believe that it is not productive to limit what

progressive education “should be.” Further, as Connelly and Clandinin (1988) remind us, knowledge is visible in actions, not just in words. In fact, the experience Jim chose to illustrate a great success had very little to do with preparing students for the future and much more to do with identifying a need and dedicating himself to finding a solution. His “portrait of struggle” shows us the effort it can take to affect meaningful change. In this way, Jim lives out his commitment to risk-taking based on his educational vision. Throughout his career, he has embraced risk and uncertainty in the name of providing innovative, world-class education.

Paula

Finally, Paula is the Head of Greystone, a private alternative school that last year served 43 students in kindergarten through 12th grade. The school is divided into three programs: elementary (K-5), middle school (6-8), and high school (9-12), all housed in one building with their own designated areas and several common spaces. In addition to the campus program, Greystone also offers an advisory program providing support for families home schooling their children, which is coordinated by another woman.

In just less than two years since Paula took the position of campus director at Greystone, the student population increased by over 30 percent. The majority of these students are in the high school program, which she explained is not the norm for private schools in the area. Whereas many students attend private elementary schools and then return to public school for high school, she said, many students come to Greystone as a “last resort” after realizing that they do not fit into a traditional public school model.

During her relatively short tenure at Greystone, Paula has also made many changes to the school itself. She explained that she has hired several new teachers, restructured and redefined various programs, and will be implementing a new drug and alcohol prevention program next year. Additionally, the school will be moving to a block schedule, a model proposed by the teachers themselves. “They [teachers and students] run the school,” she explained, “I’m just here for the... structure and the follow-through, and the support that they need.” Paula later referred to herself as the school’s “barn door watcher,” explaining that her “type A personality” makes her well suited to oversee an often free-spirited school.

Paula’s journey.

Paula’s story follows a much less traditional path than the other two educators’. After a brief career in marketing, she earned a Master’s degree in criminal justice and began working as a drug and alcohol probation officer. When her son was born, her plan was “not to ever return to work, actually. I was going to stay at home with my son and raise my son,” which she did for 15 years. When her son was in 4th grade, they determined that public school was not a good fit for him, so she began home schooling him for four years.

A few years later, Paula said, “life changed.” She explained that she needed to go back to work and the job at Greystone “literally fell in my lap.” She was originally hired to do marketing for the school, with the expectation that in two to three years she would move into the role of principal or campus director, but “the time frame got sped up a little bit” and she moved into this role within six months. Her son now attends the school as well.

Paula’s vision of progressive education.

Paula’s definition of progressive education focused on students’ involvement in creating their own education. She began by noting that in a progressive approach, the school must provide a flexible framework in which students are able to make their education what they wish. She went on to say that Greystone was founded on democratic principles, and that

these principles are still in place today. Students, teachers, and parents play an important role in the decision-making process, from small decisions (“videos at lunch time”) to more significant decisions such as designing classes and hiring new staff. “Anybody I hire,” she said, “they come in and they meet the students and the students get input.” This vision of the school as a site of democracy figures prominently in the work of other progressive educators from Dewey’s *Democracy and Education* (1944) to Deborah Meier’s *The Power of Their Ideas* (1995).

In addition to being the Head of the campus program at Greystone as well as its marketing director, Paula is also the founder of “a small group of very, very outside of the box thinkers.” Currently all women, the group includes heads of five area schools who are all committed to “[looking] at education another way.” Thus, Paula shares Jim’s view of progressive education as innovative, nontraditional, even risky.

Paula’s stories.

Paula shared two stories of success that stood out in her mind. In one, she was very closely involved in working with a student; in the other, she gave an example of the type of work that occurs every day at her school. She began by saying that, for the first time in the school’s history, she had to expel a student the previous year. She described this experience as “traumatic... at the time,” yet ultimately it was “very successful” for the school and for the student. Like Henry’s and Jim’s experiences, what began as a difficult situation led her to deeper understanding of her work as a progressive educator. Rather than simply expelling the student, Paula worked with the staff to craft a plan that allowed the student to continue working with the school in order not to lose credit. She said,

In the end, we ended up finding a way for this family to get this kid, who was a high risk of never graduating from school, to see that he could get to the end and in fact I think he will graduate in January.

Paula served as the point of contact between the school, the student, and his parents during this whole process. She emphasized that the school was committed to supporting the student, even after he was no longer welcome on campus. She attributed the success of this experience to the school’s ability to tailor each student’s education to meet his or her specific needs. “When you do what the student needs, you get a positive result,” she said.

In her second story, Paula also talked about tailoring the curriculum to meet student needs. She told the story of a high school class the previous year in which students and their teacher worked together to design a course based on what they wanted to learn and accomplish. At first, the students decided they wanted to study “music production. They were going to produce music,” Paula said with a slight laugh. Soon, however, “it was very clear that they were never going to produce anything... [they just] could never get it together.” So the teacher began to provide more structure, guiding the students toward essentially a music appreciation class. (“But we would never say that out loud because they would say ‘Ah! No, we’re not doing that!’”) She described the evolution of this course:

[They] talked about, how does music impact our daily lives? And what does it look like in advertising? What does it look like to each of us? And what are genres? And then they started talking about beats. Well when they started talking about beats, they started banging on things. Then when they started banging on things, they started talking about percussion and how rhythm has played ritualistic things...

In this way, the class was able to follow students’ changing interests while still exploring some important questions about music and society. In home schooling her son and now as a Head of School, Paula demonstrates her commitment to alternative approaches to

education. She used the metaphor of structure – “A K’NEX structure rather than a Lego structure” – to describe the type of environment she hopes to create in her school. This flexible framework allows students more freedom to design their own education, but it also requires a delicate balance between the needs or desires of the individual student and the needs of the whole class, the school, or the curriculum. Paula draws on her experience in business and criminal justice in managing this balance.

Discussion

When I set out to write about progressive education in the 21st century, I assumed that this would be a story about Dewey – how he lives on through the work of a select few who identify as progressive educators. And, in many ways, Dewey’s legacy can indeed be seen in each of these schools and in many other places today. Yet, ultimately, the image of progressive education that arose out of these individuals’ stories was far more complex and far richer than anything I could have predicted.

It is not the purpose of this work to engage in the long history of debates about the “true” meaning of progressivism, or who “won” and who “lost” (Labaree, 2005) the struggle for the curriculum nearly a century ago (Kliebard, 1995). Instead, I take for granted the validity of the participants’ experiences and use their stories to develop a new understanding of what progressive education means today. Their individual stories weave together to reveal three possible themes of the progressive experience. Progressive educators take risks, refuse to accept the status quo, and enact a curriculum that challenges the recent emphasis on standardization. Progressive educators work with students as individuals and as groups, supporting students as they learn to see themselves as part of a larger society. Finally, progressive educators are intimately connected to their work, finding meaning in their relationships with students, colleagues, and the curriculum.

Progressive Educators Take Risks

As educational leaders, Henry, Jim, and Paula make important decisions every day. The experiences they selected as most meaningful reveal a commitment to innovation. As Jim said, progressive education is based on “common sense and risk taking at the same time.” For him, “it was common sense what had to happen” with the fine arts program, yet he also knew that it was risky to undertake such a massive overhaul in a district that previously had not valued the arts. Again, although his version of “common sense” may not be universal, the notion of identifying a need and working against the odds to find a solution was certainly common to each of these progressive educators.

The other two educators echoed Jim’s sentiments. Paula noted that, at most schools, after a student is expelled, “he would have been done. There would have been no discussion about anything, either what he had already turned in or what he wanted to turn in.” But she was willing to take a chance on this student and allow him to finish his high school education at her school. Although the school had never made this kind of arrangement before, she remained hopeful that the student would be successful.

Henry, too, took a risk by giving up an old, proven curriculum to implement the new humanities model. He argued that progressive educators must be willing to make mistakes and not to know all the answers. Although this can be scary, it is also what makes this type of education so exciting, he said. Henry noted that, too often, educators try to make things “teacher-proof... And it doesn’t matter who you give it to, it’s going to be the same curriculum everywhere it’s taught.” But in his experience, the curriculum cannot and should not be standardized. Each teacher must be willing to let his or her students take the lead and explore ideas in their own ways.

Both Paula and Henry attributed some of their ability to take risks to the fact that they work in private, independent schools. Said Henry,

I think being a private school – an independent private school – what it does is give my faculty freedom. My faculty have autonomy to create curriculum... Our teachers are given that autonomy to be professionals and are treated as such.

While working at “Lab,” he experienced this autonomy first-hand as he and his colleagues took the initiative to create the new humanities program. Later, when he became the head of the middle school there and more recently at Marsh School, he has continued to emphasize the importance of teacher autonomy to create curriculum.

Private schools also have their disadvantages, of course. All three participants mentioned, either directly or indirectly, that private schools are dependent on money and parental support. In relation to his experience at Lab School, Henry said,

For us to continue to do the [humanities] program, we have to win over people who influence decision making, and parents do that in a private school. So we had to demonstrate that what we were doing for their students was effective, powerful learning.

Paula also spoke of needing to design a curriculum that would “justify paying the amount of money that some parents pay.” Thus, innovative progressive education may be constrained by a lack of buy-in from parents who must choose to send their children to a private school. Without a clear understanding of the school’s mission and some form of observable results, parents can easily choose to send their children – and their money – elsewhere.

Overall, Henry and Paula seem to appreciate their schools’ independent status. When asked if he thought a progressive approach is possible in a public school situation, Henry said, “I think it is, if we’re willing to make some important choices about those accountability pieces and what we think is important.” Jim would agree with this sentiment, as he makes these important choices in his district. He argued that most districts are worried about two things: money and standardized test scores. For him, these are minor concerns; the only thing that is important is a steadfast focus on his vision for the district. He said,

I’ve chosen to ignore them all and do our own thing anyway. I don’t care what they say, I’m still going to do what I think is right, regardless... Money has never been our problem in education... Our biggest challenge is preparing kids for a global world of change 24-7. Everything has to be geared toward that... Progressive education will only occur when you understand the real problem and you stop making excuses.

Despite outside pressure from politicians and difficult economic times, Jim finds ways to make his district more progressive. His risk taking extends well beyond implementing a new fine arts curriculum, to truly rethinking what a public school district can do.

Jim explained that the greatest hindrance to quality, progressive education in public schools is the government bureaucracy. “Politicians are always looking for simple solutions to very complex problems,” he said. Increasingly, these “simple solutions” have taken the form of high-stakes standardized testing. Both Jim and Henry commented that these measures have forced schools to focus on the wrong things. Henry said,

You know, standardized testing for measurement of how far kids are moving, I don’t know if that shows what they’re learning. I mean, particularly what we have now

where we're just testing reading comprehension and computational math skills. What about research? What about creative writing? What about conceptual mathematics? What about history? Art? Music? Languages? Physical education? You know, the things that make kids excited to come to school? Those are incredibly valuable.

In this climate of standardization and reduction of the curriculum, the choices that educators make to expand their curriculum and make it more student-driven can be incredibly risky. Ultimately, it seems that all three of these educational leaders are able to enact their visions of progressive education in their schools, regardless of their status as public or private institutions. Henry and Paula embrace the unknown as they share decision-making power with teachers and students. Meanwhile, Jim pushes the boundaries of public education, counting on his vision, rather than some externally-imposed standard, to drive the future of the district.

Progressive Educators Balance the Individual and the Social

Progressive education is often referred to as child-centered, by both supporters and critics. To its advocates, child-centered education means focusing on the student, recognizing what he or she knows and can do and supporting his or her development. To its detractors, child-centered education means a dangerous abandonment of established disciplines of knowledge, leading to disorganized, inefficient learning. Dewey (2001) famously intervened in this debate, arguing that it is a false dichotomy to place the student against the curriculum when in fact both are part of the same continuum. The curriculum cannot be entirely internal, following personal whim without guidance, but it also cannot be entirely external, divorced from the student's experience. Similarly, the teacher must support each student's individual development, but also help the student come to share in the larger society of the classroom and the world. Through their stories, Henry, Jim, and Paula spoke to the delicate balance that must be achieved between all of these factors: the individual, the social, and the curriculum.

As Henry noted repeatedly, progressive educators think more about who they teach than what they teach. What he did not say, however, is that progressive educators think *only* about who they teach. Indeed, in his story, the "what" – the curriculum – is still very much present, but it was brought to life and connected to students' experiences in ways that were meaningful for his particular group of early adolescents. Rather than simply writing a research report, through their projects students had the opportunity to do the work of historians, authors, architects, fashion designers, musicians, and orators. In this way, the project connected them not only to the history of their city, but also to the social history of these professions, something Dewey emphasized in his work at the University of Chicago Laboratory School, as well.

Paula's metaphor of the flexible structure is particularly helpful in understanding this balance between individual and social goals. She spoke from personal experience with her son, an accomplished glass blower, who is able to spend part of his school day at Greystone while also taking glass blowing courses at an art institute. Another student is working toward his pilot's license outside of school, earning elective credits and integrating his math and science studies. This flexibility of scheduling would not be possible at a larger institution, she said. Because she only has 43 students' schedules to manage, she is able to "take their word" about their extracurricular activities. In fact, she argued, when students are able to earn school credit while pursuing their passions, they often put in far more effort than the school requires.

Although she stressed the importance of building curriculum to meet students' needs, Paula also recognizes that this individual tailoring can present some significant challenges. She explained that when students first come to her school, "we tell them you can learn anything you want here, [and] they translate that in their minds as we can *do* anything we want here," which is not the case. Instead, she said, if a student does not want to do a

particular assignment, he or she must propose an alternative. For Paula, as long as students are able to demonstrate their learning, the exact format is inconsequential.

However, the flexible structure can only bend so far, Paula noted. At times, she explained, “I have to say, I’m sorry... If the state says you’ve got to do math, you’ve got to do math... I don’t get to choose that and neither do you.” Students are held accountable to school and state standards, all part of the process of helping them see themselves as part of a larger society. Paula explained that she feels that it is important to help students “keep their options open” as far as what they will do after graduating from her school, whether they currently think they want to attend college or not. Students fulfill the same graduation requirements as at traditional schools, but can do so in nontraditional ways.

From his position as superintendent, Jim is less directly involved in the process of balancing students’ interests with curricular guidelines. Although he did not place as much emphasis on flexibility as the other two participants, his experience, too, demonstrates the importance of attending to group needs while recognizing individual achievement. Thus, each of the educators works to find some kind of middle ground between individual and social goals, structure and flexibility.

Progressive Educators Find Meaning in their Work

With a commitment to risk taking and achieving a delicate balance between the individual and the social, progressive education can be a very challenging endeavor. Like any other educational leader, these progressive educators work long hours, confront issues from students and parents, and worry about fundraising. Yet, despite the many challenges, these individuals maintain a deep connection to their work. They find meaning in the relationships they build and in the connection of students to the curriculum.

As Lortie (1975) argued, teaching can be lonely work. Schools often become like “egg crates,” with each teacher working behind a closed door with his or her own class of students and little contact with other adults. Because of the “low task interdependence” in the profession (p. 15), teachers can feel isolated from their peers. It is interesting, then, that for these progressive educators relationships with colleagues were particularly salient. All three mentioned working with fellow educators in their stories of success. What made them feel most successful was not an independent accomplishment, but one achieved through collaboration with others who share common commitments. Thus, although they value professional autonomy and the ability to create a curriculum that is child-centered, an important part of what gives their work meaning is their connection to their fellow educators.

Perhaps even more important than their relationships with colleagues, however, were their relationships with students. As Henry said, it can be easy to forget amid all the other responsibilities of being a head of school, but ultimately this work “is about children.” Each of the educators shared stories of important connections they had with individual students. Jim, particularly, spoke about the influence a student had on him in making him completely rethink his priorities with regard to academics, athletics, and the arts. What had been just another task assigned by his superintendent suddenly became personal and he went “on a mission” to improve the condition and the value of the arts program in his district. This intimate moment was a turning point for him, as he continues this work in Wharton today.

Although student outcome measures, a common form of reward for many educators, are certainly important for these progressive educators, they take a number of different forms. None of the participants mentioned a single test they had given. In reflecting on his experience teaching middle school students about the Chicago World’s Fair, Henry said,

Those kids right now are in their 30s, [but] I would bet if you stopped one of them on the street walking through Chicago, they could give you a history of the fair. They didn't read it in a book; they didn't study it online; they lived it. And the learning was so deep that it stays with them... and I think that's the whole experiential learning piece. If you let kids live through something and go deeply into it, it's more meaningful and lasting. And that's what learning should be.

He added later that the greatest gift a student had ever given him was to say "you made me curious." The meaning for Henry came from seeing the "spark" in the student's eye and knowing that he would continue to seek new knowledge throughout the rest of his life.

As a superintendent, Jim sees results on an even larger scale. In the last three districts where he has worked, he took struggling schools and helped them blossom, achieving state and national recognition for excellence in education. For instance, in Traviston, he again invested heavily in the arts, opening up new opportunities for students. He explained that the school's choir program grew from 15 students to 240. "And those choirs... had never competed in a festival before, and my last year there, all five choirs got a superior rating at the district level and two of them went on to get a superior at the state level." For Jim, giving these students the experience of competing at a state music festival was a great accomplishment.

Finally, it is also interesting to note that Henry and Jim both spoke about experiences they had several years prior, while working at different schools. Their stories demonstrate a connection to the past and to the continuity of their own development as progressive educators. For them, the experience of being a progressive educator extends years into the past and, presumably, into the future.

Conclusion

Henry, Jim, and Paula offer us three images of progressive education in the 21st century. They told stories that reveal aspects of their personal practical knowledge, how they live their visions of progressive education in schools every day. Their stories share many commonalities, yet they maintain their unique priorities and approaches. In the end, this work does not aim to bring any kind of closure to debates about the nature of progressive education today. Progressive education is just as multifaceted now as ever in its history.

Through their stories we see that today's progressive educator may not follow a specific set of ideas or programs. Indeed, some might note that the themes of risk taking, seeking to balance the individual and the social, and finding meaning in ones work may be true of the experiences of many educators, not just those who identify as progressive. It may be that by allowing for a more expansive definition of progressive education in this piece I am diluting the efforts of those who have fought to bring more of Dewey's pedagogical progressivism (Labaree, 2005) into schools. On the other hand, it may also be just such an expansion that we need to reinvigorate these important conversations about what schools could look like. Tremmel (2010) argues that a large factor in the "downfall" (p. 129) of the progressive movement was its inability to move beyond certain programs, such as the project method of the early 20th century and the life adjustment curriculum of the mid 20th century. The "excesses" (p. 127) of these initiatives, he explains, led modern progressives to be "mistrusted," even "regarded as frivolous" (p. 121). Yet if one looks past the labels and examines what today's progressive educators actually do, it is clear that their experiences are not so unusual after all. One need not identify as a progressive educator to feel a connection to these individuals and their work, to learn from them, to see something of oneself in their stories.

Their stories challenge us to maintain a steadfast focus on doing what we believe is in the best interests of students – this work is about children, after all – regardless of the risks involved. They remind us to give students a voice in schools, and to form personal connections with them. More than anything, what these individuals give us is a chance to reflect on this exciting work. They invite us to return to our own practice with a renewed sense of the possible.

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Looking from Within: Prospects and Challenges for Progressive Education in Indonesia

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Abstract

Many Indonesian scholars (Azra, 2002; Darmaningtyas, 2004; Yunus, 2004), have attempted to bring progressive education to their country. They believe that progressive practices such as critical thinking, critical dialogue and child-centered instruction will help students learn better. However, this implementation is resisted because of cultural constraints and different philosophical beliefs, from which Indonesian education is historically based. In Indonesia, rote learning and teacher-centered classrooms, for instance, are still seen by some as appropriate. This article examines this tension between progressive and traditional Indonesian educational philosophies. It focuses particularly on child-centered instruction (CCI), and discusses the likelihood of its implementation in the Indonesian educational context.

Keywords: Indonesia, progressive education, child-centered learning, cultural constraints, critical thinking

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Introduction

Progressive education (PE) emerged in the late nineteenth and early 20th century, became established as an association (Progressive Education Association/PEA) in 1919, and had a heyday of both support and criticism that lasted until about 1955 with the end of PEA and its flagship journal, *Progressive Education*, two years later (Cremin, 1959). Part of a larger social reform movement to create a better and more equitable society, PE was concerned with using schools as the agent of progressive ideals such as democracy, community and citizenship. Though meaning different things to different people, and taken up and levelled in simplistic ways, PE based its philosophy on liberalism and pragmatism which meant simultaneously broadening the curriculum while honing in on “real” problems facing individuals. Specific ideas of an expanded curriculum concerned opening up the curriculum to interests of the child (especially tailoring education to the growing immigrant population at the turn of the century and beyond) as well as with family and community life. It encouraged organized but more free-flowing activity, and problem solving through collaborative, participatory inquiry. PE emerged as a strong reaction against the “traditional” form of top-down, teacher-centered American education of immobile bodies and a static, prescribed curriculum.

With its focus more on the student rather than the curriculum or the teacher, the basic tenet of PE was the development of students’ critical thinking. This type of thinking, according to philosopher John Dewey, a prominent influence on PE, only emerges when education allows students to express their opinions freely (Dewey, 1897). For Dewey, critical thinking was part of reflective thinking, which he defined as, “Active, persistent and careful consideration of a belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it, and the further conclusions to which it tends” (1909, p. 6). As the main objective of PE, critical thinking allows students to carefully consider received knowledge, and thus more fully participate in their learning (Dewey, 1997; Gutek, 2004). It encourages what today we think of as child-centered instruction (CCI), which gives students opportunities to ask questions and give responses during their learning process.

An important way that critical thinking can be generated is through collaborative learning (Dewey, 1997; Gutek, 2004), since teachers-students and student-student collaboration is part of the inquiry process. PE teachers, therefore, should be trained to teach using methods, such as “learning by doing, activity learning, group projects and problem solving” (Gutek, 2004, p. 296). Furthermore, PE, through CCI, has provided new insights into pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1986) because it merges three things: the child, content and pedagogy. This “child-centeredness,” though only one critical part of PE, attracted education policymakers in many parts of the world, and still does, by encouraging CCI within their respective educational contexts (see Isikoglu, Basturk, and Karaca, 2009.) This is not an exception to Indonesian educational settings (see Tilaar, 2002). However, the so-called ‘effective’ classroom practice of CCI does not always meet with success in the Indonesian educational context.

In this paper, I first provide the context of the analysis, which includes the Indonesian social, cultural and educational practices (Wahyudi & Fisher, 2006). I then analyse the nature of progressivism and scrutinize social and cultural factors leading to its ineffectiveness. In the final section, I provide suggestions to change Indonesian education to allow the implementation of CCI.

The Indonesian Context

Indonesia is remarkably rich in culture, religion, and language (Atwell, 2006; Wahyudi & Fisher, 2006; Mardiana, 2008). Over 40 ethnic groups and more than 200 ethnic languages are spoken in the Indonesian archipelago (Bjork, 2003). In the early days of

Indonesia's independence in 1945, Indonesian founders struggled to unite these diverse groups (Winarto, 2006). One means the government employed was to establish a unitary state system (Nishimura, 1995; Winarto, 2006). This *pancasila* ideology unifies ethnic and cultural diversities in Indonesia, and thus those living under the unitary state of Indonesia are encouraged to speak one national language, the Indonesian language, and live under one nation, the Republic of Indonesia. This policy has helped bring a sense of belonging to the Indonesian state. People of different ethnic backgrounds negotiate their ethnic cultural values to fit with the spirit of the unitary state. As a result, the Indonesian people synthesize their local and national "collective" identities; 'Indonesian culture' thus refers to the combinations of multiple cultural values belonging to various ethnicities living within the Indonesian unitary state (Winarto, 2006).

To further the unitary state ideology, the republic of Indonesia has adopted a centralized government system, including the system of education, since the 1970s (Noel, 2008). For instance, the regulations related to curriculum, school evaluation, and pedagogical process are determined by the central government (Bjork, 2004; Jones & Hagul, 2001). However, in the present Indonesia, the system of education has been partly decentralized (Bjork, 2004). For instance, the local government is now allowed to insert local curriculum content into the national curriculum (Bjork, 2005). A more decentralized system of education would open up a small space of hope for PE, if it allowed teachers enjoy more freedom to bring in local content that considers the needs of the students.

The other effort made to improve Indonesian education is through introducing teaching approaches known as PAKEM (active, creative, effective, and joyful teaching method) (Atwell, 2006). The PAKEM system mandates teachers to be classroom facilitators, and student participation is highly encouraged. PAKEM, guided by progressive principles, aims at helping students to enhance their problem-solving skills; it also develops students' potential and encourages them to be creative. In addition, PAKEM encourages students to work cooperatively and thus individual differences are appreciated. This instructional process indeed resembles the CCI proposed by John Dewey.

However, like other failed school reforms, PAKEM lacks success in many Indonesian schools. Factors leading to this problem seem to be complicated, which will be elaborated later on. This article, therefore, focuses on possible reasons why child-centered instruction does not work well in the Indonesian educational setting. In the following section, I analyse the causes of CCI ineffectiveness in the Indonesian educational system. My analysis starts with the social and cultural barriers that inhibit the implementation of CCI.

Child-Centered Instruction in Indonesia

Teachers have become the scapegoat for the failure of CCI (see Bjork, 2003; Noel, 2008). However, the factors for this failure are more complicated than they seem. Cultural, social, philosophical, and political factors contribute to the difficulties of CCI implementation in the Indonesian context. The following section attempts to address the force of those sociocultural factors that impact school culture, and explore the conflicts taking place within Indonesian school buildings.

School culture

Culture refers to the beliefs and ways of life of a group of people (Giddens, 2001). It shapes the way people dress, communicate, engage in religious practices, and do daily activities. Because culture and society intersect, different societies produce different cultural values, which in turn shape different ways of thinking and behaving (Giddens, 2001; Hall, 1996; Newman, 2004). In short, culture shapes one's identity. For that reason, I argue that people who live in a particular setting construct their own collective identities, which are not

necessarily shared with individuals beyond their localities. This is because identity is relational; it is embedded in space, time, and culture. It is relative to how we see ourselves and compare ourselves to different people in a larger social sphere. In other words, we identify ourselves through our relationships to others. To be sure, students living in different social status and going to different types of schools think and act differently (Finn, 1999). For example, Indonesian students living in rural areas who attend low-income schools, will definitely perceive things differently from those living in affluent environments.

To confirm the belief that certain cultural values influence school culture, Finn (1999) conducted a study of the effects of cultures on educational practices. He finally concluded that certain cultural values indeed shape school culture. He shows four types of schools, which are influenced by cultures and thus school practices are different in those four schools. In the first type of school, the 'working class school', students are trained to sit still and to listen, and lessons are transferred top down. Students are required to copy notes given by their teachers. The learning atmosphere in the 'middle-class school' is somewhat similar to those in the first type of school. It is still mostly teacher centered teaching through textbooks, in which students are to read textbooks and answer questions afterward. In the 'affluent professional school', the focus shifts to developing students' personality and creativity, while in the 'executive elite school', stimulating students' reasoning and problem solving competence is what is valued. Finn shows how students' backgrounds—particularly social class— influence the entire culture of the school including curricular expectations and pedagogy.

Finn (1999) also suggests that parents' social and educational backgrounds shape their ways of raising children. For example, in the traditional families, parents tend to dominate their children during interaction, which leads to children's passivity. Children were discouraged to communicate and express their opinions. In addition, in a traditional family, there was a fixed division in roles of family members. For instance, children were shaped to listen and to respect authority, their elders. Children coming from this type of family will certainly face difficulties adjusting to their progressive classroom, since the social discourses clash (Finn, 1999). In sum, Finn's work shows how differences in class and family social, cultural and educational background shape school cultures.

The school culture is defined as daily activities performed by students, teachers, school administrators and other school members. Their everyday customs, rituals, and ceremonies taking place within a particular school building are seen as a school culture. Colley (1999) sees that "the culture of a school is composite of the conditions that are specific to the students, teachers, administrators and parents of a school building" (p. 12). This definition implies that school culture influences curriculum and regulations implemented at schools based on the people it serves. At the same time, however, school culture is constructed through ideologies, customs and cultures surrounding a school building (Hinde, 2004). The forces of culture are both internal and external.

Hinde (2004) adds some other factors shaping school cultures. She suggests that in addition to local ideologies, school governance, such as types of leadership, shapes school cultures. For example, when a particular school adopts hierarchical leadership, in which teachers are expected to abide by principals' commands, school cultures tend to be different, if compared to schools that adopt transformational or distributed leadership.

Colley (1999) suggests that successful school cultures are characterized through attributes of school members, such as "openness, informality, care, attentiveness, lateral working relationships, reciprocal collaboration, candid and vibrant dialogue, and willingness to face uncertainty together" (p. 12). Meanwhile, unsuccessful schools are also characterized through its members' attributes, such as unwillingness to care, to collaborate, and to solve

school problems together. School cultures may positively influence educational practices and at the same time, they also inhibit the function of schooling.

In what follows, I review Indonesian school cultures, which inhibits the implementation of CCI. I draw from studies by Brett Riley Noel (2008), Christopher Bjork (2003, 2004, and 2005), Sudarwan Danim (2003), Yunita T. Winarto (2006), and other scholars on Indonesian school cultures. I also consult some in-service teachers in their first accounts of Indonesian school cultures. Finally, I refer to my own reflexivity as an insider of the Indonesian educational system.

Referring to Colley's (1999) notion of school cultures, I see that all kinds of activities taking place within Indonesian school buildings are considered Indonesian school cultures. There are positive school cultures that enhance learning and also the negative ones that inhibit learning. Colley (1999) suggests that "the culture either enhances or stifles growth" (p.10). Here, I focus on Indonesian school cultures that inhibit the implementation of CCI, in particular. The review does not imply that Indonesian education has failed to educate Indonesian citizens. Instead, it merely identifies school cultures that inhibit the implementation of CCI.

The Ideology of Indonesian Society and School Cultures

Most Indonesian children, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, are raised to listen and to abide by their elders' commands and requests (Danim, 2003; Winarto, 2006; Zulfikar, 2010), and thus respecting elders is a necessity, and a strict code of conduct. Since their childhood, most Indonesian students have been exposed to cultural and social contexts, in which elders are seen as wiser, more intelligent and more experienced individuals, and thus they are worth respecting, and thus, children are not taught to express their ideas that may contradict those of their parents. Winarto (2006) asserts that:

Whatever the form of family is in a heterogeneous society like Indonesia, parents, older generations and/or close relatives play important role in planting the 'seeds' for cultural transmission and perpetuation. The similar their cultural and religious backgrounds are the easier the parents' jobs-supported by their kindred/relatives-in transmitting their values and norms to the children (Winarto, 2006, p. 21)

Parents' roles within a particular Indonesian household are significant in shaping their children's ways of being in the society. For all children, their family is the first institution of their socialization (Poole, 2007), and influences how they will be raised and educated.

As culture shapes one's life, Indonesian children's cultural values in a way shape their ways of being at school. Since children are not accustomed to learning independently, most students come to class uninspired, hoping their teachers provide them with what to do and how to do it. This applies to most students in Indonesia, in which they position themselves as knowledge receivers rather than as knowledge seekers. Twenty in-service teachers that I interviewed suggested that their students are reluctant to raise questions or comment on teaching materials; they would rather receive information from their teachers. For these teachers, this condition stifles the learning process. However, they argued that since they are teaching in remote areas, in which most students come from low class families, this fact is common. Student parents' main concern is not at developing their children's creative thinking; rather, their expectation is that their children can help them with family work, such as plantation and farming.

In addition, I found that some college students in some parts of the Indonesian archipelago also consider themselves knowledge receivers. For example, in my educational

philosophy class, I found that only a small number of students participate in the instructional process. The rest of the students chose to listen and to write down information I passed to them. The students suggested that they are accustomed to taking notes on everything the teachers dictate. They seem comfortable being non-participative in their learning. While students understand that classroom participation is essential for effective learning, they noted that they were raised to act and behave passively in the classroom.

This phenomenon is not unique to Indonesian students, though it is deeply embedded in Indonesian culture. Marsh, Richards & Smith (2001) indicate that students in many parts of the world are not willing to fully engage in autonomous learning. It means that they fail to participate in the classroom, and thus a child-centered system of education is not possible. They indicate that while the notion of independent learning is popular; in practice this concept “leads to confusion of message for both students and tutor” (March, et al., 2001, p. 384).

This confusion is aggravated by the emergence of two conflicting principles of learning. While some believe that learning is the process of independent construction of knowledge by learners, others view it as the product, in which knowledge is transferred by teachers (Marsh, et al., 2001). They argue that:

A culture that does not prepare its children to be independent and autonomous cannot reasonably expect it to emerge spontaneously in adulthood. ... The transition from thinking based on explanation to one based on critical evaluation is a major one. The move from an individual/competitive ethos to a group/consensual learning environment, from a ‘closed’ learning agenda to an open and flexible one, places greater demands on individual learners (Marsh, et al., 2001, p. 389).

This quote indicates that independent learning as promoted by CCI is challenged by certain social and cultural patterns.

Another part of school culture that may inhibit the emergence of CCI is Indonesians’ perceptions of teachers. Indonesians see teachers as respectable people from whom knowledge is derived. Teachers in Indonesia are assumed as more than mere facilitators of learning (Danim, 2003). Some inservice teachers I interviewed agreed with this. They affirm that teachers are seen as moral boulders, in which they foster both intellectual and spiritual competence in their students. As teachers are seen as such in the Indonesian society, it is difficult to expect students to raise critical questions to their teachers. It has been fossilized in students’ minds that they do not enjoy many privileges to criticize their teachers. As this way of perceiving teachers persists in the Indonesian society, the future of progressive education is less likely.

Muhaimin (2005) suggests that Indonesian teachers, especially within Islamic education, are seen within six attributes: *ustadz*, *mu’allim*, *murabby*, *mursyid*, *mudarris*, and *muaddib*. These attributes define teachers in Indonesian education, as committed, competent in their field, professional in their classroom practices, role models for their students, and responsible not only to transfer knowledge but also to shape students’ attitudes. They are life-long learners who care not only to improve their own knowledge but are also responsible to teach students to be intellectually and spiritually matured.

In a *pesantren*, the oldest type of educational institution in Indonesia (Nishimura, 1995), these attributes are more obvious. Teachers in the *pesantren* are seen as intellectually and spiritually mature. These qualities elevate the teachers’ position to mentor, and they are respected for their deep Islamic knowledge and wisdom. For that reason, students in the *pesantren* do not contradict their teachers’ opinions. They tend to sit still and listen to their teachers’ preaching.

Indonesian teacher attributes seem to be different from those of progressive teachers. Progressive teachers are encouraged to use democratic teaching styles, such as implementing dialogic education. There is no or little emphasis is given to spiri students' spirituality. Progressive education focuses on empowering students' intellectual capacity through critical thinking and a democratic approach. It encourages creative thinking and collaborative problem-solving. In the Indonesian classroom, however, the focus is on student discipline; they have to sit politely, listen to teachers attentively and are not encouraged to contradict teachers' opinions explicitly (Damin, 2003). This suggests that the ideologies and cultural practices of general Indonesian society have shaped school cultures that discourage the implementation of CCI.

The Influence of School Governance on School Cultures

Hinde (2004) suggests that school cultures are also shaped by school governance and its underlying philosophy. Indonesian education is based on a philosophy resembling idealism. It aims at shaping students to be intellectually and morally adequate (Nishimura, 1995). In addition, Indonesia education prepares its students with skills that help them get jobs and make money but also shape their moral conduct (Nishimura, 1995). It also treats students as immature human beings needing adult help; thus, teachers are positioned as intellectual adults that are capable of helping their unformed students. For this reason, it is not surprising that teacher-centred instruction is still commonplace in the Indonesian classroom. This philosophical basis perhaps stifles the implementation of CCI.

One of the Indonesian founders, Ki Hajar Dewantara, suggests that Indonesian education lies on seven principles. First, Indonesian education aims to promote students' personal talents without coercion. Second, it guides students to "think and act of their own free will" (Nishimura, 1995, p. 22). Third, it is not exclusive; it should respect cultural values embedded within the Indonesian society, and should be accessible to all Indonesian. The fourth principle is independency, in which foreign aid for education should be rejected to maintain Indonesian's sovereignty. The fifth principle is non-cooperation, that Indonesia should rely on its own power to help improve education. The sixth principle is 'self reliance' (Nishimura, 1995, p. 23). The seventh is to "dedicate oneself to children." Taken together, these principles suggest that Indonesian educators and policy makers may want to develop a culture- and religious-specific education, such as the *pesantren*, in order to preserve its unique culture.

The other factor to inhibit CCI is thick curriculum content. Indonesian education requires teachers to fulfil the fixed structure of the national curriculum. There is no room available for teachers to negotiate the curriculum content. This type of rigid curriculum expectation has put teachers in a dilemma. While they were invited to engage in instructional reform and to implement creative and democratic teaching, they were trapped into meeting curriculum deadlines (Bjork, 2003). This obligation perhaps has reduced teachers' teaching creativity, since they focus on meeting curriculum deadline for the sake of summative examination rather than promoting interesting instruction. This fact is supported by in service teachers I interviewed. All of them perceived that meeting the curriculum deadline is their priority. They have to pay attention mostly to preparing their students to succeed on summative examinations.

Another problem with implementing CCI in Indonesian schools is that students are required by the curriculum to learn various subjects that are not necessarily in line with their field of interests. These students may be less likely participate in the classroom. The students in my educational philosophy class agree that they sometimes choose not to participate in the learning process upon taking subjects that are not of their interest. As the result, they do not engage in a genuine learning; they only participate when their participation is counted toward the final grade. Otherwise they will remain silent.

In the process of instruction, most Indonesian teachers, as found by Bjork (2004) and Noel (2008), use the “teacher talk” method (Shor, 1992). Teacher talk refers to the amount the teacher talks and dominates classroom activities. For example, teachers tend to spend time explaining the lesson, and give only a small chunk of time for students to respond and participate in learning. This kind of practice prevails because some Indonesian teachers fail to be creative in their teaching (Azra, 2002; Bjork, 2005; Noel, 2008; Tilaar, 2002).

Most in-service teachers I interviewed suggested that improving their teaching competence is not their main concern, nor is it their colleagues. As found by Bjork (2004) and Noel (2008), students are not able to make *students* as their subject matters, and some of them lack the ability to provide generative themes (Freire, 1970) representing students’ interests. It has been evident from the work of Noel (2008) that most Indonesian teachers do not share classroom authority with their students. They tend to maintain the status quo, through which they see themselves as more intelligent and more experienced than their students (Noel, 2008), and this is in line with strong cultural expectations.

Noel (2008) further comments that:

Most teachers teach from a raised floor space with their students seated in uniform rows in front of them. The teacher/student ratio is generally very high especially in urban settings. In rural settings, many teachers are responsible for more than one grade level within one classroom. Most often, students do not talk unless they are addressed. (Noel, 2008, p. 80)

Here, Noel describes an ‘unsuccessful’ or non-progressive Indonesian classroom culture. He suggests that teacher-centred classrooms still dominate in Indonesia. Indonesian teachers still create boundaries – both physical and emotional – with their students (Danim, 2003). This condition can be easily found in working class and middle class Indonesian schools in both rural and urban areas. However, in present Indonesia, I see some shifts in classroom cultures, in which teachers have realized that teaching is not merely a one-way transfer of knowledge. However, it has yet to become a common phenomenon.

Revitalizing CCI in Indonesian Classrooms

No school reform succeeds without changing the school culture. To encourage the use of CCI, I see that Indonesian school cultures need to shift. My first suggestion is to change parents’ outlook on the nature of schooling and education. This suggestion seems fantastical, since it is almost impossible to change cultures embedded in certain communities. However, it can happen over time. Education practitioners in Indonesia can begin by inviting parents to engage in regular meetings within the school building. The aims of the meetings may vary, but one goal is to make parents aware of their significant role to shape their children’s critical thinking.

In 2003, The Indonesian school system established school committees (Komite Sekolah, the Indonesian term) in all schools. The school committee was established based on the government regulation no. 20, 2003 chapter 56. The committee acts as the controlling agency, advisory agency and supporting agency. In addition, the committee encourages parents and general society to participate in improving schools. Through effective roles played by school committee, parents and the larger community are aware of their significant role in shaping their children’s critical thinking and active participation in learning. When students get used to reflective, critical thinking, the implementation of CCI may be more feasible. However, the school committee in many Indonesian schools has been incapable of exercising these significant roles (Rahmawati, 2009).

The other changes in school culture should aim at teacher education. Teachers are important components in an educational institution (Shor, 1992). The quality of education is closely related to teachers' qualification. I believe that for teachers to implement CCI, they need to be properly trained and well informed about it. The training should target multiple issues, such as teachers and students' interaction, teachers' languages and teachers' attitudes in the classroom. This is because shaping teachers' attitudes is as important as improving teachers' instructional skills. Teachers should be encouraged to regularly reflect on their teaching

In addition, teachers need to understand that interaction is related to academic achievement. Finn (1999), Kohl (1994), and Shor (1992) indicate that teachers need to get involved with their students. This information is important because Noel (2008) indicates that most Indonesian teachers set up barriers and distance themselves from students, which makes student participation less likely

In addition, teachers need to develop awareness about the language used in instruction. Kohl (1994) discourages teachers to speak with the language that may humiliate students, since humiliating students will definitely inhibit learning process (Gutek, 1992; Kohl 1994). In addition, humiliation, such as 'you are not smart enough to learn this subject', for example would shape students' identity, in which they will position themselves the way they are labelled (Macionis & Plummer, 2002). Therefore, teachers' good communication skills are prerequisite for effective classroom practices.

In making CCI applicable in Indonesian classroom, teachers need to learn about students' interests; this is what Shor (1992), borrowing from Freire (1970) refers to as generating interesting learning themes. In response to this demand, Indonesian policymakers and teacher trainers should support special training addressing this issue. For example, teachers can learn that to teach a particular subject such as a healthy diet, they might start by asking their students about their own diet habits instead of immediately following prescribed curriculum content. When teachers start the lesson this way, students will be motivated to give responses because the issues being discussed are theirs.

This section has suggested several steps that teachers might consider in encouraging students to participate in their learning process. The teachers' content, tone and language of instruction, attitude toward students and their ability to generate interesting learning themes are prerequisite to the effective implementation of CCI. However, these suggestions remain useless if there is no political will of the government to improve Indonesian education.

There are several main issues that the central government needs to address in order to improve Indonesian education. It has been evident from the work of several scholars, one of which is Bjork (2005), that class size has been a big issue experienced by the Indonesian education system. Scholars such as Lee and Loeb (2000) have found that class-size negatively impacts instructional process. For sure, CCI is more difficult in a large classroom. Teachers find it challenging to monitor all students from one big classroom and it is difficult to encourage everyone to participate.

To solve this problem, the Indonesian government needs to provide sufficient financial resources to deal with big class size. The government annual budget should target this issue. For instance, students in one classroom should be limited to 20-25 students. Such a small classroom size helps teachers to effectively monitor students' progress, and can encourage students to participate and engage in active learning.

The other issue that needs addressing is that of extensive subject matter. Individual teachers are not authorized to reduce the amount of content. Educators and administrators

need to encourage the central government to reconsider its required content. The central government may need to think of reducing some unnecessary or repetitive subject matters from the curriculum. For example,, policymakers could advocate to offer subject matter that is closely linked to students' interest and their field of knowledge.

To revise the curriculum content, Indonesian educational policymakers may adopt types of curriculum designed from overseas countries, which are culturally and socially different from Indonesia. However, the Indonesian government needs to make an in-depth evaluation on the weaknesses and the strength of the imported curriculum. In addition, the policymakers ought to measure and consider the applicability of the curriculum, since it may not fit the Indonesian context.

As a matter of fact, Indonesian education has undergone constant curriculum changes; Indonesian education has implemented the curriculum of 1947, 1952, 1964, 1968, 1975, Competent Based Curriculum (KBK, the Indonesian term), and School Based Curriculum (KTSP, the Indonesian term). However, none of these adopted curricula have worked well to improve the Indonesian education system. This is because in-depth evaluation of the applicability and relevance of the adopted curriculum has not been properly done (Danim, 2003).

In addition to changing the curriculum, the Indonesian government should design new kinds of assessment. In present Indonesia, teachers are not able to be creative in terms of assessment systems because they are trapped with the mandates of the national curriculum (Zulfikar, 2009). Teachers are powerless to challenge the assessment system. There has been indeed a rejection of summative assessment as practiced in the Indonesian setting (Zulfikar, 2009). However, this system prevails. Marsh, et al (2001) suggest that to enable teachers to implement child-centered instruction, they should be given authority to design their own formative assessment, which is in line with the process of learning. They argue teachers are the one who understand the conditions of their students, and are thus best suited to design assessments. Unless the Indonesian government shifts its assessment system, CCI will face its greatest challenges in the Indonesian classroom.

The other issue that the Indonesian policymakers need to consider is classroom setting and facilities. As discussed earlier, Indonesian students in most schools sit in rows in big classrooms. Circular seating is much more effective in helping students learn. In addition to seating arrangement, Indonesian classroom should be equipped with devices that help effective learning to occur. Projectors, computers and on-line access are important technologies to import to Indonesian classroom. These facilities will enhance the feasibility in the implementation of CCI. For example, the projector enables teachers to project learning materials in the classroom vividly. This allows students to grasp knowledge in multiple ways, and at the same time perhaps help them communicate subject matter with their colleagues.

Conclusion

This article explores multiple factors leading to the ineffective implementation of CCI in the Indonesian context. Cultural difference is considered one of the main factors that inhibit Indonesian education to implement this type of instruction. Ideologies of the general Indonesian society and school cultures are believed to contribute to the ineffectiveness of CCI in the Indonesian classroom. In addition, the article recognizes that school governance also inhibits teachers to implement this teaching practice within their classrooms. Issues of standardized curriculum and system assessment, and classroom setting have made CCI difficult to apply in the Indonesian educational context. To provide insights on how to revitalize this kind of instruction in the Indonesian classroom, this article offers some suggestions such as improving teachers' pedagogical competence through teacher education,

curriculum reformat and also the government political will and support, to open the space that allows the implementation of CCI in the Indonesian classroom.

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An Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks in Turkey: From National Citizenship to Global Citizenship¹

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine Social Studies textbooks in terms of national and global citizenship. The research was carried out using qualitative research methodologies. Interpretive thematic analysis was used to examine the social studies textbooks from 4th grade through 8th grade. The analyses showed that the Social Studies textbooks put more emphasis on national citizenship but they inadequately deal with global information so as to create global sensitivity. The Social Studies textbooks do not adequately discuss economic, social, political systems, cultural differences and problems in both national and global scales. The Social Studies textbooks tend to be guided by nationalist and republican policies while they offer limited content and activities for students to improve their competences for political literacy, participation, critical thinking, respect for diversity and conflict resolution.

Keywords: Citizenship education, social studies, textbook, curriculum, global citizenship.

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Introduction

In recent years, with the increase of transnational and cross-cultural interaction, more and more people are beginning to adopt an understanding of living in multicultural societies, global economy and global citizenship (Banks, 2004; Brodie, 2004; Davies, 2006; NCSS, 1982). A global citizen should have some qualities like awareness of a wider world and a sense of a role as a citizen of the world, respect for values and diversity, understanding of how the world functions economically, politically, socially, culturally, technologically and environmentally, conception of social justice, motivation to participate in and contribute to the community at both local and global levels, willingness to act to make the world more equitable and sustainable place, and responsibility for their action (Marshall, 2009; Oxfam, 1997; Quillen, 1944). In this regard, countries aim to have their citizens acquire global citizenship qualifications in recent years. Global citizenship education aims to educate children and young people with the understanding, skills, and values that help them become more 'globally minded' (Marshall, 2009). According to NCSS (1982), the purpose of global education is to cultivate in young people a perspective of the world, which highlights the interconnectedness among cultures, species, and the planet. Banks (2004) states that in order to create an effective citizenship curriculum that will educate students to be active citizens in their cultural communities, nation-states and in the world community, the curriculum should provide opportunities to reflect the complex national identities within the growing diversity of the world. In elementary education, Social Studies course plays an important role in global citizenship education. The acquisitions covered in Social Studies are consistent with the competences of global citizenship (Evans, 1987; NCSS, 1994).

Turkey is a country in an ongoing process of European Union full membership. For this reason, since the early 2000s, Turkey has adopted the objective of educating its citizens to be open for communication and integration with the world as a policy. The purpose of citizenship education, in Turkey context, is to gain the competences of the European and global citizenship as a part of supra-national citizenship in addition to national citizenship competencies. In Turkey, Social Studies course is considered as the main course in citizenship education. Therefore, it is important to critically analyze social studies textbooks in terms of global citizenship. This study investigates how concepts of national and global citizenship are covered in Social Studies textbooks (from 4th grade to 8th grade), which were revised within the framework of active and democratic citizenship principles. Analyzing textbooks of Social Studies provides significant information about the citizenship qualities desired in Turkey. The findings from this study are expected to show teachers the problems in textbooks regarding the implementation of national and global citizenship, to help textbook authors eliminate these problems and to contribute to the formation of educational policies for global citizenship.

Citizenship and Textbooks

Although it is essential to use various resources in citizenship education, in many countries, teachers still use textbooks as the primary source and shape their practices based on them (Lebrun, *et al.*, 2002; Ramonowski, 1995). Studies that analyze textbooks in terms of citizenship, democracy and human rights (Aslan, & Karaman-Kepenekçi, 2008; Brindle & Arnot, 1999; Firer, 1998; Collado & Atxurra, 2006; Kepenekçi, 2005; Meyer, Bromley & Ramirez, 2010; Romanowski 1994; Moss, 2010; Suárez, 2008; Tooth, 2008) identity and citizenship (Lee, 2011; Wang, 1999) and gender roles (Brindle & Arnot, 1999; Naseem, 2006) report that many contents and messages affect the formation of citizen perception and competences.

Several cross-national and longitudinal studies found that textbooks are formed according to countries' politics and culture (Lebrun, *et al.* 2002; Meyer, Bromley & Ramirez,

2010; Tooth, 2008). The ethnocentric and national educational policies of many countries are reflected in their curriculums and textbooks (Çayır, 2009; Dong-Bae, 2010). Apple (2004, cited in Su, 2007) states that curriculums and textbooks act as agents for reflecting a state's citizenship policies and the values and principles of a political power. Crawford (2004) claims that, by supporting the dominant cultural, political and ideological views of the society, textbooks contribute to the formation of a culturally homogeneous society and strengthening and spread of the dominant cultures. Also, some cultures impose an individual notion of citizenship in their textbooks while some other put more emphasis on communitarian citizenship (Imada, 2010; Suárez, 2008; Terra, 2008). These studies suggest that particularly the concept of citizenship in textbooks play a key role in shaping students' perception of citizenship.

Citizenship in textbooks in Turkey

In Turkey, transmission of the understanding of citizenship in textbooks has been shaped in line with politics. A policy of national and republican citizenship has been adopted since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (1923) until the 2000s. Efforts to raise loyal national citizens were carried out along with modernizations efforts (Kadioğlu, 2007; Üstel, 2004). During the single-party period (1923-1950), nationalism came to the fore as a result of the efforts to create a nation state the origins of citizenship were determined as national history, national language and national culture and devotion, diligence, submissiveness and good morals were emphasized as properties of a citizen. On the other hand, during the multi-party period (1950-1980), the origin of citizenship transformed into commonality with an emphasis on common culture, common land, common language and common culture and 'a citizen' was defined as an obedient, respecting and responsible individual. After 1980, textbooks included the Turkish-Islamic synthesis with emphasis on the unity of religion. In the 2000s, the notion of citizenship evolved into a collective identity within the framework of "humanistic awareness" (Gürses & Pazarcı, 2010). Research conducted in Turkey report that textbooks define good citizens as responsible and loyal individuals who can sacrifice anything for the sake of national solidarity and unity, care about the society more than themselves and act accordingly (Kılıç-Oğuz, 2007; Üstel, 2004). Moreover, obedience was integrated into textbooks by blessing authority and textbooks highlighted the older against the younger, men against women, the state against the citizen and duties against rights by trivializing the individual (Gemalmaz, 2003). Until the 2000s Social Studies textbooks tended to deal more with national issues, national history, national geography and national economy whereas transnational issues were limited to the Renaissance and Reformation, history of Europe, neighboring countries of Turkey and Central Asian Turkish states. The primary objective during this period was to educate students in accordance with national values with a textbook-driven and teacher-centered education.

Turkey's European Union [EU] accession process was a turning point in its global citizenship education. Starting in the 2000s, the national and collectivist citizenship education policy in Turkey turned into an efficient and democratic citizenship education. In this respect, the Turkish Ministry of National Education [MoNE] developed new curriculum in 2004 based on the norms, aims and educational concepts of EU (MoNE, 2001). In the scope of the revisions, global citizenship has found its place in Social Studies textbooks in terms of increasing awareness of concept of citizenship beyond national framework and developing recognition for global citizenship. The revised Social Studies curriculum covered a learning domain "Global connections" and used the statement '*to care about adopting universal values by centering on national identity*' (MoNE, 2005a, p.51). Analyzes on the revised textbooks indicated that the new textbooks regarded an enlightened citizen as a responsible individual who questions local and global issues (Gürses & Pazarcı, 2010) and the 6th and 8th grades covered more of global values (Özkan, 2010). However, Çayır (2009) claims that the strong nationalist approach, which existed in Turkey for many years, still continues to be

emphasized in the new textbooks through national identity and students are not given a multicultural perspective. Also, Özkan (2010) states that values such as unity, loyalty, patronage, obedience and solidarity are still prevalent in the revised Social Studies textbooks. On the other hand, although these two studies report that a national concept of citizenship continues to exist in the textbooks, they do not give a detailed description of the missing aspects in the textbooks in terms of global citizenship.

Methodology

Sample

In Turkey, which has a centralized education system, textbooks are designed by a commission of field experts and teachers or by private publishers. After MoNE's approval, textbooks are distributed free to students. The textbooks to be analyzed in this study were selected by purposive sampling. The study analyzed a total of 5 textbooks prepared by MoNE: Social Studies (from 4th grade to 7th grade) and History of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism (8th grade). The reason for choosing textbooks prepared by the Ministry was the idea that the state would reflect the citizenship policy better than private publishers. The study specifically tried to determine the national and global citizenship perspective of the textbooks prepared and distributed by MoNE (the textbooks analyzed are given in the appendix).

Data Analysis

The textbooks analyzed in this study were considered as the official document of the Ministry of National Education and examined in detail. In qualitative research, documents can be used as a stand-alone data source or they can also be used with other data for diversity (Bowen, 2009). In this study, the textbooks were investigated with interpretative thematic analysis. Although thematic analysis is based on theoretical perspective, it allows the researcher to be flexible and creative in the re-creation of themes and offers rich data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In this study, defining themes of the data obtained through the analysis of textbooks was based on studies that evaluate textbooks in terms of active and democratic citizenship, European citizenship and world citizenship education (Firer, 1998; Kepenekçi, 2005; La Caba Collado & Rafael, 2006; Tooth, 2008) and theoretical studies (Keating, 2009a; Keating, Ortloff & Philippou 2009; Oxfam; 1997). In addition, the competences of national and global citizenship in the Social Studies curriculum and textbooks, global citizenship (Oxfam, 1997) and the European Reference Framework of Key competences for Lifelong Learning [EC] (2007) qualifications were taken into consideration. The textbooks were analyzed and interpreted under the following themes:

- 1) Politically knowledgeable citizen: Governance, human rights, social and political issues.
- 2) Intellectual citizen: Critical thinking and problem solving.
- 3) Active and Participating Citizen: Political and social participation.
- 4) Virtuous Citizen: Identity, commitment and belonging, responsibility, respect and tolerance, solidarity, conflict resolution and peace.

The Social Studies textbooks in 4th-8th grades were analyzed within the scope of the themes identified and in terms of the basic competencies of national and global citizenship. Thus, the basic competencies of national and global citizenship in the Social Studies textbooks were analyzed comparatively in developmental terms. The findings are described on the matrix in Table 1 and supported by direct quotations from the textbooks.

Table 1. The issues in Social Studies textbooks about the dimensions of the national and global citizenship

Theme	Grade	<i>National citizenship</i>	<i>Global citizenship</i>
Governance and power	4-5	Governance structure (local and national government departments and directors, tasks) Democracy (elections, the people's sovereignty and independence), TR State properties (Atatürk's principles) Rules and the law (class contract, constitutions)	Governance in various countries around the world History of democracy in the world (Athens, the Magna Carta, invention of the printing press, the Age of Enlightenment, French Revolution, declaration of the Ottoman constitutional monarchy, Grand National Assembly of Turkey, World War II, the fall of the Berlin Wall)
	6-8	Relations of the Republic of Turkey (economic and political), Turkish governance forms (monarchy, oligarchy, theocracy and republic), governance and democracy in Turkish states, the national governance (electoral, constitutional, legislative, executive and judicial process) State information (historical events, and Atatürk's principles and revolutions)	Recent political events (the breakup of the USSR, the cold war period, the Gulf wars) Organizations which Turkey belongs to (European Union, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, NATO, UN)
Human rights	4-5	Special rights (Consumer rights, children's rights, women's rights, democracy and human rights relationship in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey)	Development of human rights (the laws of Hammurabi, the Magna Carta, Ottoman Law, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European human rights conventions)
	6-8	Citizenship rights (The right to elect and to be elected-at school and in country) Human rights (Personal rights, social and economic rights and political rights) Special rights (women's rights - social and political)	Environmental rights (1982 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Summit of the Caspian Sea and Black Sea ecology) Special rights (women's right to elect and to be elected)
Social issues and problems	4-5	Environment (earthquakes, environmental pollution)	Environment (earthquakes, global warming, species extinction, deforestation)
	6-8	Environmental problems (Southeastern Anatolia Project forest fires, erosion), Economic issues (energy sources-boron metal, pirate publishing, internal migration, brain drain Political (activities of reactionary, separatist activities, missionary, the Armenian issue)	Environmental issues (forest fires, earthquakes, global warming) Economic (insufficiency of energy resources) Health problems (bird flu, AIDS), migration (political, economic)
Critical thinking and problem solving	4-5	Critical thinking (school committee, media broadcasting)	
	6-8	Problem solving (boron, unplanned urbanization, environmental issues, organ donation, political problems)	Problem solving (global warming)
Participation	4-5	Participation in decision-making (in the family) Non-governmental organizations (health, environment, education) Petition, the public	
	6-8	Protest, petition, the public, Participation in social activities at school	The international community (nuclear energy) Protest (Hon Kong human rights)
Commitment and belonging	4-5	National citizenship and commitment (the national history, Turkish War of Independence, Foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, flag, national anthem, the national language, national sovereignty)	Geographic (Geographical position, climate, crops of some countries,) Economic (International economic trade, the world's agriculture, trade and service sectors)
	6-8	Historical and cultural commitment (History of Anatolia and Anatolian civilization, Turkish history)	Intercultural relations in history (economic and cultural) Turkish citizens living abroad
Responsibility	4-5	Immediate social environment (family, friends, student clubs at school, social events and group work)	
	6-8	State (military service, paying tax, elections, obeying laws, protecting the country), Environmental pollution	Environmental issues (individual responsibility), Natural disasters,
Respect and tolerance	4-5	Individual (respect for the physical and emotional characteristics of individual), Cultural (respect for crafts, songs, architect, meals, traditional ceremonies, historic buildings)	Different cultures in the world (climate types and the consequent different styles of life, food, clothing, ceremonies) Common culture and heritage (the seven wonders of the world)
	6-8	Religious tolerance History of tolerance (Ottoman Empire)	Different cultures around the world Interaction between cultures in history (Ottoman-European)
Solidarity and cooperation	4-5	Solidarity and cooperation (in family and community life) National solidarity	Natural disasters, solidarity
	6-8	National solidarity (Turkish War of Independence)	Natural disasters (earthquakes), health and medical (infectious diseases and AIDS), cultural (arts, sports and scientific studies)
Conflict resolution and peace	4-5	Friendship relationships	International organizations (BM, NATO)
	6-8		

Findings

Politically knowledgeable citizen: From government, and human rights to social and political issues

The Social Studies textbooks analyzed deal with local and national governance processes, the history of democracy in Turkish states and in the world, and the establishment and revolutions of the Republic of Turkey. Among the processes of national government, the legislative process is emphasized more than the executive and judicial processes. Lack of sufficient information and examples about how the judicial process functions causes the judiciary and legal system to remain behind the legislation. The 'global connections' learning domain in the Social Studies textbooks often deals with the forms of governance of the states with which Turkey has economic relations. Only the eighth-grade textbook partly mention the collapse of the Soviet Union and the newly established states in the Balkans and Central Asia and the world's changing political structure. Although Turkey's accession process to EU, UN and NATO is explained historically, the political structure, management and operation process of EU, UN and NATO are not explained. Therefore, the Social Studies textbooks do not provide sufficient information about the functioning and activities of the international decision-making, judiciary and military forces in the world.

Consumer rights, women's rights and children's rights, personal, social and political rights are discussed in the Social Studies textbooks, but there is no mention of ethnic and religious minorities and their rights. The textbooks deal with human rights and emphasize that the rights are secured by the Constitution. In addition, human rights are described along with constitutional limitations. To illustrate, textbooks state that freedom of press and expression can be used in places allowed by the governor and mention the circumstances in the constitution in which freedom of residence and travel can be taken away. The textbooks emphasize that human rights are universal. For instance, they explain that Universal Children's Day is celebrated all over the world and numerous states have contributed to the process of development of human rights since the ancient times and they mention European human rights convention. While dealing with human rights, however, they do not give examples about human rights violations. Also, they do not explain which national and global institutions can be asked for help in case of violation of human rights. In addition, while the textbooks highlight citizens' equality before the law, they focus on social equality and justice and give the message that socio-economic disparities are just natural. The concept of social justice is indirectly associated with cooperation and solidarity at both national and global levels. Gender equality is emphasized more on the basis of laws and rights. The textbooks give a historical account of the rights granted to women in Turkey and state that women in Turkey were granted the right to elect and be elected in 1934, before many other countries. However, they do not mention the current situation, exclude the problems experienced by women, don't discuss social inequality. This situation reflects the impression in the textbooks that women do not have any problems and are socially equal as men.

The Social Studies textbooks deal with the problem of global warming most at national and global scale. At the national level, global warming is followed by other environmental problems such as environmental pollution, natural disasters, and erosion. The textbooks briefly mention economic problems such as sources of energy, mines, pirate publishing, internal migration, the brain drain. Only the eighth-grade textbook discusses reactionary and ethnic separatist activities, missionary, political issues, such as the Armenian issue. The textbooks do not promote thinking on political problems, questioning, or research activities. National and global issues, most of which are considered to be controversial issues, are discussed in line with the country's political views. For example, although they are controversial issues, the textbooks do not discuss Turkey's EU membership or the Armenian

issue and present examples of different opinions on this issue. Global warming is presented as the most important global issue in the Social Studies textbooks at all grade levels. The textbooks explain the causes of global warming, extinction of species, forest fires and reduction of water resources. The sixth and seventh-grade textbooks address economic problems such as scarcity of energy resources and health problems like avian flu and AIDS, and immigration in addition to the problem of global warming. On the other hand, the textbooks do not mention international cultural and political conflicts, violence or conflict, or global terrorism. While World Wars I and II and the Gulf War are referred as historical events, the genocides and human rights violations during these wars are not discussed.

Intellectual Citizen: From Critical Thinking to Problem Solving

The Social Studies textbooks provide activities to develop thinking skills such as interpreting, analyzing and synthesizing a political or social event at national and global level and critical thinking and problem solving skills very briefly. There are a few examples in the 6th, 7th and 8th grade textbooks about this. In the sixth-grade textbook, for example, students are supposed to evaluate their school council's work in an activity designed to develop critical thinking and they are asked how they could solve the problem of demolition of shanty houses in Ankara as an authorized person. The seventh-grade textbook states that citizens can declare their objection when false news is published and encourages citizens to think critically. The textbooks include only one or two examples to develop global problem-solving skills. For example, the seventh-grade textbook asks students what international institutions and organizations can do about global warming.

There are very few learning tasks about monitoring and interpreting political events in the Social Studies textbooks. Although the textbooks provide examples of newspaper and Internet news about current social issues, they do not emphasize that following them is an important citizenship qualification. Students are not required to think critically about these reports and analyze of the events to develop their problem solving skills. For example, when mentioning Radio and Television Supreme Council [RTSC], the textbooks do not sufficiently emphasize the importance of free press in democratic societies. Moreover, they do not state that watching current events is a quality that every citizen should have but they give the message that students should follow current events if they have future plans for a career in politics. The following is an example:

Oguzhan, a primary school fifth-grader, thinks that we can instantly be informed about the information produced on the development and changes in the world thanks to mass media. Oguzhan says that is why he follows current developments very closely and he never misses newscasts and news programs in particular. He says his greatest dream is to study politics and contribute to the country's development in the future... (MoNE, 2009d, p.19).

Active Citizen: From Political Participation to Social Participation

In the textbooks, political participation is associated with mayoral and legislative elections and participating in elections is regarded as both the right and duty of citizens. The textbooks also explain that the electoral process should be implemented based on secret ballot and open counting system and describe the requirements to vote and the conditions to be elected as members of parliament and the president. They also mention women's suffrage. However, the textbooks present just a few examples about to the public rights of political participation, such as creating public interest and writing petitions. They do not tell anything about students participating in decision-making processes of schools and local government units. Obviously, the current content of the textbooks tends to present political participation as limited to political elections.

Non-governmental organizations are depicted in relation to the value of solidarity rather than with political and social participation and protection of the rights. However, they indicate no relationship between citizenship and engagement in non-governmental organizations but they associate it with being good people and with moral values. For example, one of the textbooks state that “we can contribute to the improvement of social love, respect, tolerance and solidarity and to the solution of social problems by taking part in non-governmental organizations and clubs” (MoNE, 2009a, p.155). In addition, while the textbooks mention non-governmental organizations dealing with the environment and natural disasters rather than performing active political involvement, they exclude political organizations such as trade associations and unions.

In the textbooks, non-governmental organizations are described as kinds of organizations to which only good and volunteering people belong, but their potential influence on political decisions are ignored. There is one example, though, in the seventh-grade book about the toxic barrels reported by a citizen and the parliament’s discussion of the environmental law, which hadn’t been passed for the last 11 years, after the reflection of the incident in the media and because of the pressure by non-governmental organizations. Moreover, students are asked to make an evaluation by answering to the question ‘Have you ever witnessed that the decisions of those institutions and organizations in decision-making circles change as a result of local people’s effort?’ (MoNE, 2009d, p.151-152). The same textbook also explains that a non-governmental organization objected to an amendment in the coastal protection law and finally made a contribution to the environmental law. This example shows how non-governmental organizations and the media can play a role in forming public opinion and how it affects decision-making mechanisms. In addition, the textbooks give examples of newspaper reports on the non-governmental organizations’ activities and include questions for students that ask what would happen if weren’t for these organizations. They also invite students to search for the non-governmental organizations around them, to classify their operational areas, and to compare them with other official institutions and organizations (MoNE 2009d, p.120-127). The textbooks provide only one example of participation in international non-governmental organizations. The sixth-grade textbook mentions famed photographer Robert Knuth’s exhibition in Istanbul and other 30 countries about the destruction caused by Chernobyl disaster in people and the nature. To sum up, although this is the first time these textbooks deal with participation in the decisions of local and national level, this is still not enough. On the other hand, the Social Studies textbooks do not include activities to enable students take part in non-governmental organizations actively.

Virtuous Citizen: From Loyalty, Belonging, Responsibility, Solidarity, Respect and Tolerance to Resolution of Conflict and Peace

The Social Studies textbooks focus primarily on the national values, national commitment and national citizenship. National flag, national anthem, national language and national unity are strengthened through national independence and national history in the textbooks. All diversity in Turkey is presented under the umbrella of “the Turkish” in order to create a common national belonging and citizenship and the textbooks frequently use the concept of a Turkish citizen, and expressions of an embracing language like ‘our country’, ‘our citizens’. The textbooks, primarily mention the countries which Turkey has intense national, commercial and cultural ties with. While only economic relations among the countries of the world are highlighted, the idea of a politically and socially interdependent world is not discussed adequately. In addition, although the textbooks state that international relations have always existed throughout history with reference to the cross-cultural, economic and cultural relations in history, they do not provide any contemporary example of this. Moreover, the textbooks define neither ‘citizenship’ nor ‘citizenship of the world’ at all. World citizenship, as presented by these books, turns out to be a secondary trait behind

national citizenship. In other words, the Social Studies textbooks do not possess the content to raise students as responsible individuals who are sensitive to the problems of the world and to develop their feelings of world citizenship and commitment.

The Social Studies textbooks deal with national responsibility in three dimensions as responsibility to the social environment, the state and the natural environment. The fourth and fifth-grade textbooks mention responsibilities to the close social environment, the family, friends, student clubs and social events while the sixth, seventh and eighth-grade textbooks deal with the responsibilities to the state and the responsibilities to the natural environment. For example, the eighth-grade textbook suggests that individuals reach the consciousness of citizenship when they produce some useful services for the society they belong to and they are considered to be aware of their responsibilities. These responsibilities are listed as military service, paying taxes, voting, obeying the law and protecting the country. The same book highlights a communitarian perception of citizenship by providing a quote from Atatürk “the best individuals are those who put the society before themselves and sacrifice themselves for the sake of their society’s existence and happiness” (MoNE, 2009, p. 148). In the textbooks, responsibility at the global level is given in relation to the value of solidarity about protecting the environment and a common heritage. For example, when discussing the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan, the sixth-grade textbook asks students the following question “What would you expect from people in other countries in case of environmental disasters like this with devastating consequences?” (MoNE, 2009c, p.138) so that they can establish empathy and therefore presents responsibility not as a virtue of citizenship but as a requirement of being a good human and as a moral value. The seventh-grade textbook asks the question “Are we responsible for protecting the artifacts and common heritage we inherit from the past?” and encourages students to think about their individual responsibility to protect them (MoNE, 2009d, p. 174).

The textbooks tend to deal with moral and social tolerance more than political tolerance as a part of respect and tolerance. They attribute both national and global cultural diversity to geographic differences and have very little mention of ethnic and religious differences. The cultural differences in Turkey are presented as local customs, lifestyles, songs, food and clothes which vary across regions depending on geographical features of the seven regions. Cultural diversity in the world, on the other hand, is presented based on the geographical features of different countries in different climate zones and continents but there is no mention of religious and ethnic structures of these countries. For example, children from various countries introduce themselves in the fourth-grade textbook. A Pakistani boy introduces himself saying ‘Hello, my name is Parvez, my country is Pakistan, our official language is Urdu. My favorite dish is chicken roasting’ (MoNE, 2009a, p. 72). The chapter ‘Step by Step Turkey’ in the fifth-grade textbook shows ancient structures in different regions of Turkey and emphasizes respect for different cultural heritages with mottos like ‘We’re where different cultures live together’ and ‘Cultural diversity is richness’ (MoNE, 2009b, p. 50). Only the seventh-grade textbook states that cultural, religious and ethnic differences existed together in the Ottoman state. In general, the textbooks both display national and global differences and highlight the coexistence and living together. The fourth-grade textbook, for instance, deals with the culture of living together with the following words of a student preparing a report about children in the world:

I didn’t know there were so many different countries and cultures and people... Though these children look just like physically, they are very different from us in terms of cultural aspects. For example, are we speaking the same language with Elvis and Helene? No, we are not, but maybe Olanike and I have the same hobbies. Pelvez and I have similar skin color. This shows us that we have many things in common with other people even if they live at the other end of the world. They go to school just like us and most of our courses are the same... What is

more, we share the same feelings even if they are away... Apparently, we are all the children of the same world who live in separate places (MoNE, 2009a, p. 173).

The sixth-grade textbook include the letters of the students who visited Turkey and Slovenia and these letters are about eliminating mutual prejudices and tolerance and respect for cultures. In addition, there is a quote from Atatürk supporting tolerance: 'If people of various faiths have the hatred and contempt for each other, if they look down on each other, these are intolerant and narrow-minded people' (MoNE, 2009c, p. 141). Similarly, the sixth-grade textbook mentions Turkey's Antakya city, where people of three religions (Muslim, Christian, Jewish) live together and explains freedom of religion and conscience expressed in Article 24 of the Constitution. The inclusion of this article of law in the textbook is intended to imply that this law is not optional and citizens have to obey it. In summary, the textbooks give the impression that diversity is due to geographical factors and, although they refer to the respect for cultural differences, they do not give sufficient information about the different identities in the world at neither local nor global level.

Solidarity and cooperation are emphasized in the textbooks in historical issues and in resolution of national and global problems. Solidarity and cooperation are associated with national unity and in historical issues and with benevolence for non-governmental organizations. To illustrate, the fourth-grade textbook tells about the collective solidarity of women and men in war. The same book states that Atatürk did not start the war of independence until he managed to establish national unity and solidarity (MoNE, 2009a, p. 50). In this textbook, solidarity is explained in association with the values of national unity, sacrifice and hard work with following sentence: "We owe this land, where we live today, to our ancestors who fought at the expense of their lives all around Anatolia. We must protect our country against all kinds of danger with this awareness. We should be able to fight not only on the battlefield but in other areas as well" (MoNE, 2009a, p. 61). However, global solidarity and cooperation are emphasized less than national solidarity. Transnational solidarity is depicted with cases of disasters in the world in the fourth-grade textbook (MoNE, 2009a, p. 136) and in solving common environmental problems in the fifth-grade textbook. By asking students why the whole world is acting together for the protection of rain forests in Brazil, the latter book stresses the need for solidarity among countries in solving global problems (MoNE, 2009b, p. 195).

Conflict resolution and peace are among least discussed values in the Social Studies textbooks. Although the events of war are often covered in presenting national issues, conflict resolution and peace process before and after these wars are not often mentioned. Examples of conflict resolution are not depicted in relation to the daily lives of students. The seventh-grade textbook, however, points out that the purpose of the United Nations, which was founded after World War II, is to maintain international peace. This book also asks students to prepare a report based on the question "What are examples of solutions brought by the United Nations concerning international problems? However, it does not provide any past and present examples of the UN's contribution to international peace. In addition, it does not adequately deal with the responsibilities of governments and international institutions in the contemporary wars. The eighth-grade textbook, on the other hand, emphasizes that, following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk acted upon the principle of 'peace at home, peace in the world' and joined the UN and signed international agreements such as the Balkan Union for this purpose (MoNE, 2009, p. 184). This textbook also highlights that "the role of Turkey in the world peace is summarized by the principle of 'peace at home, peace in the world', which was established by Atatürk as one of the essential foundations of Turkish foreign policy. According to this principle of Atatürk, any problem that occurs anywhere in the world will affect the entire world and therefore, the world peace can only be achieved in cooperation with the countries of the world (MoNE, 2009, p. 202-203). In terms of civic virtues, the textbooks tend to emphasize national commitment and responsibility over respect

and tolerance, and conflict resolution and peace are among the least discussed values in the textbooks.

Conclusion and Implication

The findings from this study indicate that the Social Studies textbooks in Turkey emphasize national issues more than global issues and they are designed in a way that help students to gain a national identity and perspective. The examples presented in these textbooks are neither sufficient nor adequate to develop a global sense of belonging and commitment. Therefore, global citizenship remains just as an effort to get to know the world from a national perspective in the Social Studies textbooks. The textbooks in question try to perceive both Europe and the world from “We” perspective. Research suggests that global citizenship is not sufficiently discussed in curriculums and textbooks in Turkey as well as many other countries (Çayır, 2009; Rosser, 2006; Philippou, 2009; Su, 2007; Tooth, 2008). Global citizenship education seems to be closely related to the process of globalization and multicultural political policies of countries.

This study also found that the textbooks in question provide very few examples to develop students’ questioning, evaluating and thinking skills about the political systems, events and issues in the country and around the world. This result is consistent with the results of similar research (Al-Barakat & Al-Karasneh, 2005; Çotuksöken, 2003, Romanowski, 1994). The fact that the Social Studies textbooks offer an apolitical citizenship education free of political events at both national and global level does not support students’ development of national and global levels of political literacy competencies. Research in some countries on textbooks reports that citizenship education is presented as something far from the politic framework (Su, 2007) and controversial issues are avoided (Wade, 1993). Having knowledge about political processes at both national and global level develops active citizens’ competencies of participation. Exclusion of political issues and problems in the Social Studies textbooks in Turkey could be associated with military coups and political incidents experienced in Turkey. Political and social events and military coups in Turkey seem to have made it difficult for educational activity and materials to deal with political issues.

The Social Studies textbooks examined in this study do not discuss participation in non-governmental organizations in connection with the concept of citizenship. The fact that these textbooks present participation in non-governmental organizations as being a good person and helping others could make it difficult for students to recognize it as a civic competence. In addition, there are hardly any examples of political and social participation at the global level. There are other studies suggesting that textbooks do not efficiently deal with political and social participation (Çayır, 2003; Collado & Atxurra, 2006; Sayılan, 2009; Wade & Everett, 1994). It is essential that textbooks present participation in non-governmental organizations as a competence of citizenship in order to develop students’ active citizenship competences. In addition, textbooks should include some activities to encourage students to actively participate in non-governmental organizations.

This study also revealed that while equality is highlighted as a right of citizens to be equal before the law, the issue of social equality and justice are not mentioned. The textbooks associate equality with cooperation and solidarity at both national and global levels without reference to the concept of social justice. In that respect, the Social Studies textbooks in this study are far from reflecting the concept of the ‘welfare state’ adopted by the state of the Republic of Turkey. Social justice is one of the key points of social peace at both national and global level and it should be one of the fundamental values to be taught by Social Studies courses. In the textbooks, gender equality is emphasized on the basis of laws and rights. Evidently, problems experienced by women are excluded and social dimensions of equality are not discussed adequately. Research conducted in earlier years in Turkey suggests that

there is gender inequality in textbooks (Sayılan, 2009; Tanrıöver, 2003). According to these results, equality and justice, which are among the fundamental principles of democracy, are issues which are discussed in the textbooks on the basis of rights but the social dimension of which is ignored.

One of the most important values that citizens should have today is respect for diversity and tolerance. In the study, the textbooks tend to attribute cultural differences to geographic differences and have very little mention of ethnic and religious differences at both national and global level. Although the textbooks state that there is a need for respect and tolerance for different cultures at both national and global level, they do not clearly explain the differences. Similar results are also reported by research conducted into the textbooks in Turkey (Çayır, 2009; Gemalmaz, 2003; Evin & Kafadar, 2004). Sayılan (2009) states that in textbooks, diversity is decontextualized and reduced to learning styles and psychological mood, cultural diversity is ignored and therefore a passive concept of citizenship is promoted. There are also findings from studies outside Turkey suggesting that textbooks do not sufficiently deal with multiculturalism and minority rights (Collado & Atxurra, 2006; Çayır, 2003; Gök, 2003; Lee, 2010; Montgomery, 2005; Nasser & Nasser, 2008; Philippou, 2009; Pinson, 2007; Plattoeva, 2009; Rezai-Rashti & McCarthy, 2008). These results suggest that national point of view is prevalent in the textbooks in Turkey as well as in some other countries and textbooks still fail to emphasize respect for diversity and tolerance. Evidently, with their current content, the Social Studies textbooks in Turkey do not adequately support the development of the perception of a multicultural and cosmopolitan citizenship. However, multiculturalism is the basis of active and democratic citizenship. Unfortunately, the Social Studies textbooks in Turkey are not yet capable of developing global citizenship in terms of multiculturalism.

Among the least discussed issues in the textbooks are taking responsibility, solidarity and cooperation at the global level while responsibility for global environmental problems is emphasized most. At the national level, solidarity and cooperation are presented in relation to national unity during the War of Independence and natural disaster whereas they are emphasized in association with global disasters, global warming and protection of common cultural heritage at the global level. The textbooks should more efficiently emphasize solidarity and cooperation in solving global problems. Conflict resolution and peace are among the least discussed values and competences in the textbooks both at national and global level. Similar research results reveal that textbooks do not adequately present conflict resolution (Collado & Atxurra, 2006). Gemalmaz (2003) states that according to previous studies of textbooks in Turkey, killing and thus dying are justified and associated with citizenship, a culture of peace is not developed, and resolution of disputes by peaceful means is not included in textbooks. However, one of the active and democratic citizenship competences is solving conflicts without turning to violence in everyday life at both national and international level and playing an active role in solving problems and taking responsibility. Therefore, in the Social Studies textbooks should associate peace, conflict and problem-solving skills without violence with citizenship and include activities to develop these competences at every grade level.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Social Studies textbooks in Turkey needs revising in both national and global dimensions so that students can be raised as active and democratic citizens. In the textbooks, activities to develop national and global citizenship skills and values are not repeated in a sustainable and phased manner. There should be a number of sample activities according to students' level of maturity in each grade level to encourage them think about and question political and social events. Therefore, the Social Studies textbooks should be revised in terms of the following points in order to develop an understanding of national and global citizenship:

- Topics related to global economic, social, political and cultural structures, decision-making institutions and organizations should be added and interdependence of countries around the world should be emphasized.
- Cultural differences should be explained as much as possible by covering religious and ethnic differences in addition to geographical factors so as to develop respect for diversity and tolerance at national and global level.
- Critical perspective on global economic, cultural and environmental issues should be provided and some tasks should be designed to solve these problems.
- National issues should be given in relation to the global level. Sense of belonging should be strengthened with emphasis on partnership for world citizenship.

This study provided only a general comparison of the Social Studies textbooks in terms of national and global citizenship. The textbooks should be analyzed more elaborately in terms of each competence and value of active and democratic citizenship. In addition, curricula and textbooks of other courses in elementary education should be examined in terms of national and global citizenship. Thus, data to be obtained from these studies will contribute to the improvement of textbooks in Turkey and around the world based on modern and contemporary approaches and with an understanding of global citizenship.

Appendix: The Textbooks Analyzed

- MoNE. (2005a). Primary School Social Studies Curriculum and Manual (4-5. Grades). Directorate of State Books Publishing House, Ankara, Turkey.
- MoNE. (2005b). Primary School Social Studies Curriculum and Manual (6-7. Grades). Directorate of State Books Publishing House, Ankara, Turkey.
- MoNE. (2009a). Social Studies Textbook (Primary 4th Grade). 5th edition. Ihlas Publishing, Istanbul, Turkey
- MoNE. (2009b). Social Studies Textbook (Primary 5th Grade). 5th edition. Ihlas Publishing, Istanbul, Turkey.
- MoNE. (2009c). Social Studies Textbook (Primary 6th Grade). 5th edition. Ihlas Publishing, Istanbul, Turkey.
- MoNE. (2009d). Social Studies Textbook (Primary 7th Grade). 5th edition. Ihlas publishing, Istanbul, Turkey.
- MoNE. (2009e). Republic of Turkey Revolution History and Kemalism. (Primary 8th grade). 2nd edition. Kelebek Press., Istanbul, Turkey.

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Cross-Cultural Adjustment of Chinese Students in Japan: School Adjustment and Educational Support

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Abstract

This study investigates Chinese immigrant students' cross-cultural and school adjustment issues in Japanese schools. Using a quantitative method, a survey which collected students' demographic information, cross-cultural adjustment, and school adjustment questions was administered to 143 Chinese junior high and high school students in Tokyo and Kanagawa Prefecture. The study found the following. First, three factors were identified to be significant in the students' cross-cultural adjustment: Language and Acculturation, Academic Achievement, and Adjustment Stress. At the same time, in the area of their school adjustment, Self-efficacy, Academic Disengagement, and Alienation were found to be significant factors. Second, parental support appeared to have a strong influence on their children's cross-cultural adjustment and school adjustment. Third, the age of arrival and the length of residence had significant correlations with Language and Acculturation but had no significant correlations with Academic Achievement and Adjustment Stress. Finally, a causal model analysis showed that the patterns of the factors' mutual influences are generally in accordance with the authors' expectations and the most significant factor was Self-efficacy. The implications of these findings are discussed in relation to supporting Chinese students.

Keywords: Chinese students in Japan, cross-cultural adjustment, school adjustment, self-efficacy, parental support, educational support

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Introduction

Due to the Japanese government's enactment of its "100,000 Foreign Students Enrollment Plan" in the 1980's and revised immigration laws passed in the 1990's, the number of foreign residents living in Japan has rapidly increased. According to the Ministry of Judicial Affairs (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2009), in 2008, a total number of 2,217,426 foreign registrants were recorded, the highest number in Japan's history. Among them, the largest ethnic group was Chinese, which amounted to 655,377 or 29.6% of the entire foreign population. Along with this increase in foreign residents, the number of children accompanying their parents has risen as well. According to the Ministry of Education and Science survey conducted in 2008 (MEXT, 2009), the number of foreign students in Japanese primary and secondary schools amounted to 81,004, with over 28,000 students needing Japanese language support. The top three heritage languages among students of foreign origin were Portuguese, Chinese, and Spanish, which occupied 39.8%, 20.4%, and 12.7% respectively. As the number of non-Japanese children in Japanese schools continues to rise, the schools are faced with issues in such areas as Japanese language learning, adjustment to school and social norms, school attendance, the advancement rate into higher education, and an increasing dropout rate from high school (Kojima, 2007; Zhao, 2008). However, the current situation of non-Japanese students in Japan is not readily apparent due to a paucity of empirical studies investigating their cross-cultural adjustment issues.

Currently, the main goal of providing educational support for foreign students in Japan remains focused on how quickly they learn Japanese language (Saito, 2004). This educational support is called *shokishidou*, or initial guidance, and targets children who are recent arrivals in Japan. In Japan, the *shokishidou* varies widely, from 30 to 120 total hours depending on the local school districts (Shinjuku Education Center, 2011). This inconsistency results in many children receiving insufficient language support. Moreover, some children are actually excluded from getting support because they seem to speak fluent conversational Japanese (Saito, 2006). In many cases, those who provide language support deposit knowledge without being sensitive to and understanding these children's needs, which include accomplishing schoolwork, establishing peer relationships, and choosing their future school or career, as well as encountering cross-cultural differences (Kojima, 2007).

Although there are more than 5,000 Chinese students who speak Chinese as their mother tongue needing Japanese language education (MEXT, 2009), there is limited literature on Chinese students in Japan, including their backgrounds, linguistic, academic, social, and psychological needs, and other issues related to their cross-cultural adjustment (Shimizu & Shimizu, 2001; Kojima, 2007). This study attempts to illuminate multiple aspects of Chinese students' cross-cultural experience in Japan using quantitative methods, which has not been attempted previously.

Literature Review

The Context of Chinese Students in Japan

Chinese students in Japan come from various educational history and backgrounds, depending upon their place of origin and the economic status of their family prior to arriving in Japan (Zhang, 2008; He, 2008). There are two main groups of Chinese students in Japan: one that came from China with their parents and one that followed their parents afterwards. The second group has two characteristics: They were separated from parents for a substantial period of time and are children of parents with a variety of visa statuses, or step-children in an international marriage (Li & Sano, 2010).

Although Chinese parents come from various backgrounds, in general, they tend to

have high expectations for their children's education. However, the educational system in Japan differs from that of China in many aspects, including parental involvement. In Japanese schools, for example, the primary responsibility for students' academic performance falls on students and their families, not on the school. Those parents who both recognize that schools do not provide sufficient academic preparations and can afford to do so, send their children to *juku*, a cram school or exam preparatory school run privately to prepare students for high school and university entrance examinations (Fukuzawa & LeTendre, 2001). This is in stark contrast to Chinese schools, which consider that the responsibility for students' academic performance rests on the school and not on families (Jiang, 2001). Because of this, in order to succeed academically in Japan, parental coordination is necessary, especially for those foreign children who need extra support. Moreover, because Chinese families have less information and limited knowledge about the Japanese school system, coupled with language and financial difficulties, their children operate with few familial educational resources at the same time that they receive insufficient support at school. This often results in school maladjustment cases (Zhao, 2008).

Another difference in the two educational systems is the focus on academics. Due to severe competition to get into a university, the goal of schools in China has become solely academic, preparing their students to pass the entrance exams (Jiang, 2001). In many regions, schools have decreased the amount time spent on electives or those subjects that are not included in the entrance exam. They require students to study all day without providing any social learning experiences such as extra-curricular athletic and other club activities (Zhang & Shen, 2006). This often leaves no time of their own for students, since their ultimate goal is the university entrance exam. This is not the case in Japanese schools. As stated earlier, the responsibility of the students' academic achievement primarily rests with the family and students, allowing schools to focus on other aspects of school life such as guidance and extra-curricular activities. Japanese schools also have more flexibility in their grading criteria and students have more career choices besides advancing directly to a university. This all serves to allow students more personal time (Japan Youth Research Institute, 2002). Because of these differences, those Chinese students who were expected to focus only on academics in China, and who have never before experienced free time, are suddenly faced with unfamiliar choices. In addition, while academic achievement tends to influence relationship formation between students and teachers as well as among students in China, participation in group activities such as clubs and sports largely influences relationship formation in Japan (Hosaka & Okamura, 1986). These cross-cultural differences make it difficult for many Chinese children to adjust to Japanese schools.

Cross-cultural and School Adjustments

When people move from a familiar environment to a new linguistic or cultural environment, they often lose psychological stability and face challenges with cross-cultural adjustment (Kondo, 1981). Cross-cultural adjustment is generally defined as "the process of adaptation to living and working in a foreign culture. It is the perceived degree of psychological comfort and familiarity a person has with the new host culture" (Palthe, 2004, p.39). Ward and Searle (1991) argue that cross-cultural adjustment can be broadly divided into two categories: psychological and socio-cultural. The former is affected by personality factors, life changes, and social support, whereas the latter is affected by general cultural knowledge, length of residence in the host culture, and amount of contact with host nationals (Roysircar & Frey, 2003).

In order to have a successful cross-cultural adjustment experience, acculturation must take place. Berry (1980) explains acculturation as the process of learning about a culture and adjusting one's behavior to it. Schultz (1991) and Mouw and Xie (1999) consider language acquisition as an important indicator of acculturation and point out that it is difficult to

acquire language without active interaction with the host culture. Ebata et al. (1996) and Ceng (1996) describe language competency, knowledge of culture, and affinity to the host culture as subscales of acculturation. Children who are in new cultural environments tend to experience adjustment stress via feelings of anxiety and loneliness, as well as adopting learned helplessness due to language difficulties, weak academic performance, culture shock, and a sense of discomfort in interpersonal relationships (Cowen & Hightower, 1989).

Until recently, the primary focus of cross-cultural adjustment research in Japan has been on language learning. Not much research has focused on the formation and role of self-efficacy in a cross-cultural environment and the interest level of this topic is unfortunately low (Kojima, 2007). In considering cross-cultural adjustment issues, how children perceive and cope with their adjustment tasks may have great impact on how they solve any psychological problems arising upon encountering the new environment. Self-efficacy in this context is having the expectation or conviction that one is competent enough to act properly in certain situations, and includes the belief that one has the ability to achieve one's goals (Bandura, 1997). Through self-efficacy, people control their thoughts, emotions, and behavior. Those who have a high self-efficacy rate are able to cope more easily with difficult situations and accumulate many successful experiences. Harrison, Chadwick, & Scales (1996) consider self-efficacy an important factor supporting cross-cultural adjustment.

Because school is the central socialization ground for students, school adjustment has a significant impact on the larger cross-cultural social adjustment (Kosaka, Minoguchi & Saito, 1996). Liebkind et al. (2004) stated that while academic achievement has often been used as a general indicator of school adjustment among immigrant children, sociocultural and psychological adaptations are also important dimensions of school adjustment for these children. Palaiologou (2007) similarly discussed three dimensions of school adjustment among immigrant children in Greece: learning, social, and psychological domains. In Japan, among the limited number of studies on foreign students' adjustment issues, several studies have found that school life was influenced by factors such as language competency, progress in learning, familiarity with the host country, human relationships, and mental health (Yamamoto, 1986; Xu & Kageyama, 1994). Based on studies of foreign students' adjustment, we hypothesize that the issues surrounding cross-cultural adjustment, school adjustment, and its relative factors are multi-dimensional and intricately related.

Method

Participants

Fourteen institutions in Tokyo and Kanagawa prefectures cooperated for this study: three public junior high schools, five public high schools, five non-profit organization groups that support foreign students, and one Chinese social club. The Chinese students who participated in the survey had a variety of backgrounds: those that came to Japan with their parents, third-generation war orphans, children of Chinese who had remarried to Japanese citizens, and children of interracial marriages. The legal status of these students' parents and their reasons for coming to Japan varied. In this study, all students are referred to as Chinese students, as they all received education in China prior to arriving in Japan.

There were 143 Chinese students (72 males, 71 females) in total: from public junior high schools (7th-9th grades $n=85$), high schools (10th-12th grades $n=46$) and private educational support ($n=12$). The mean age was 16.60 ($SD=2.01$) with an age range of 12.6–22.1 years old. The participants had been living in Japan for an average of 22.65 months ($SD=22.13$), ranging from 1 month to 103 months.

Procedure

Survey questions. Ninety-two percent of the respondents chose the Chinese version of the survey. The survey included the following components.

Demographic information. Participants were asked to indicate their age, birth month and year, gender, birthplace, grade level, length of residence in Japan, reasons for coming to Japan, parents' status (visa and citizenship), and perceived parental support.

Cross-cultural adjustment scale (C-CAS). In this study, cross-cultural adjustment scales (C-CAS) were used from the following sources: Yamamoto's (1986) "Ryugaku Seikatsuniokeru Tekiudono Shakudo" (Adjustment Scale for Foreign Students), and Uematsu's (2004) "Ibunka Tekiukan" (Cross-cultural Adjustment Scale for Japanese Students Studying Abroad). Because these scales were originally designed for college students, slight changes (a few dropped items) were made for junior and senior high school students. For this study, a 28 item scale was used with four-point rating from "1 = Completely Disagree" to "4 = Completely Agree."

School adjustment scale (SAS). This study used a 20-item scale pertaining to the school life of Chinese students based on Takase's (1986) "Gakkou Seikatsu Tekiou Shakudo" (School Life Adjustment Scale), Matsui and Suzuki's (2002) "Gakkou Tekiou" (School Adjustment), and Ninomiya's (1990) "Gakkou Seikatsunitaisuru Ishikino Shakudo" (School life Awareness Scale). Following Takase's model, this study used a five-point rating from "1 = Completely Disagree" to "5 = Completely Agree."

Results

Demographic Information

After examining the demographic information, the following two areas were found to be important for the purposes of the data analysis.

Reasons for coming to Japan. Out of 143 students, 25 (17.4%) came with their parents, 115 (79.9%) followed afterwards, and four (2.8%) did not respond. For those that followed their parents to Japan later, the average separation period was 2.3 years (SD =2.44), from a range of one to 16 years. Of these, 73 (63.5%) lived with grandparents, 24 (20.9%) lived with other relatives, and the rest lived in dormitories.

Parental support. In response to the question "My parents encourage me when I am feeling depressed about school performance or interpersonal relationship," 16 (11.1%) answered "very frequently," 21 (14.6%) answered "sometimes," 44 (30.6%) answered "neither/nor," 26 (18.1%) answered "infrequently," 31 (21.5%) answered "never," and 6 (4.2%) did not answer.

Factor Analyses on Scales

Factor analyses on cross-cultural adjustment scales (C-CAS). In order to examine Chinese students' cross-cultural factors, the data on C-CAS was analyzed by via the Principal Factor Analysis. Prior to performing factor analysis, we used the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test and Bartlett's test of sphericity to assess the suitability of the dataset for factor analysis. The test results in Table 1 revealed a KMO value of 0.8, suggesting close correlations among variables. The *chi*-square value for Bartlett's test of sphericity was 1113.0, which was significant and indicative of common factors that rendered the data appropriate for follow-up factor analysis. Promax rotation was used because some correlations among factors

were indicated. After Promax rotation, items which had factor loadings less than 0.35 and high loadings on two factors at the same time were deleted. The reliability of the scale was examined through Cronbach's α , which was 0.75 in total. The scale had acceptable internal consistency. As a result, three factors were extracted based on the Kaiser-Guttman rule. These were termed "Language and Acculturation" and "Academic Achievement" and "Adjustment Stress." Factor loadings and factor correlations, and alpha coefficients are shown in Table 2.

Table 1. *KMO AND BARTLETT'S TEST for C-CAS*

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.8010
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1113.067
	Df	253.000
	Sig.	0.000

Table 2. "Cross-cultural Adjustment" Factor Loadings, Correlations and Alpha Coefficients

Factor	M	SD	Extracted Factor			Commonality
			I	II	III	
Factor I (LA)						
Language and Acculturation ($\alpha = .86$)						
10. I can comprehend most of what is said in Japanese	2.92	0.88	0.72	0.13	0.09	0.59
11. I understand rules and manners in Japan	2.83	0.82	0.66	-0.01	-0.06	0.45
21. I can manage the Japanese language in most situations	2.67	0.89	0.66	-0.04	-0.15	0.46
22. I have a Japanese person who can be trusted	2.52	1.08	0.64	0.00	0.11	0.40
6. I understand Japanese culture	2.63	0.79	0.61	-0.07	-0.16	0.39
4. I have Japanese friends	2.82	1.04	0.60	-0.05	0.08	0.33
1. I am satisfied with relationships with Japanese	2.83	0.75	0.60	0.14	0.05	0.44
25. I am familiar with Japanese culture	2.63	0.90	0.57	-0.18	-0.13	0.30
15. I understand Japanese social systems	2.52	0.75	0.56	-0.02	-0.14	0.36
14. I am able to converse in Japanese	2.85	0.84	0.48	0.16	-0.09	0.36
16. I have a person I can consult with when needed	2.99	0.97	0.36	0.15	-0.11	0.24
Factor II (AA)						
Academic Achievement ($\alpha = .75$)						
3. My school life is fulfilling	2.93	0.86	0.16	0.67	0.25	0.49
9. I am satisfied with school life	2.82	0.89	0.1	0.63	0.16	0.44
13. My school life is advancing well	2.65	0.88	0.07	0.56	-0.03	0.36
24. I am not able to learn as expected	2.26	0.96	-0.13	0.55	-0.19	0.36
27. I am able to learn as expected	2.58	0.85	0.02	0.50	0.00	0.26
20. Recently, I become easily depressed	2.71	0.95	-0.13	0.49	-0.36	0.44
28. I have not been able to concentrate on studies	2.50	0.91	-0.17	0.36	-0.20	0.19
Factor III (AS)						
Adjustment Stress ($\alpha = .66$)						
19. I have to make an effort whenever meeting Japanese	2.35	0.94	-0.09	0.08	0.64	0.40
12. I often get anxious living in Japan	2.45	0.90	-0.08	-0.08	0.59	0.42
17. I feel irritated and not calm	2.31	0.95	0.11	-0.29	0.47	0.37
7. I can't behave naturally among Japanese	2.68	0.98	-0.14	0.11	0.40	0.17
18. I am dissatisfied with Japanese customs	2.01	0.83	-0.10	0.02	0.38	0.16

and culture

Cumulative contribution (%)	26.08	37.05	44.40
		Factor II	Factor III
Factor correlation	Factor I	0.44	-0.19
	Factor II		-0.38

Factor analyses on school adjustment scales (SAS). Next, in order to examine Chinese students' school adjustment factors, the data on SAS was analyzed using the Principal Factor Method. To examine the correlations among variables and determine their suitability for factor analysis, we performed the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test and Bartlett's test of sphericity. The test results shown in Table 3 reveal a KMO value of 0.8, suggesting close correlations among variables. The *chi*-square value for Bartlett's test of sphericity was 882.538, which was significant and indicative of common factors that rendered the data appropriate for follow-up factor analysis. Promax rotation was used because some correlations among factors were indicated. After Promax Rotation, items which had factor loadings less than 0.35 and high loadings on two factors at the same time were deleted. The reliability of the scale was examined through Cronbach's α , which marked 0.86 in total and exhibited sufficient internal consistency. As a result, three factors were extracted on the Kaiser-Guttman rule. These were labeled "Academic Disengagement," "Self-efficacy," and "Alienation." Factor loadings, correlations and alpha coefficients are shown in Table 4.

Table 3. *KMO AND BARTLETT'S TEST for SAS*

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.782
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	882.538
	Df	120.000
	Sig.	0.000

Table 4. "School Adjustment" Factor's Loadings, Correlations and Alpha Coefficients

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Extracted Factor			Commonality
			I	II	III	
Factor I (AD)						
Academic Disengagement ($\alpha=.82$)						
6. I feel resistant toward school	3.67	1.10	0.86	0.01	-0.07	0.68
14. I feel uncomfortable at school	3.60	1.17	0.82	0.07	0.18	0.80
13. I feel unhappy when attending classes	3.46	1.21	0.72	-0.18	-0.16	0.52
5. Sometimes I do not wish to go to school	3.30	1.25	0.42	-0.12	0.06	0.27
Factor II (SE)						
Self-efficacy ($\alpha= .77$)						
8. I have a teacher with whom I can talk about anything	3.20	1.20	-0.08	0.69	0.02	0.51
11. I have a teacher who understands me	3.38	1.08	-0.06	0.65	0.14	0.37
1. My friends recognize me for study, sports or special skills	3.04	1.15	0.33	0.61	-0.24	0.47
7. I actively participate in class activities	3.17	1.24	-0.13	0.56	0.07	0.33
4. I understand class sessions well	3.20	1.14	-0.20	0.46	0.05	0.28
3. I have felt fulfillment in school life	3.52	1.13	-0.29	0.39	-0.23	0.54
Factor III (A)						
Alienation ($\alpha= .75$)						
16. I am often alone during break times	3.52	1.36	-0.10	0.03	0.81	0.56
17. I have felt anxious and tense worrying about how classmates look at me	3.31	1.28	0.14	0.18	0.55	0.31

10. I felt ignored by classmates	3.24	1.27	0.32	0.22	0.55	0.44
2. I felt invisible in class	3.38	1.18	0.08	-0.33	0.51	0.62
15. I don't talk about important things to friends	3.09	1.34	-0.11	-0.10	0.49	0.25
9. I have no friends to talk about true feelings and worries	3.34	1.33	-0.02	-0.15	0.40	0.24
Cumulative contribution (%)			33.66	45.22	54.51	
Factor correlation			Factor I	-0.37	0.50	
			Factor II		-0.54	

Analyses by Attributes

Differences in scores due to factors such as sex, current age, age of arrival in Japan, length of residence, and grade level were statistically examined. The results showed that significant grade level differences were found on “Language and Acculturation” and “Alienation.” No other significant differences were found on other factors; thus, in this study, instead of analyzing difference in attributes, the relationship between cross-cultural adjustment and its related factors were examined.

Correlations among Cross-cultural Adjustment Factor, School Adjustment Factor, and Related Factors

The correlations for Cross-cultural adjustment and School adjustment, in terms of age of arrival in Japan, length of residence, and parental support are shown in Table 5. The relationship between cross-cultural adjustment and school adjustment was intricately entwined.

Table 5. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Variables (N =143)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	M	SD
1. Age of Arrival	1.00								14.69	2.09
2. Length of Residence	-0.14	1.00							22.64	22.12
3. Parental Support	0.05	-0.05	1.00						2.75	1.28
4. Language and Acculturation	-.325**	.220**	.286**	1.00					2.74	0.56
5. Academic Achievement	-0.02	-0.10	.305**	.497**	1.00				2.49	0.52
6. Adjustment Stress	0.15	-0.15	-0.09	-.246**	-.272**	1.00			2.21	0.48
7. Academic Disengagement	-0.03	-0.07	-0.02	-.269**	-.433**	.283**	1.00		2.49	0.95
8. Self-efficacy	0.00	0.00	.332**	.542**	.576**	-.276**	-.430**	1.00	3.25	0.79
9. Alienation	-0.05	-.220**	-.180*	-.412**	-.370**	.399**	.474**	-.518**	2.72	0.86

Note. **p < .01

Path Analysis

In order to find a causal relationship between factors, a path analysis was conducted by Amos (5), using the item scores of cross-cultural adjustment, school adjustment, age, length of residence, and parental support. Taking previous studies (Minoura, 1984; Ibanez et

al, 2004) and the above correlational analysis into account, we considered “Age of Arrival in Japan,” “Length of Residence,” and “Parental Support” to be the primary effective factors on cross-cultural adjustment and school adjustment. “Self-efficacy” and “Language and Acculturation” were considered as secondary factors, as these factors influence the third factor “Alienation.” This, in turn, impacts “Adjustment Stress” and “Academic Disengagement,” finally resulting in “Academic Achievement.” Based on these predictions, a path analysis was conducted on the direction of the interactions among cross-cultural adjustment, school adjustment, and other factors. The direction of influences and overall results found were as expected (see Figure 1).

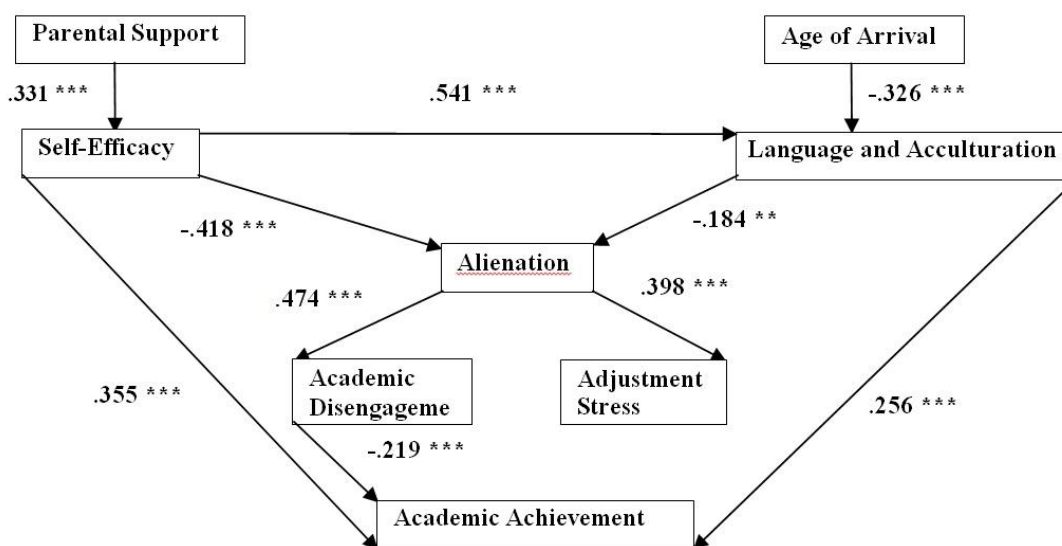


Figure 1. Results of Path Analysis Note **p<.01, ***p<.001

In general, the results confirmed our prediction ($\chi^2(18)=32.99$, $P=.000$, $NFI=.89$, $IFI=.95$, $TLI=.89$, $CFI=.94$, $RMSEA=.07$) and all path coefficients in Figure 1 were significant at the level of 0.1%. In Figure 1, only significant paths were shown. While most expectations were confirmed, some results did not support our predictions. For example, “Length of Residence” had no positive path to other factors; thus it was not shown in Figure 1.

In the first tier, “Age of Arrival” had a negatively significant path to “Language and Acculturation.” “Parental Support” showed a positive path to “Self-efficacy.” In the second tier, “Self-efficacy” had positive paths to “Language and Acculturation” and “Academic Achievement” and a negative path to “Alienation.” “Alienation” had positive paths to “Academic Disengagement” and “Adjustment Stress.” Lastly, “Academic Disengagement” had a negative path to “Academic Achievement.” “Parental Support” indirectly influenced “Academic Achievement” via “Self-efficacy,” and also via “Alienation” and “Academic Disengagement.” “Age of Arrival” had indirect paths to “Academic Achievement” via “Language and Acculturation” and via “Alienation” and “Academic Disengagement.” It also had an effect on “Adjustment Stress” via “Alienation.” Thus, this path analysis supported our theoretical expectations to a relatively high degree.

Discussion

The Influence of Age of Arrival and Length of Residence on Cross-cultural Adjustment

The findings from the correlation analysis indicated a relationship among Age of Arrival, Length of Residence, and Cross-cultural Adjustment: The younger the age of arrival

and the longer the length of stay, the higher the level of conversational skills in Japanese and familiarity with Japanese culture. However, it had no significant correlations with the students' academic achievement or adjustment stress. Sato (1996) pointed out that some students cannot keep up with subject learning even if they have no problems with Japanese conversational skills. Currently in Japan, educational support for foreign children is limited to initial Japanese language learning support. This support system seems to be based on the assumption that conversational proficiency is sufficient for cultural adjustment.

Cummins (1980, 2000) defined proficiency in using academic language within the school context as Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). He differentiated CALP from Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), which refers to everyday conversational language. Lack of language proficiency is a major disadvantage for immigrant children in the areas of interpersonal and social relationships as well as academic performance (James, 1997; Lee & Zhan, 1998). Referring to Cummins (1980, 2000), Ota (1996) classified language into two groups: Social-life Language and Learning-thinking Language. The former is generally acquired in one to two years, while the latter can take as many as five years to evolve. This suggests that academic achievement and adjustment skills, including developmental aspects, may differ from conversational skills and even develop along different paths than the latter skills. Our work suggests that the level of mastery in conversational skills does not necessarily lead to cultural adjustment and high academic achievement.

The findings from this study illustrate that, in order to help children from another culture and language achieve at higher levels in school, their current level of academic performance must be assessed correctly. As Cummins (1980, 2000) states, educators must have a clear understanding of their students' communicative and academic proficiencies in order to provide effective support. Assessing students' true needs must come first before providing the types of support schools should provide, including psychological support. Moreover, as Ceng (1996) argues, the cross-cultural adjustment process does not progress in a linear fashion; rather, it changes course depending on individual efforts and the availability of the support system. We propose that the length of time provided for support should not be based solely on a preset number of hours as is the case in Japanese schools, but rather on a child's individual needs, their level of language proficiency, and ongoing academic progress.

The Influence of Parental Support on Cross-cultural Adjustment

For children, the family provides a safe base of emotional support for a variety of challenging tasks. However, in this study, 39.6% of the children perceived that they had little or no support or understanding from parents, and 30.6% of children were not sure if they received any. This might be due to many of the children's long separation (2.3 years on the average) from their parents. These results indicated the lack of a trusting relationship and mutual understanding between the participating parents and children. We also found that parental support appeared to have a strong influence on "Language and Acculturation," "Academic Achievement," and "Self-efficacy." This result supported many previous research findings (Fuligni, 1997; Lau, 2010). Ibanez et al (2004) investigated Latin American youth's motivation for academic achievement and found that besides cross-cultural adjustment and academic competence, parental involvement also proved to be an important factor. Ma and Yeh (2010) reported that support from parents largely influenced the selection of future goals and motivation for academic achievement among Chinese immigrant high school students in the U.S.A. Parental understanding and mental support are the basis of cultural adjustment and a motivating force encouraging hard work. Therefore, parental involvement is an important key factor for their children's cross-cultural adjustment and school achievement. As such, guiding parents through the Japanese educational system and helping them to form trusting relationships with their children should be included as part of the educational support

for students from another culture or language.

Factors Related to Cross-cultural Adjustment and School Adjustment

According to the results from the path analysis, the factors relating to cross-cultural adjustment and school adjustment were intricately related. While Language and Acculturation was the most important factor for cross-cultural adjustment, Self-efficacy was the most important factor for school achievement. Self-efficacy was affected by Parental Support alone and not by Age of Arrival or Length of Residence. Cross-cultural adjustment factors, such as Language and Acculturation and Academic Achievement, were in turn directly influenced by Self-efficacy, while the Adjustment Stress factor was indirectly influenced by Self-efficacy via Alienation.

These results supported previous research regarding the influence of parental support on the formation of children's self-efficacy. For example, Bandura (1997) found that parents who encourage their children to pursue different activities and support their efforts help develop the children's sense of self-efficacy by elevating their confidence to meet various challenges. Similarly, Schunk and Pajares (2002) reported the important role parents play as key providers of their children's self-efficacy.

In this study, the following chain of effects can be identified: Self-efficacy is related to Academic Achievement whereas Alienation heightens Adjustment stress. Furthermore, Alienation causes emotional instability, which leads to Academic Disengagement. Academic Disengagement causes behavioral and psychological problems, which can lead to low Academic Achievement. These responses lower the individual's Self-efficacy and create a vicious circle. Yeh (2003) argues that language barriers in conjunction with culture shock and an inability to assimilate to the peer culture, leading to mental health symptoms such as anxiety and depression, are ongoing cultural adjustment problems that immigrant and minority children struggle to overcome. A cross-cultural counseling approach is called for in order to solve these complex adjustment problems. In particular, Shea, Ma, and Yeh (2007) suggest providing a social forum for students to discuss their alienated feelings and other concerns in a safe and trusting environment. The ability to form relationships, recognition of others who understand and accept, and active participation in group activities promote cross-cultural adjustment. Therefore, when supporting foreign children, a sense of belonging, building human relationships, and psychological care should be considered.

The results of this study suggest that self-efficacy in particular is an important intermediating factor in cross-cultural adjustment, while academic achievement is an important indicator of cross-cultural and school adjustment for non-Japanese students. Since this study found no significant correlation between self-efficacy and age of arrival or length of residence, we can surmise that self-efficacy formation is related either to the students' experiences prior to coming to Japan or to their own personality characteristics. This dynamic factor warrants further research. This study also revealed that the higher a students' sense of self-efficacy, the higher their language, acculturation, and academic achievement levels become. Similar results were found in the 2003 Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which suggested that self-efficacy is one of the most important predictors for children's school achievement. The OECD report further asserted that improving the self-efficacy of immigrant children and those from especially challenging backgrounds was paramount for schools and educators in order to provide successful learning environments.

In conclusion, this study illuminated the importance of providing a meaningful educational experience for Chinese immigrant children in Japan, who have complex social, cultural, linguistic, and psychological needs. Without understanding these dimensions, it

would be easy to overly simplify their cross-cultural and school adjustment experiences to the conversational linguistic ability, which is easiest to observe. Equally important, this study is applicable beyond Japan and brings to light the challenges of today's increasingly global society where we, as educators, have a clear mandate to provide equal educational access to all children, including marginalized students.

Limitations and Future Research

There are a number of limitations to this particular study. First, participants were drawn from only Tokyo and Kanagawa prefecture. While this study's findings are compelling, the small sample size may be insufficient to explain all cross-cultural adjustment cases of Chinese children in Japan. Second, this study employed only 28 and 20 items for cross-cultural adjustment and school adjustment surveys respectively. In order to understand the relationships among multiple factors more fully, especially parental support, an expanded survey with more items pertaining to these factors is needed in future research. Finally, since the primary foci of this study were age of arrival, length of residence, parental support, and school adjustment, the issues of identity formation and supporting resources were not discussed. It is imperative that these elements be explored in future research, as well as the dynamic relationship between factors such as school achievement, school adjustment, self-efficacy, and parental support across different grade levels and groups

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The Impact of Exclusionary Discipline on Students

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Abstract

The impact of exclusionary discipline on students is clear and negative as we report herein. The impacts of exclusionary discipline have been negatively linked to the academic and social development of disciplined students. We argue that this discipline form has been disproportionately used among certain groups, particularly those students of certain minority and / or ethnic groups, students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and those students with identified exceptionalities. Exclusionary and zero-tolerance approaches to school discipline are not the best techniques to create a safe climate in contemporary education settings.

Keywords: suspensions, exclusion, suspensions, zero-tolerance, discipline

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The Impact of Exclusionary Discipline on Students

Success for all students continues to be at the forefront of many educational initiatives because of the underlying goal of the education system, which is to provide students with the necessary academic, social, and emotional skills required for successful and meaningful participation in everyday society (Dewey, 1916). Underpinning student success is a cadre of educators and disciplinary practices employed within our schools to treat and remedy student misbehavior (Ryan & Zoldy, 2011). Herein we argue that the use of exclusionary discipline, in the form of out of school suspensions and expulsion has been found to impact student outcomes negatively, and these practices need to be diminished and/or erased to resurrect progressive and positive outcomes. We also suggest via written evidence that certain groups of students experience exclusionary discipline more often than other groups of students. We need to consider this phenomena and path since current data support movement towards a more positive progressive outcome.

Recently, the Ontario School Community Safety Advisory Panel (2008) investigated and concluded:

The punitive approach that demanded mass suspensions and other forms of conventional discipline for complex-needs youth reached its zenith with the zero tolerance philosophy that dominated the early years of the *Safe Schools Act* amendments enacted in 2002. Youth were suspended and expelled in 'droves'. The Panel refers to this enforcement style for responding to troubled youth as the *Safe Schools Culture*. (p.2)

Informing a needy student that they must leave the school for a period of time is not a solution when dealing with student wrongdoing (Daniel, 2008). It merely puts the needs of a student on the street (Ryan & Zoldy, 2011). Concluding a recent review of literature one large department of education reported that there has been very little evidence gathered demonstrating exclusionary discipline actually reduced school violence or improved student behaviour (Maryland State Department of Education, 2010). In addition Rossi (2006) has explained how exclusionary discipline is often abruptly deployed as "the quick fix and [is] easier in the short term for the individual teacher, administrator, or other school staff" (p. 45). While this may be an entirely accurate generalization we believe there is a need to look at the excluded, the shunned, and the very people who are expelled, to better understand the impacts of exclusionary discipline on students who endure this consequence (Falconer, 2008; Ryan & Zoldy, 2011).

Purpose

The purpose of this review is to examine research that has centered upon exclusionary discipline and the impact it has on students. Three consistent trends have emerged recently which highlight the academic and social impacts of exclusionary discipline on students as we will demonstrate herein. We will explore the disproportionate use of such forms of discipline on certain student groups and in doing so we hoped to advance our knowledge, understanding and beliefs concerning the impact of exclusionary discipline on our students in an effort to guide further research and ultimately, improve disciplinary practices for all stakeholders.

Academic Impact

The academic impacts of exclusionary discipline on students have been well documented leading Christle, Jolivet, & Nelson (2004) to conclude that "suspension may be a temporary solution to a behaviour problem, but it is academically detrimental and may

produce life-long, negative effects” (p. 521). Christle et al. (2004) examined suspension rates in Kentucky middle schools and compared the characteristics of schools with the top 20 suspension rates with those of the bottom 20 within the state. Findings indicated that suspension rates were negatively correlated with academic achievement. One limitation noted was the use of secondary documents, which could not account for other underlying student factors such as learning disabilities (Christle, et al., 2004). The use of exclusionary (zero tolerance) discipline was found to be applied to minor infractions outside of the dangerous behaviours in which it was originally intended (Brownstein, 2010). Rausch & Skiba (2004) explained, “maintaining safety is only one purpose of a school discipline system; appropriate discipline also preserves a climate conducive to teaching and learning” (p. 5). Subsequently, current research actually highlights the need for a disciplinary approach that is not only punitive, but provides an opportunity for the student to learn from his or her misbehaviour.

Flanagain (2007) employed a quantitative research design in which students who were suspended 4 or more times were given a controlled (yes or no response) questionnaire to measure the degree to which they agree with the use of out of school suspensions. In the findings, Flanagain (2007) identified students who are suspended, finding they were “usually weak academically, and by missing instruction they may fall further behind in their studies” (p. 13). Furthermore, Flanagain (2007) found “30% of students said that they were not allowed to make up the lessons they missed” (p. 44). One limitation of the question posed in the research to illicit this response was based solely on conditions of the students return and did not address opportunities over the duration of the suspension.

Another academic theme identified in the research pertained to the relationship between suspensions and drop out rates. Brownstein (2010) examined the negative consequences of zero-tolerance and exclusionary disciplinary practices on youth. Brownstein (2010) stated; “a student is more likely to drop out if he or she has been retained for a grade – a common consequence of multiple suspensions” (p. 24). However, the author failed to provide substantial correlated evidence on the relationship between suspension rates and grade retention. Brownstein (2010) also documented the negative relationship between out of school suspension, expulsion and academic achievement, even when controlling for demographics such as socio-economic status. Once again, the failure of the author to cite specific evidence calls into question the validity, reliability and generalizability of the results. Additional peer-reviewed research and valid data are required to satisfy these suggested relationships and associations.

Rausch & Skiba (2004) studied the relationship between school suspension and expulsion rates with the percent passing rates of students in the literacy and numeracy components of the Indiana State Test of Educational Progress (ISTEP). After controlling for “poverty rate, percentage of African-American students, total school size, school type (elementary or secondary), and locale (urban, suburban, town, and rural), it was found that the use of out-of-school suspension is negatively related to school achievement” (Rausch & Skiba, 2004, p. 5). These results do provide proof for further inspection of disciplinary practices utilized in schools. One important variable that was not controlled for in Rausch & Skiba’s (2004) study that could have affected the outcome was the factor of student learning disabilities. This factor is as important as the other control factors as it can greatly affect student learning outcomes and achievement. Thus, Rausch & Skiba highlighted the detrimental effect of exclusionary discipline on student academic achievement but additional variables needed to be addressed in order to truly identify causal relationships that could inform and guide future practices.

Social Impact

The evidence in the literature regarding the social impacts of exclusionary discipline on students is largely from the interpretations of the authors based on government and agency reports. For example, Christle et al. (2004) noted, “according to the Civil Rights project (2000) suspension sends a ‘push-out’ message to students, and suspension is one of the top reasons for dropping out of school” (p. 521). There are, unfortunately, no tangible numbers provided in the Christle, et al. article regarding this specific topic. Furthermore, Christle, et al. (2004) reported, “students who are suspended often are least likely to have supervision at home, are from single parent families, and are those most in need of professional help” (p. 510). Further inspection into the source of these findings, the Committee on School Health of the American Academy of Pediatrics, revealed that this specific finding was based on the 2000 U.S. Census Report. Nevertheless, this heightens the need for additional first-hand inquiries into the social impacts of exclusionary discipline. As highlighted by the Maryland (2010) report, “government studies have found that denying alternative education programming to students increases their likelihood of engaging in high-risk behaviour, alcohol and drug abuse, and criminal behaviour” (p. 14). Based on the evidence from government and agency findings, exclusionary discipline is a topic of considerable importance.

There is some quantitative evidence to support the impact of exclusionary discipline on students’ social development. Flanagan’s (2007) study on student perceptions of out-of-school suspensions found, “60% of the suspended students said the teachers did not look at them differently after they returned from suspension while 40% did think that they were treated differently” (p. 44). These findings can be used to support Flanagan’s claim that suspension serves to further alienate students and parents from the school. It is not surprising, given our understanding of the role of student engagement on learning, that these social factors have the capability to greatly influence learning outcomes among students.

The implied effectiveness of exclusionary discipline as a remedial tool for student misbehavior was reported to be ineffective, for example, Brownstein (2010) highlighted, “studies of school suspension have typically found that 30-50% of those suspended will suspend again” (p. 25). As mentioned previously, the merits of Brownstein’s findings were questionable as the author failed to provide an adequate references for further inspection. However, it does stimulate further inspection within the Ontario context. The Ministry of Education (2008), in its Safe Schools – Suspension and Expulsion Facts, 2007-08 reported that “94,647 students were suspended, 167,252 total suspensions were issued, accounting for multiple suspensions for individual students”(p. 6). These findings indicated that within the Ontario context, there are similar issues with respect to the effectiveness of disciplinary practices. One such explanation for these results was reported by Flanagan (2007) who claimed that “70% of [suspended students] were not offered anger management counseling when they returned from suspension” (p. 44). We taped into a growing body of evidence which suggested that suspensions “have a range of unintended negative consequences including academic failure, school dropout, alienation, substance use, and crime and delinquency” (Hemphill & Hargreaves, 2009, p. 5). These findings highlight one of the issues pertaining to stand-alone exclusionary discipline. Consequently, the literature is wanting and voids exist when we attempt to look into the effectiveness of exclusionary practices and the promotion and development of appropriate social skills for all students.

Overuse

As evidenced in this review, the academic and social impacts of exclusionary discipline are documented. Across the literature, a common theme has been identified in terms of the disproportionate application of exclusionary discipline among certain student

groups. Flanagain (2007) reported that the use of out-of-school suspension was not only found to be ineffective but also discriminatory. These findings, as noted previously, were based on the perceptions of students who had served a suspension four or more times within their academic careers. Christle, et al. (2004) identified in their study of Kentucky middle school suspension rates that, “suspension is used disproportionately with students who are: i) of a minority ethnic background, ii) from low socio-economic families, and iii) identified as having a disability or low academic competence” (p. 510). Similar findings of this disproportionate application of exclusionary discipline across all or some of these three levels have been reported by Heitzeg (2009), the Maryland State Department of Education (2010), Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin (2010), Brownstein (2008), Howarth (2008), Rausch & Skiba (2004, 2006), Rossi (2006), Christle (2004) and in the Ontario context by the Ministry of Education (2008). Thus, additional inspection into the unequal use of exclusionary discipline as experienced by visible minorities, students from low socio-economic backgrounds and students with learning disabilities warrants attention.

Disparities within exclusionary discipline practices cross race and ethnicity lines and are evident in the research data. For example, Rossi (2006) reported, “exclusion rates between 2000 and 2003 have shown that African American and Hispanic students are excluded at much higher rates than other groups in Massachusetts” (p. 19). Once again, these findings were based on evidence from government reports and little qualitative evidence regarding the social, emotional and individual academic impact on the students was included as it was merely inferred from the data. Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin (2010) studied 326 school districts in Ohio to investigate exclusionary discipline and two variables: School typology and student ethnicity. As with Rossi, Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin (2010) found racial disparities within exclusionary rates, namely, “the mean rate of exclusionary discipline for African American student was two-to-three times the rate for White students” (p. 7). Furthermore, Rausch & Skiba (2004) found in their Indiana context that African-American students were suspended at a rate “4 times higher than that for Whites” (p. 3). Again, these findings were based on limited state empirical reports.

Examination of Canadian research, statistics and studies regarding disparities among racial and ethnic groups yielded few results but may prove to be an interesting endeavor. Recent limited evidence suggested, that “not only did the Safe School Act cause increased numbers of suspensions, but it also seemed to unduly suspend minorities and those requiring special education services, which seemed to oppose both common sense and the needs of youth” (Daniel & Bondy, 2008, p. 12). However, Skiba (2008) explained that the “disproportionality is not due entirely to economic disadvantage . . . [or because] “... African American students exhibit higher rates of disruption or violence” (p. 854), instead it was concluded they may be punished more severely for less serious infractions. Sadly, students of color may be disciplined more often because the classroom teacher is not versed in adequate classroom management techniques (Vavrus & Cole, 2002). Thus, disparities in exclusionary discipline among racial / ethnic groups were found to be prevalent across different school settings.

As mentioned earlier herein, little evidence exists in the Canadian context regarding racial disparities within exclusionary discipline but the findings within the literature are important to note, as they can exist within all our educational settings. On a related note, Heitzeg (2009) reported “some of the highest rates of racially disproportionate discipline are found in states with the lowest minority populations, where the disconnection between white teachers and black students is potentially the greatest” (p. 4). These findings bring to light the importance of professional development opportunities in which teachers and administrators can gain a thorough understanding and be sensitive to the cultural differences of a vast number of students. This is particularly important as we continue to move towards a more diverse society. Brownstein (2010) has reflected upon the matter and wrote:

White students are referred to the office at a higher rate than students of colour for offences that are more objectively proven (e.g., smoking). In contrast, African-American and Latino students are referred for discipline at a higher rate than their White peers for disrespect, excessive noise, and loitering – behaviours that would seem to rely more on subjective judgments on the part of educators. (p. 26)

To add to these findings, Rossi (2006) noted, “race does correlate with the severity of the punishment imposed, with students of colour receiving harsher punishments for less severe behaviour” (p. 20). The limitations of Rossi’s claim included how it failed to explain how this conclusion was developed as only previous studies were cited and the author did not define the parameters of terms such as ‘harsher punishments’. Nevertheless, the implications of such findings justify further review in current studies. In sum, the literature identified concerns regarding a disconnect between students and teachers which may result in a disproportionate amount of discipline among certain students.

From the literature, another group that has been shown to experience disproportionate exclusionary discipline are those students from lower socio-economic settings. Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin (2010) concluded that students who received free lunches and whose fathers were not permanently employed were more likely to experience exclusionary discipline. Examination of the source of these findings in educational databases produced no results and there was no indication from Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin regarding the nature of neither the study nor the variables being controlled. Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin (2010) reported, “very-high poverty school districts consistently demonstrated higher mean disciplinary actions per 100 students than any other school typologies” (p. 33). In qualitative studies regarding the topic, Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin (2010) cited research by Brantlinger that “found that both low and high income students believed that low-income students were unfairly targeted and received more severe disciplinary consequences than their peers” (p. 29). Thus, the perceptions of students across different socioeconomic groups warrant further examination.

Howarth (2008) studied all school districts across the state of Massachusetts to find a correlation between both minority students, students from low-income families and out of school suspension rate. Howarth (2008) found that the “low income enrollment variable was statistically significant ($t=8.8$, $p<.001$)” (p. 8). Furthermore, Howarth (2008) found that socioeconomic status was a better predictor of the use of out of school suspensions than visible minority status. However, Howarth (2008) noted that previous findings found a strong relationship between socioeconomic status and race. Again, these findings were significant in that they suggested prejudicial practices, which in turn, can alienate students from the education system and produce less than favourable outcomes.

Another disparity in terms of application of exclusionary discipline has been found among students identified with disabilities. Brownstein (2010) claimed, “children with mental and emotional disabilities are much more likely to be suspended, expelled and arrested at school, despite disciplinary protections that exist under federal special education law” (p. 26). These findings are troubling as they suggest a shortcoming in current educational policies and practices in meeting the needs of all students. Heitzeg (2009) realized that, “zero tolerance policies do not distinguish between serious and non-serious offences, nor do they adequately separate intentional troublemakers from those with behavioural disorders” (p. 9). These statements were based on the regional findings across several contexts.

The Maryland (2010) study found in their context that disabled students were suspended “at a rate two times of that of their non-disabled peers” (p. 17). However, the authors failed to provide a clear distinction between ‘disabled’ and ‘non-disabled’ peers so the findings between different contexts are challenging to fully interpret and generalize. Rausch & Skiba (2006) noted that while data on the relationship between learning disabilities

and suspension rate are not well documented, they found “that students with disabilities typically represent between 11% and 14% of the total school, district, or state population, but represent between 20% and 24% of the suspended and expelled population” (p. 1). Rausch & Skiba (2006) further refined their findings to identify students with a particular disability, namely emotional disability, and reported that these students “were 12 times more likely to be suspended or expelled than all other students with and without disability” (p. 1). Investigation of evidence from a local perspective supported these claims and the Ontario Ministry of Education (2008) reported “4.54% of all students in Ontario were suspended while 7.3% of all students identified as exceptional in Ontario were suspended” (p. 1). The Ministry of Education (2008) defined an exceptional pupil as “a pupil whose behavioural, communicational, intellectual, physical or multiple exceptionalities are such that he or she is considered to need placement in a special education program by committee” (p. 1). Although these findings were not validated by measures of statistical significance, they did offer support for further inspection in our local context around the application of exclusionary discipline.

Conclusion

As evidenced in the literature, the impacts of exclusionary discipline have been linked to the academic and social development of disciplined students. Further, research indicated that the application of this discipline form has been disproportionately used among certain groups, particularly those students of certain minority and / or ethnic groups, students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and those students with identified exceptionalities (Falconer, 2008).

The existing data does, however, have its limitations and stimulates the need for additional research and understanding. Firstly, more recent data are required in order to identify local trends as well as understand the unique characteristics of student populations within certain contexts. One such example in our Canadian context would be to look into the experiences of Native-Canadian or newly immigrated students with respect to exclusionary discipline. To add to this understanding, more introspective, qualitative studies need to be undertaken to more thoroughly understand the underlying social, emotional, and cognitive impacts of exclusionary discipline on students. With this evidence, educational institutions may become more sensitive to the particular needs of all students and thus be better prepared to offer proactive, restorative, and supportive interventions to promote and maintain positive student behaviour. With this recent and localized understanding, we may become better prepared to address the needs of the vast array of students and reach our ultimate goal of success for all within our education system.

Recommendations

We now know that “exclusionary, zero-tolerance approaches to school discipline are not the best way to create a safe climate” (Skiba & Sprague, 2008, p. 38). The American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force report has concluded that “zero tolerance policies *could* potentially have worked if they were only applied “with greater flexibility, taking school context and teacher expertise into account” (Skiba, 2008, p. 857), however Bear (2012) suggested that “rather than advocating the outright elimination of suspension and expulsion (as opposed to its limited and judicious use), research suggests that it would be wiser to advocate for much greater use of more student-centered techniques . . .” (p. 184). Evidence we gathered, examined and reflected upon demonstrated that using a combination of alternative discipline measures such as restorative justice and well-designed in-school suspension programs, while reserving out-of-school suspensions for the most serious offenses, should improve school climate and student behavior of all students over time.

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The Impact of Socio-Economic Status on Parental Involvement in Turkish Primary Schools: Perspective of Teachers

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Abstract

This exploratory qualitative study investigates the effects of socio-economic status on parental involvement in public primary schools in Turkey. The study aims to examine how teachers in these schools present the scope of current parental involvement, to what factors teachers ascribe the barriers to parental involvement, and whether teachers' responses are differentiated according to the socio-economic status of the surrounding community. The data for this study were collected through in-depth interviews with ten teachers working in two primary schools in Istanbul. One school is located in an affluent and relatively homogenous community, while the other one is in an area that includes a predominantly poor and culturally diverse population. The results of the study indicate that although teachers in the affluent school are more satisfied with the quality and quantity of parents' involvement, teachers in both schools believe that parents who do not collaborate with schools do not value education. Moreover, even though all teachers agreed that socio-economic status is a significant determinant of involvement, teachers in the community with high poverty stated that cultural differences also play an important role in explaining lack of parental involvement.

Keywords: Parental Involvement, Socio-economic status, Turkish primary schools

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Introduction

It is a well-established argument in educational research that children's educational success is strongly linked to the characteristics of their parents, such as their level of educational attainment and socio-economic background. The time and attention that parents devote to their children's education are also known to be among the most important parental attributes that may influence children's educational performance. Parents' involvement in schooling of their children has been found to be strongly associated with a variety of educational outcomes, including children's cognitive skills, attendance rates, and positive behaviors (Desimone, 1999; Epstein & Sheldon, 2002; Fan & Chen, 2001; Feinstein & Symons, 1999; İpek, 2011; Jeynes, 2003; Jeynes, 2005; Lee & Bowen, 2006; Loucks, 1992; Resnick, et al., 1997; Sheldon, 2003). In addition, parental involvement can contribute positively to the teacher's performance, school climate, and schools' effectiveness, all of which may eventually result in greater student achievement (Christenson & Cleary, 1990; Epstein, 1995).

A substantial number of researchers find consistent evidence that the more parents involve in their children's education, the better their children perform in school (Henderson & Mapp, 2002). Furthermore, extant research suggests that parental involvement can be even more important for the betterment of schools and enhancement of student achievement in environments filled with low-income, immigrant, and minority parents, and this can play a significant role in closing the achievement gap between different social groups (Abrams & Gibbs, 2002; Barnard, 2004; Jeynes, 2003; Jeynes, 2005; Lopez, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001). Therefore, the factors that may prevent effective parental involvement in terms of school and home activities have been paid significant attention by many researchers. In her seminal article, Lareau (1987) argues that the socio-economic status of parents is one of the most important determinants of parental involvement in education. Following her study, many other studies have shown that patterns of parental involvement, in both quality and quantity, significantly vary in different communities that differ in their socio-economic, cultural, and ethnic characteristics (Bandlow, 2009; Chavkin & Williams, 1993; Desimone, 1999).

Turkey has a greatly diverse population and has been facing intense waves of internal migration over the recent decades. Many parents in the rural or underdeveloped regions of Turkey have moved to western regions or bigger cities in their close vicinity. The most important factors behind this mass domestic migration have been the social problems people face in the rural and/or their hopes for a better future (for higher living standards or for better jobs) in the urban. This large number of immigrants with differing socio-economic and cultural background thereby has created a diverse group in western Turkey (Cinoglu, 2006; Doh, 1984). With this in mind, we argue that this diversity in the population and varying socio-economic background of parents should be taken into account for any strategy aiming at reaching the entirety of all parents on the part of public schools. Given the vital role of schools in encouraging effective parental involvement, investigating the teachers' understanding of parental involvement along with their methods to promote it in different socio-economic communities is particularly important.

Although a number of studies have been conducted on different aspects of the parent-school relationship in Turkey (e.g. Aslanargun, 2007; Erdogan & Demirkasimoglu, 2010; Genç, 2005; Gökçe, 2000; İpek, 2011; Keçeli-Kaysılı, 2008; Kılıç, 2009; Özbaş & Badavan, 2009; Şeker, 2009; Şimşek & Tanaydin, 2002), only a few studies have taken the socio-economic differences into account (e.g. Ahioğlu, 2006; Balkar, 2009; Gürşimşek, 2003). This paper therefore constitutes an attempt to explore how teachers in public primary schools present the scope of current parental involvement, to what factors they ascribe the barriers to parental involvement, and whether teachers' responses are differentiated according to the

socio-economic status of the community in which they work. This paper develops a particular focus on teachers and intends to reveal their perceptions of major barriers to parental involvement across differing socio-economic groups, since teachers often have a direct connection with parents, and play a significant role in promoting parental involvement. Based on teachers' perception of parental involvement at their schools, the current study attempts to answer three specific questions.

1. How do teachers working at two socio-economically distinct schools describe the scope of parental involvement in their schools?
2. Do both socio-economically advantaged and disadvantaged schools have barriers to parental involvement; if yes, to what extent do these barriers resemble or differ in two types of schools?
3. What do teachers in both schools think of possible solutions to overcome the existing barriers to effective parental involvement?

This paper is divided into four sections. In the first section, we review seminal research to clarify the relationship between socio-economic status and parental involvement. The second section describes the process of data collection and analyses, and the third section presents the findings. Finally, the last section provides recommendations for schools in socio-economically disadvantaged areas to enhance parental involvement and discusses how findings of this study could be situated in the broader literature.

Socio-Economic Status and Parental Involvement

Extant research has indicated that parents' involvement in a child's educational life may vary across different social groups (Bandlow, 2009; Chavkin & Williams, 1993; Lee & Bowen, 2006). It has been found that students from middle-class families are more likely to achieve higher grades than those from low-income families, primarily due to the fact that middle-class families are usually more educated and involved deliberately in the schooling and childrearing processes of their children. By contrast, low-income families are less likely to participate in the schooling and childrearing processes of their children as a consequence of problems that have been articulated by researchers (Lareau, 2002; Lareau, 2003; Rothstein, 2004).

One strong argument that has emerged from the existing literature is that it cannot necessarily be assumed that low-income parents do not appreciate the importance of education as much as middle-class parents do (Lareau, 1987; Lee & Bowen, 2006). In fact, research shows that there is not any significant difference between low-income and middle-class parents in the value they attach to the education of their children. Based on this outstanding finding, different factors have been analyzed with the purpose of clarifying reasons that undermine adequate parental involvement. According to Lareau (1987), low-income parents' lesser involvement in their children's education can be explained in two ways: First, since these parents mostly possess less educational attainment, they do not have sufficient skills to assist their children in educational matters. Second, they do not have adequate information about schooling, such as curriculum, subject areas, and instruction, and they often do not have enough resources (money, time, etc.) to invest in their children's schooling.

Rothstein (2004) suggested that the unequal consequences of socio-economic status among parents, such as inequality in housing, are clearly associated with inequality in the educational outcomes of students. Students who do not have adequate housing are more likely to achieve lower grades than others because, first, they usually do not have a room

appropriate for studying, and second, they are less likely to have a stable household since their parents change neighborhoods more frequently than wealthy parents do. Considering the issue from this perspective, it becomes obvious that parents who do not possess a stable house are less likely to participate in the schooling process because it will presumably take more time for these parents to get used to a new environment and to acclimate to a new school.

Consistent with the international literature, Ahioglu (2006) also found that the socio-economic status of parents significantly influenced parental involvement in children's education in Turkey. According to results of this study, parents' interest in their children's educational improvement and their help with children's homework at home increase extensively with increases in socio-economic status. She also argued that there is relatively weak interaction, in regard to both quality and quantity, between teachers and parents from low socio-economic groups compared to interactions between teachers and parents from middle and upper-middle socio-economic groups. Likewise, Turkish primary school teachers stated that parents from low socio-economic status are less involved in their children's education compared to their counterparts (Balkar, 2009). In addition, it was found that both teachers and administrators believe that parents' low level of education was one of the most considerable obstacles for effective parental involvement in Turkish elementary schools (Erdogan & Demirkasimoglu, 2010).

Method

The data for this research were collected through semi-structured in person interviews with 10 classroom teachers (teachers of Grades 1–5) working in two different schools in Istanbul, the most populated and the most diverse city in Turkey. In order to develop an understanding of the teachers' views about socio-economic status in explaining the issue of parental involvement, schools were purposefully selected in communities that significantly differ in the socio-economic status of their inhabitants. The first school was selected from the community which was mostly filled by low-income and working-class families, most of whom migrated from the countryside of different regions. However, the second community generally included professional, middle-class families. The below table includes the basic characteristics of two selected schools as provided by the school principals.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of two selected schools

Characteristics	High SES School	Low SES School
Lunch provided with payment	Yes	No
Daily Schedule	Full day	Half day
Elementary Level Population (1-5 graders)	450	980
Average Teacher Student Ratio	34	37

At the time when the data was collected, Turkish primary schools¹ used to consist of both elementary (1-5 graders) and middle levels (6-8 graders). Our objective was to focus on parental involvement at the elementary level specifically, since it is claimed that parental involvement in early years of education is more likely to be higher than those at higher levels of schooling (Eccles & Harold, 1993; Singh, Bickley, Trivette & Keith, 1995). Teachers in both schools were selected from those with at least five years of teaching experiences and with at least three years spent in the current schools. However, in average, teachers at high SES school had more teaching experiences than those at lower SES school, mostly because of the assignment policy. In Turkey, teachers are assigned to schools by the Ministry of National Education based on their years of experiences. Hence, teachers with more teaching experiences are more likely to be appointed to schools in well-developed areas where generally more affluent families live.

¹With a recent educational reform in May 2012, elementary and middle schools were separated in Turkey. Each of these levels now consists of four years of education.

The primary investigator made two side visits to each school prior to the interviews. During the first visit (one day for each school), he talked to school administrators and obtained permission to conduct interviews with teachers in that particular school. Information about the basic characteristics of schools and teachers who work at the first level (Grades 1–5) of the schools was also obtained from the principals during the first visit. During the second visit (one day for each school), teachers who met the above mentioned criteria were asked to participate in the study. Then, five volunteer teachers from each school were selected for the interviews. Each school was visited one more time on a scheduled date to conduct the interviews. Interviews with all teachers in the same school were scheduled to the same day, yet different time. Time spend for each interview ranged from 40 minutes to one hour.

The interview protocol consisted of six open-ended questions, developed by the authors in collaboration with experts in the field, about the problems of parental involvement in Turkey and whether the problems are associated with socio-economic status. Through those questions, teachers were encouraged to think deeply about social facts such as the demographics and socio-economic statuses of their students and to express their ideas about whether these factors influence school-parent relationships and what the most important factors are in explaining the matter of insufficient parent collaboration with schools. Interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of teachers, and all records were transcribed and analyzed as Turkish. Transcriptions of interviews were e-mailed to teachers and confirmed by them. Consequently, only statements that were planned to be quoted in the paper were translated into English and used in the study.

Data from two schools were analyzed separately by using content analysis method in order to explore specific patterns associated with the current state of parental involvement at each school. Data consisting of responses from two teachers at each school were analyzed by two coders to ensure inter-coder reliability and hence to reduce the impact of individual bias (Remler & Ryzin, 2011). By comparing results from this initial sample data analysis, coders came up with a qualitative coding scheme which includes different categories. The rest of data were, then, analyzed by the primary author based on the developed scheme. Using this scheme for analyses made easier to compare two schools with regard to parental involvement from various perspectives. At the end of content analysis process, it was seen that a variety of common themes for both cases emerged. The common themes were ultimately presented in a form of comparison of two schools.

Findings

The Scope of Parental Involvement

Teachers' responses to the interview questions indicated that regardless of the socio-economic situation of the community in which they work, teachers believed that the socio-economic status [SES] of parents was strongly correlated with the extent of parents' involvement in the educational processes and experiences of their children. Almost all teachers who participated in this study pointed out that middle-class parents showed more concern about and made more contacts with the schooling processes of their children. Teachers also believed that as a consequence of their effective involvement, students with middle-class parents were achieving higher grades than those whose parents are of a lower SES and whose parents do not have connections with the school

There is close connection between parents' status and their participation. In my class, parents who are graduated from a university have very close relationship with us..... They know our expectations and we know theirs.

In my class, most of the parents really have good jobs and SES. They are very concerned with their kids. Some of them are not able to come to school but they usually do not neglect to give me a call and ask about their kids and our needs.

Parents' participation is a very important part of education... Without support from them, it is really hard for us to make students successful.

We have parents who suffer from unemployment or some domestic issues... I try to make contact with them, but sometimes it is impossible... The same is the case for those who are working the entire week.

The above comments include statements from teachers from both schools and they show that there is an agreement among teachers that SES is a significant determinant of parental involvement and consequently student achievement. This fact was further stressed when teachers estimated the involvement ratio for their classes. While teachers in the higher SES school reported an 80–95% involvement rate, which is a satisfactory rate according to them, teachers in the lower SES school reported a 30–40% parental involvement rate. This shows an apparent difference in the quantity of parents who have some sort of connection with teachers. Our finding in this regard is substantially consistent with the international and Turkish literature both of which have stressed less involvement of parents from lower SES communities (Lareau, 1987; Ahioglu, 2006). In addition to quantitative differences, the distinction of activities that parents in two schools get involved in is evidence that it is also important to analyze the quality of involvement.

Quality of Involvement

Just as the quantity of involvement was different, the quality of parental involvement in these two schools was also very distinct from one another according to the teachers' responses to the question about the ways in which parents collaborate with the school. Teachers in the high SES school agreed that parents made contact with the school administrators and teachers in various ways. By contrast, involvement in the lower SES school took place mostly through official parent-teacher meetings held twice a year and in case of any personal problems that a student experiences.

Some responses from teachers working in the high SES school to the question of how parents get involved in education, as indicated below, showed the willingness of parents to work voluntarily to help students acquire not only academic abilities but also non-academic skills:

Compared with the school where I was working before, I am very satisfied with parents in this school because, I think, there is a sufficient involvement rate here. We have different activities and events for students, and parents are ready to help us... This year, some of our parents came to school and wanted to form a dance group. They did pretty much everything... One of the parents said she could teach how to dance. She is coming once a week and teaching dancing to first graders.

Some parents wanted us to teach drama, but there is no teacher in the school who can teach... Then, parents collected some money and hired a teacher... we do not even know how much money the teacher is receiving from parents.

We have online books, materials for test preparation. Now students have a chance to work with computers. They were all bought by parents. We did not even ask them to buy. One of the parents realized that I do not have a computer in the classroom and he bought one for my classroom... Look at this, parents said that they do not want

their kids to carry heavy bags, so they decided to buy lockers so that students can leave their books at school. One parent is a carpenter... He produced these lockers without any profit...

It is important to point out that, as indicated by the teachers, not all parents who made regular contact with the school did volunteer jobs for students. According to one teacher, 20% of parents visited the school regularly and participated in weekly activities, such as students' clubs. Due to their tough job schedules, most of the parents came to regular meetings, or, if not, they made contact with teachers to learn what was discussed in parental meetings. However, teachers in this school agreed that 5–20% of parents had never had any contact with teachers or administrators through either coming to school or making a phone call.

On the other hand, responses from teachers in the school with lower SES to the question about the content of parental involvement implied that the only activities involving parents were collective meetings held each semester regarding issues of the school and other individual parental meetings resulting from any problems of individual students:

If you are a teacher in this school, you should be able to overcome everything by yourself...It is hard to find a parent who can help you... This year, I want to teach folk dance to my students, but for this, we need traditional clothes and shoes. Who is going to buy these materials? As a teacher you have to figure out what to do in such cases.

The school has meeting days for parents. These are not weekly or monthly meetings, but only once for each semester. Still a lot of them do not come.

I think the problem is that these parents do not value education... There are parents willing to come to all of our meetings, but most of them are not.

Some of them (parents) come to school only if there is a problem with their kids.

These comments imply the existence of significant differences between these two schools in the quality of parents' involvement. On the one hand, parents in the high SES community got actively engaged in the schooling processes of their children by collaborating voluntarily with the school to lead various extra-curricular activities, and showed their concern with students' academic skills by purchasing online materials such as software programs conducive to improving students' testing skills. On the other hand, the school in the lower SES community exerted effort to reach parents by holding meetings. Teachers in this school did not mention any significant parental support that helped the school overcome problems or satisfy its needs. In fact, parents in this community also failed to gather around shared goals and common understandings, as indicated by one of teachers:

Parents who participate in meetings do not usually care about needs of the school. They all care about their own kids. We try to help them focus on the entire school's issues, but at the end they only ask questions about their individual kids...I do not think that we have a community (collaboration for shared issues) in this school.

Factors Teachers Ascribe to the Problems of Parent Involvement

Our analysis concerning teachers' perceptions of parental involvement indicates that, both in the quantity and the quality of parents' engagement in the schooling process, there are significant differences between the school in the high SES community and the school located in the lower SES community. However, it is important to mention that even though it is apparent that the high SES school had higher rate of parental involvement, this school also

included parents who had never made contact with teachers. In this section, therefore, we wanted to analyze factors impeding parental involvement not only in the lower SES school but also in the school where the majority of parents had a connection with the school staff. In order to clarify the extent of the impact of SES on parental involvement, we asked teachers to expound on impediments that they thought preclude some parents from engaging in the educational processes of their children, either by coming to school or assisting their children at home.

Regardless of the school that teachers worked in, there was one common response to the questions such as, “Who are the parents who do not have any contact with you?” “Why do they not have contact?”, and “What are some problems behind their paucity of involvement?” Most teachers expressed the opinion that parents who were not making contact with them or who did not assist their children at home regarding school work did not value education. Here some comments from teachers in both schools:

There is a huge difference between parents who value education and those who do not. Some parents are coming from distant places to send their children to this school because they know this school is successful.

I think the success of students depends closely on parents attaching value to education. When parents get involved in school, their children also show more concern about their lessons.

I believe parents who join school activities are those who value education....

Even if parents are well educated, they might still not get involved... Valuing education is not about educational attainment...

Almost all teachers who mentioned parents that have less contact with schools indicated that such parents attach less importance to education, although previous research shows that there is not any significant difference between parents, regardless of their socio-economic background or identity, in comprehending the value of education for their children (Lareau, 1987; Louis, Leithwood, Wahlstrom, & Anderson, 2010). Then why do teachers believe in this misleading notion? Our assumption is that teachers possess such viewpoints presumably due to the fact that they do not distinguish the difference between parents' thoughts or values about education and their actions regarding making contact with the school. Therefore, teachers evaluate how much parents' value education based on the extent to which parents have collaboration with teachers. If a parent has some sort of connection with teachers at the school or with the child at home in relation to educational issues, this parent is assumed by teachers to be among those who value education.

In order to investigate the way that teachers conceptualize the idea of valuing education, we asked them to explain the reasons why some parents valued education but others did not. Teachers' responses grouped into two clusters: On one hand, most teachers (eight out of ten) referred to socioeconomic factors to explain why some parents do not value education. On the other hand, although they still believed in the existence of parents who do not value education, two teachers argued that there is no connection between socio-economic status of parents and how they value education, and mentioned low-income parents who actively engaged as a basis to their argument. Both situations confirmed our assumption that teachers do not distinguish between parents' perceptions about the importance of education and their involvement because teachers mostly linked parents' not valuing education to socioeconomic factors and therefore evaluated how parents value education based on their actions in relation to schooling.

Barriers to Parental Involvement

The School in the High SES Community

It was indicated by teachers in the high SES school that parental involvement was at a satisfactory level: Approximately 20–30% of parents were very actively engaged in school activities, supported teachers, and provided the school's and teachers' needs. Around half of the parents had some connection with teachers or school administrators by making phone calls and partaking in parental meetings. However, depending on the numbers given by individual teachers, 5–20% of parents neither made contact with the school nor participated in any meetings. Beyond the teachers' perspectives concerning parents' not valuing education, we asked them to explain the reasons preventing these parents from getting involved.

The most challenging problem I have faced so far is about parents' working conditions... although they have good economic conditions, they are working too much... But at least they give me calls to ask about their children...

Unlike most schools in this city, I think the only problem is families' tough job schedules...they start working in the early morning and up until night because I know many of them bring their work home with them ...They even work on Saturdays.

Last time the discussion in the class was about "robots" and students said the best examples for robots are their fathers and mothers... They work like robots... these students are despaired because their parents do not spend enough time with them...

According to teachers in this school, the most serious problem preventing parents from getting involved in education was their inflexible working conditions. All the teachers who responded to the interview questions pointed out the same impediment. Due to their tough working schedules, parents did not have time to spend with their children at home to assist with their homework or to participate in school activities arranged for parents. This was particularly problematic for parents who are divorced. Two teachers indicated that in each grade level there were at least two students whose parents got divorced; the students were living with their mothers. They stressed that in order to satisfy the needs of their children, these mothers spent even more time working. Interestingly, these parents were thought by the teachers to be those who did not value education, which, according to teachers, was the main problem for lack of involvement. However, it has been obvious that when teachers focused more on the question of why these parents are not involved in the education of their children, they recognized actual problems impeding some parents' involvement. For instance, in this school, the major impediment to involvement was the inexorable working schedules of parents.

The School in the Lower SES Community

Teachers in the lower SES school were more pessimistic regarding parental involvement. According to these teachers, just like in the high SES school, parents spending most of their time working was also an impediment to effective involvement in this school. However, as with other impediments, the issue becomes more serious. Some of the comments teachers made can be seen below.

In this community, mostly both parents work in the week and sometimes at the weekend because they have some economic problems...If they do not come to school, let's say that's fine but they do not even help their kids at home...

Parents are working in tough jobs and spending a lot of time at working... For them education is not important because they know its benefit is distant... They need to make money for their basic needs... They do not expect their kids to go on to higher level of education, instead they want their kids help them earn money as soon as kids accomplish the mandatory education.

The first aim of parents is to earn money and to satisfy their basic needs...Education is not a priority. They send their kids to school because it is illegal not to send... Kids are expected to contribute to family's budget...

Sometimes it is about the student, when parents see the child's achievement. This motivates them and so they want their kids to continue, but for other students who are struggling, it is not the case... Schooling is a waste of time...

As can be interpreted from teachers' comments above, in addition to parents' lack of involvement in the educational experiences of their children, parents in this school did not allow children to spend more time on schooling or go on to a higher level of education mostly due to economic struggles. Instead, children were expected to start working to contribute to the income of their families even during their mandatory primary education. The teachers added that it was very hard to work with these parents due not only to parents being unwilling to collaborate with teachers but also because of communication problems.

There are high school graduate mothers, we do not have problem to talk with them, but parents here are mostly graduated from elementary school (five years). Even some parents have not got any schooling experience... It is really hard for me to communicate with them... I see that they respect teachers, but are not able to assist their child.

The educational level of parents is a critical factor... When I tell them to take their child to a psychologist, they do not accept this... They misunderstand me.

This is a very diverse community and most of them, especially those from eastern Anatolia region, are not educated... they do not have educational experience to know what schooling looks like...

Parents think we are experts and the most responsible person for their kids' education...They even say "if we help our kids' lessons, then what teachers do at school. It is their job..." Some of them believe if they help their kids at home, this is something bad because kids should be able to do their homework on their own...

In addition to the economic problems that parents face, the teachers indicated that the insufficient educational attainment of parents is one of the most important impediments to accomplishing fruitful involvement. It is acknowledged that effective parental involvement should go beyond teacher-parent meetings and should trigger parents to take actions in contributing to school activities and students' independent work at home. However, according to the teachers' responses, the educational levels of most parents were not adequate to assist their children. In addition to this, the inadequate educational level of some parents did not make it possible for teachers to communicate with them effectively. As pointed out by one of teachers, they could even be misunderstood. Consequently, as part of the problem of ineffective communication, parents were not able to respond to the demands of the school and teachers concerning the needs of students.

Teachers' responses to the inquiry into the impediments to effective parental involvement in this school revealed that problems were not limited to socio-economic factors:

Parents in our school are not able to come together for the same purpose. They act individually...They focus on individual problems. It seems like everybody cares only for their own kids...

The community in this school is very diverse... There are a lot of families migrated from eastern provinces...some parents do not want to communicate with others or they do not want their kids to talk with others (students with a different socio-cultural background)...It is all about trust.

As indicated earlier, unlike parents in the high SES school, where parents showed a positive sense of school community through coming together for the same goals, parents in this school did not accomplish that unity. Part of this problem is the fact that this school included parents from a wide range of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. As pointed out in the comments above, some parents were hesitant to communicate with other parents who had different cultural identities. However, we do not have sufficient information about what specific cultural differences might hinder parents from making contact with the school. From the teachers' viewpoint, it is apparent that the parents who migrated from the eastern provinces were less likely to get involved in the educational process. It is known that a large number of these parents possessed different identities and cultural values. Although some teachers had a sense that the problem was about adaptation to new environment and about language barriers (some parents had difficulties of speaking fluent Turkish), we think that another study that makes direct contact with these parents is needed to discover how specific cultural differences between schools and parents might affect their involvement.

Solutions to the Articulated Barriers

Teachers' responses to questions about possible solutions to the problems of parental involvement in their schools reflected different aspects of the problems. Interestingly, teachers focused mostly on the socio-economic status of parents as the predominant factor determining the extent of involvement; however, when they were asked to elaborate strategies that might alleviate the deleterious impact of such factors, it became apparent that one part of the problem is with the schools themselves, and hence schools were presented as the major source of solutions:

School administration and teachers should act collaboratively... (all school staff) should be together. There is isolation among teachers and administrative staffs... parents are respectful, so, no matter what situation you are in, you can make connection with them...they (Parents) trust us...If the school administration takes action and gathers all teachers together, around the same slogan, I believe we can draw the attention of parents...

When you talk about increasing parental involvement in any school, you should have an objective or a vision statement...But, look at our school...No objective or vision about how to gather parents....

Unfortunately, we do not have any plan or program for parental involvement. It is up to teachers to decide what to do...they (teachers) are not taught how to make contact with parents...

There is no collaboration between teachers and administrators...everybody is independent here... no shared vision about parental involvement... if you do (activities for parents), you just do. If you don't, it is okay too...it is not a requirement...

According to these comments from teachers in the lower SES school, the school had failed to gather teachers to develop shared understandings, visions, and plans in relation to involving parents in the educational process. Involvement activities taking place depended mostly upon the individual efforts of teachers who did not possess formal education or professional training concerning how to communicate with parents and help them get involved. These findings suggest that the school as a whole does not exert a collective effort to reach parents; instead, efforts are either restricted to individual teachers or to the parents themselves who are already willing to engage in the educational experiences of their children. This argument is further confirmed by comments from teachers in the high SES school. They also indicated that the school they were working in did not have a collective vision regarding parental involvement; again, parental involvement activities were mostly shaped by individual teachers' efforts and parents who were voluntarily engaged.

According to teachers, the school administration should play a significant role in building effective parent-teacher collaboration because the extent of teachers' activities with regard to parents is mostly limited to group and individual meetings. Since teachers lacked knowledge in relation to specific steps for increasing the number of parents having regular contact with the school and getting involved more productively, they considered administrative staff as the primary responsible figures for creating effective parental involvement strategies. Administrators were expected to develop a shared vision and understanding among teachers about parental involvement, set directions for specific steps, develop agendas for school-wide meetings, support and guide teachers in communicating with parents, and provide teachers with sufficient resources such as space, communication devices, etc.

Conclusion & Discussion

The main aim of this study was to explore how teachers in Turkish public primary schools present the scope of current parental involvement, the factors they ascribe the barriers to parental involvement, and how their responses differ according to the socio-economic status of the community in which they work. We achieved this goal by inquiring into the school-parent collaboration in two primary schools, which were on the different ends of socio-economic spectrum in Istanbul. Throughout the analysis of teachers' responses to interview questions, it has been obvious that the differences between the high SES and the lower SES schools in the quality and quantity of parental involvement in Turkish context is consistent with conventional wisdom, such that teachers in the high SES school reported more satisfaction with the number of parents involved and the way that they participate in their children's education. For instance, Lareau compared parental involvement in a high SES school with one that involved large number of lower SES parents in the U.S., and she came to the conclusion that "difference in two schools was apparent not only in the quantity of interaction but in the quality of interaction" (Lareau 1987, p.77). Similarly, we revealed that the high SES school included parents who had close connections with teachers, were sensitive about the schools' needs, and participated voluntarily in extra-curricular activities. However, parental involvement in the lower SES school failed to go beyond regular meetings.

The idea that parents who do not get involved do not value education, which was held by most of the teachers, lost its prominence when teachers mentioned socio-economic factors as impediments to parental involvement, such as parents' job schedules, educational levels and so forth. Hence, it can be argued that parents do not get involved mainly because of their life conditions, not necessarily because they disvalue education. These findings also confirm the study of Louis *et al.* (2010) who suggested that less involvement of lower SES parents should not be construed as they do not value the school or comprehend the importance of education. Moreover, our results suggest that problems of parental involvement in these schools do not only stem from issues related to parents but schools themselves lack individual and/or collective accountability to enhance parental involvement.

There is an agreement among researchers suggesting that schools located in more diverse and lower SES communities need to exert more effort to reach the community instead of expecting parents to make contact with them (Khalifa, 2012). However, teachers' responses in both schools indicate that both teachers and administrators have failed to develop a school-wide understanding of and vision about parental involvement in order to reach all parents. Most teachers work in isolation in their effort to collaborate with parents. Furthermore, since schools do not possess strong requirements or policies for teachers that encourage and support them to work with parents, the quality of parental involvement in these schools depends solely on the willingness of teachers and parents.

Based on our findings, we suggest that administrators in schools with substantial concentrations of low-income and migrant students should direct specific attention to developing strategies that have the potential to enhance school-parent collaboration. The process of strategy development should be carried out in collaboration with teachers, which would enable the school not only to establish a shared understanding of parental involvement among teachers but also a cohesive attitude toward it. School administrators should also be aware of and satisfy the needs of teachers regarding the resources required for parental involvement activities. In addition, depending on teachers' concerns about the fact that they do not have sufficient training on effective ways to reach out to parents, we advise schools add training sessions regarding parental involvement to their professional development schedules. Furthermore, other researchers studying parental involvement recommend that teachers not simply wait for parents to make contact with them; rather, they should devote a certain amount of time to leaving the stark boundary of school and reaching those parents who are isolated from the school (Khalifa, 2012), and listen to and show respect for the needs and concerns of these parents (Lopez, Scribner & Mahitivanichcha, 2001). Extant research also shows that there may (still) be existing dissatisfactions among low-income parents regarding their voice being valued, even when there are significant efforts to bring parents directly to school on the part of the school administration (Abrams & Gibbs, 2002). It could be inferred that schools should make contact with parents by going to them and paying assiduous attention to their values, concerns and needs instead of trying to bring parents with lower SES directly into school.

Although our study has provided critical implications concerning the issue of parental involvement in socio-economically different schools, we are also aware of the existing limitations of our study. First of all, the data utilized in the study were based solely on teachers' self-report and involved only one interview with each participant. Second, the measure of parental involvement was quantified by the numbers taken from teachers without any other observation. Third, the data that we used is relatively small, and consists of two schools and ten teachers in total, which may limit our findings in terms of their generalizability to a broader scope of schools across Turkey. Forth, teachers working at the affluent school had more years of teaching experiences than those who were working at the school with students predominantly coming from lower socio-economic background. This existing situation may positively impact the level of parental involvement in more affluent school.

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An Investigation of the Mathematical Literacy of Students Aged 15 in terms of Pisa 2003 Mathematical Literacy Questions: Results from Turkey¹

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the mathematical literacy of the 15-year-old students in terms of PISA mathematical literacy questions. The research model of this study is the survey model in the quantitative models. The sample of this study was composed of 1.227 students who received formal education in five different types of schools (science high schools, Anatolian high schools, private high schools, public high schools and vocational high schools) of various cities, each of which was selected from each of seven geographical regions in Turkey. Nine questions were applied and revealed in the mathematical area in PISA in 2003 as a data collection tool. The results of this study show that, in terms of the proportion of answering the assessment questions, the best performing type of school is science high schools. It was shown that a great number of students still cannot answer the proficiency level questions in the desired way and only half can answer the lower-intermediate and intermediate questions.

Keywords: Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Mathematical literacy, 15-year-old students

¹ This paper uses some of the findings of first authors's PhD research at Ataturk University, supervised by the second author. Furthermore, this study was presented in X. National Science and Mathematics Education Congress.

Introduction and Literature Review

The fact that there is no long-established education system as yet in Turkey also reveals itself in the low success levels that are acquired in national and international examinations (Berberoğlu and Kalender, 2005; MEB [Ministry of National Education], 2003a; MEB 2003b; MEB, 2005). By participating in national examinations such as YGS (Transition to the Higher Education Examination), LYS (Undergraduate Placement Exam), SBS (Level Assessment Examination), ÖBBS (Student Success Assessment Examination) along with international examinations, Turkey has had the opportunity to compare and evaluate its education system and student success levels with other countries on an international scale. Among the international examinations in which we participate are the “Progress in International The Reading Literacy Study” (PIRLS) Project, which is organised by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), the Third “Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study” (TIMSS) Project and the “Programme for International Student Assessment” (PISA), which is organised by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). PISA is an initiative of the OECD (Cosgrove, Shiel, Sofroniou, Zastrutzki & Shortt, 2005; Duru-Bellat and Suchaut, 2005; Eivers, Shiel & Cunningham, 2008; Satici, 2008; Shiel, Cosgrove, Sofroniou & Kelly, 2001; Xie, 2005), which was first implemented in 2000. The objective of international student comparison projects such as TIMSS, PIRLS and PISA is to evaluate the education systems of the countries that participate in these programmes and ensure the yearly follow-up of the development in the knowledge and skills of the students of these countries in the literacy, mathematics and science fields rather than creating competition between these countries (Anil, 2009; Martins and Vegia, 2010; OECD, 2007; Schwab, 2007). The increase in international evaluations is discussed, examining in particular the impact that comparative studies have at the national, local education authority and school levels and the potential for tension between the different levels (Livingston, 2003). The authors suggest that it is necessary to recognize the relationships between the different levels of evaluation with a view to developing a coherent learning organization that works together towards the common purpose of raising pupil achievement (Livingston & McCall, 2005). Turkey has found an opportunity to evaluate its education system on a global scale by participating in international examinations such as PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS. Cognitive domain tests, in which only multiple-choice questions are included in national examinations in a general sense, provide very limited information for studying our education policy in detail. Results obtained from the evaluation framework in which questions of different types and scopes are included in the international examinations as well as the information about students, teachers, parents, curriculums, schools, classrooms and house environments obtained from the conducted surveys were ensured the obtainment of various information for our education policy. Therefore, the insufficiencies, which must be worked out in our education system, have come into prominence and precautions, which must be taken and were determined. Dimensions, which are not present in our current curriculums, were included, and a reconstruction commenced in our education system in view of these evaluations.

Mathematical Literacy in PISA

The framework of the four subject areas determined by PISA in mathematics – which will ensure setting forth the generative, correlative and reflective skills for detecting the solutions that can be introduced by the person in response to not just mathematics in school life but also problem situations in which he/she can utilise his/her mathematical skills in every environment that he/she is in – is as follows (MEB, 2005; OECD, 2004):

- Space and Shape (Geometry) covers the features of the spatial and geometrical phenomena or situations and objects that are mostly related to drawing included in the geometry curriculum. It requires an understanding of the features of objects and their relative locations as well as searching for the similarities and differences among

the shapes when they are broken into parts and recognising the shapes in different representations and different dimensions.

- Change and Relationships (Algebra) contain the relationships and equations among variables as well as knowledge and understanding regarding the methods that are used in presenting these relationships and equations. Change and relationships contain the connection between functional relationships and variables along with mathematical indications of change. This content area is most clearly related to algebra. Mathematical relationships are usually represented by equations or inequations, but they are also rather related to the relationships of a general content. Relationships are given as different representations that contain symbolic, algebraic, graphical, tangential and geometrical representations. Since different representations serve different purposes and have different features, the transition among the representations is extremely important in understanding and solving mathematical problems.
- Quantity (Number-Arithmetic) contains numerical situations or circumstances, relationships and patterns. It is related to understanding relative magnitude, recognising numerical situations and using the numbers that explain the amounts and measurable features of real-life objects. In addition to this, quantity incorporates operation and comprehension of the numbers that are represented in different ways. An important aspect of studying quantity is quantitative thinking that contains number perceptions, expressing numbers, comprehending the meaning of operations, mental arithmetic and calculation. The most common branch of mathematics curriculum, which is combined with quantitative thinking, is arithmetic.
- Uncertainty (Probability) contains statistical situations or circumstances that are expressed in accordance with probabilities that constitute a subject of statistics and probability.

PISA uses the term “literacy”, which covers a number of broad-meaning competencies that deal with adult life. These competencies are based on meaningfulness and applicability belonging to adult life that has no special relationship with the curriculums of the participating countries. Evaluation focuses on students’ abilities to implement their knowledge and skills in real-life problems and circumstances (Anderson, Lin, Treagust, Ross and Yore, 2007). In PISA, mathematical literacy is defined as “an individual’s capacity to identify and understand the role that mathematics plays in the world, to make well-founded judgments and to use and engage with mathematics in ways that meet the needs of that individual’s life as a constructive, concerned and reflective citizen” (Meyer, Pauly and Poele, 2005). “Mathematical Literacy takes notice of a wider and more functional use of mathematics, and covers the skill of recognising and formalising mathematical problems in various circumstances” (MEB, 2009). In this sense, students are expected to see mathematical relationships in the situations that they encounter in real life conditions and manifest their mathematical competencies to find potential or distinctive ways to a solution, when necessary, beyond routine problem solving skills and are not limited to the subjects that comprise the curriculum of the school. In order to understand the reasons for a general increase in emphasis on school-based evaluation, on the one hand, and international evaluations, on the other, it is necessary to understand the wider context that is driving change. In today’s global society schools find themselves operating in a new educational context that brings a new set of challenges and opportunities (Livingston & McCall, 2005).

Turkey participated in the implementations of PISA studies conducted in 2003, 2006 and 2009 with different types of schools. General high schools, vocational high schools, Anatolian vocational high schools, science high schools, Anatolian high schools, private high schools, police colleges and elementary schools participated in implementation in 2003. In this implementation, it was observed that there are serious differences among school types in

terms of mathematics success (MEB, 2005). Berberoğlu and Kalender (2005), who found a similar result from the findings that they obtained in their study, stated that the differences among school types are in serious extents rather than regional differences in success levels of the students in both ÖSS and PISA evaluations. Elementary schools, general high schools, Anatolian high schools, foreign language intensive high schools, science high schools, vocational high schools, Anatolian vocational high schools and multi-programme high schools participated in implementation in 2006. In this implementation, just like in the implementation in 2003, it was observed that there are serious differences among school types (MEB, 2007). Elementary schools, general high schools, Anatolian high schools, science high schools, Anatolian teacher training high schools, Anatolian fine arts high schools, vocational high schools, Anatolian vocational high schools, technical high schools, Anatolian technical high schools and multi-programme high schools participated in the PISA implementation in 2009 implementation in the scope of mathematical literacy. Differences were also observed among school types in this application (MEB, 2010). It was determined that the type of school that showed the lowest performance in mathematical literacy is elementary schools (Akyüz and Pala, 2010; MEB, 2005; MEB, 2007; MEB, 2010). İş Güzel (2006) and İş (2003) found that the students who were the most successful in mathematical literacy are higher-grade students. In PISA studies it was observed that the mathematics performance of the male students was superior to that of the female students in many countries. McGaw (2004) stated that 15-year-old female students showed superior performance to male students in reading skills in every country in PISA 2000. However, male students showed superior performance compared to female students in mathematical literacy in all countries with the exception of Iceland and New Zealand. Ziya (2008) examined some factors that affect the mathematics successes of the students in Turkey according to PISA 2006. The findings of his study revealed that success scores of the students differ in accordance to gender. It was observed that the male students were more successful than the female students. Lydia Liu and Wilson (2009) examined gender differences on PISA 2003 mathematics success in certain fields, and researched similarities and differences in gender scores among students from USA and Hong Kong. In this study, it was stated that male students in both countries showed superior performance, especially in complicated multiple-choice problems, whereas female students had higher scores in probability, algebra and reconstruction problems. It was observed that the gender differences among Hong Kong students are greater than those of American students; students from Hong Kong showed superior performance than American students in problems that measure complex mathematical logic. The results – which were obtained from a study conducted by Demir, Kılıç and Ünal (2010) and sample of which was composed of a total of 4,942 15-year-old students who participated in the PISA 2006 study – showed that male students had better scores in mathematics compared to female students. Gilleece, Cosgrove and Sofroniou (2010) found significant gender differences in the distribution of low and high successes that changed according to the fields in their study in which they examined the features of school and student backgrounds regarding low and high success in mathematics and science in PISA. It was set forth that female students probably achieved lower success in mathematics, whereas male students achieved higher success. Gender in science was related to dropping out of school; male students who dropped out of school achieved lower success than the female students who dropped out of school. The results showed that target resources are required, which assist in increasing the equality in school-level acquisitions as well as student-level acquisitions. The questions in PISA are organised as questions types that are prepared as complex multiple-choice, multiple choice, open-ended, short-answered and semi-structured. Demir (2010) found that student reactions differ in Turkey in the mathematical literacy subtests of PISA 2003 and PISA 2006; ‘multiple-choice’ questions are the most-solved question type; and ‘complex multiple-choice’ questions are the least-unanswered question type in both implementations. He stated that there is a considerable decrease in the percentage successes of the students in Turkey at all levels of question types, primarily including multiple-choice questions according to the results of the PISA 2003 and PISA 2006 mathematical literacy subtest. In the study, it was generally concluded that the

success levels of the students in Turkey are superior in structured (multiple-choice, complex multiple-choice and semi-structured questions) question types compared to other question types (short-answer, open-ended) to which they are expected to form answers independently.

The questions directed at the students in PISA are studied as implementations that are not directly connected with any curriculum and that are formed for the purpose of discovering the degree to which the students can transfer their knowledge and skills into real life situations. Savran (2004) studied three question types that represent each field among the test questions used in the PISA project; examined the comparability and applicability consistency of these question types for the Turkish student profile in terms of the basic contents and linguistic features of question examples; stated that the question contents correspond with the main objective determined by PISA research; the questions were prepared by taking student psychology into account; motivation was maintained extremely successfully; that the aim is to measure students' success in creative thinking, using the skills of reading-understanding-interpreting-evaluating the given information, problem solving and inference. In the studies conducted on PISA implementations, it is observed that the studies were made into elements such as how and to what degree factors such as attitudes regarding the subject area, self-sufficiency, self-regulation, anxiety or disturbance, internal and external motivation, learning strategies, learning environment preference, classroom environment, teacher-student relationships, opinions about the school, school type, gender, socioeconomic and cultural index, education level and status of the family, use of technology and sources, education, mathematics teacher quality, question types and styles, problem solving skills, cross-cultural and cross-language equivalence of the cognitive tests and surveys affect academic success (Anderson, Chiu and Yore, 2010; Chu-Ho, 2010; Gilleece, Cosgrove and Sofroniou, 2010; Knipprath, 2010; Lydia Liu and Wilson, 2009; McConney and Perry, 2010; Neumann, Fischer and Kauertz, 2010; Yıldırım and Berberoğlu, 2009). Several of these studies were conducted using the data of PISA implementations and other international implementations where data collected in general terms was analysed in more detail with secondary analyses; and few studies were encountered that examine the degree to which the curriculum that was formed in accordance with primary analyses and changed step by step.

In view of the investigation of these studies, it was decided in this study to collect data from the first graduates of the changed curriculum and determine the ratios of the students in answering Pisa 2003 mathematical literacy questions cognitive domain test regarding mathematical literacy in a general sense in terms of school types.

Methodology

Since the aim of this study is to reveal the mathematical literacy of the students within the context of the PISA 2003 examination, the survey model, which is among the descriptive methods, was used in this study. Descriptive researches describe a given circumstance as fully and carefully as possible. The most common descriptive method in research studies conducted in the field of education is the survey model because the researchers summarise the features (abilities, preferences, behaviours, etc.) of individuals, groups or (sometimes) physical environments (e.g. schools) (Büyüköztürk, Kılıç Çakmak, Akgün, Karadeniz and Demirel, 2009).

The population of this study was composed of 15-year-old students who continued their formal education in Turkey in the 2009-2010 school year. The sample of this study was composed of one province selected from each of the seven geographical regions that are present in our country and 1.227 students (621 female students and 606 male students) who studied in five different school types (science high school, Anatolian high school, private high school, general high school and vocational high school) from these provinces.

Table 1. Frequency of the sample according to school types

School Type	Frequency
Anatolian High School	238
Science High School	248
General High School	247
Vocational High School	246
Private High School	248

A nine-question test (see Appendix) was used as a data collection tool and was prepared by focusing on four subject areas (Geometry, Algebra, Arithmetic and Probability) that are targeted in PISA mathematical literacy out of 10 evaluation questions (a total of 18 questions including the sub-questions) that were implemented in the mathematics section of PISA 2003 and the confidentiality of which was removed. The data was collected by the researcher himself during the 2009-2010 school year. Multiple-choice, complex multiple-choice and semi-structured questions, in which students are expected to reach previously-determined answers, were asked along with open-ended questions and short-answer questions to which students were required to form their answers independently. A duration of approximately 50 minutes was allowed for the written exam. It was observed that $\alpha = 0.878$ (Cronbach's Alpha) according to the results of the reliability analysis that was conducted for 18 evaluation the questions. In view of this, since $0.80 \leq \alpha = 0.878 < 1$, it can be stated that the scale, which is composed of 18 questions, is reliable at a high level. In grading the questions in the cognitive domain test that was implemented on the selected students, the questions were evaluated as "fully correct", "partially correct", "incorrect", "just correct" or "just incorrect" and in accordance with the instructions included in the grading guide that was prepared for PISA 2003 implementation. It was observed that the grading reliability was maintained with a ratio of 95% by evaluating the given answers by two mathematics teachers apart from the researcher and as a result of the opinion of three graders. Points, which were observed as incoherent in the grading, were discussed, and the definite grading was decided.

The answers given by the students to PISA 2003 mathematics question examples were examined in detail in the data analysis section. As stated in the data collection tools and data collection section, each question was graded as "fully correct", "partially correct", "incorrect" or "unanswered" in accordance with the grade given. These scores, which were given to the students as a result of nine questions, are presented in the findings section with frequency and percentage tables according to school types. PISA scores can be located along specific scales developed for each subject area, designed to show the general competencies tested by PISA. These scales are divided into levels that represent groups of PISA test questions, beginning at Level 1 (OECD, 2000)

Students at Level 1 are capable of completing only the least complex reading tasks, such as:

- Locating a single piece of information.
- Identifying the main theme of a text.
- Or making a simple connection with everyday knowledge.

Students at Level 2 can:

- Interpret and recognize situations in contexts that require no more than direct inference.

- Extract relevant information from a single source and make use of a single representational mode.
- Employ basic algorithms, formulae, procedures, or conventions.
- Reason and make literal interpretations of the results

Students at Level 3 can:

- Execute clearly described procedures, including those that require sequential decisions.
- Select and apply simple problem-solving strategies.
- Interpret and use representations based on different information sources and reason directly from them.
- Develop short communications reporting their interpretations, results and reasoning.

Students at Level 4 can:

- Work effectively with explicit models for complex concrete situations that may involve constraints or call for making assumptions.
- Select and integrate different representations, including symbolic ones, linking them directly to aspects of real-world situations.
- Use well-developed skills and reason.
- Construct and communicate explanations and arguments based on their interpretations, arguments and actions.

Students at Level 5 can:

- Develop and work with models for complex situations, identifying constraints and specifying assumptions.
- Select, compare, and evaluate appropriate problem-solving strategies for dealing with complex problems related to these models.
- Work strategically using broad, well-developed thinking and reasoning skills, appropriate linked representations, symbolic and formal characterizations, and insight pertaining to these situations.
- Reflect on their actions and formulate and communicate their interpretations and reasoning.

Students at Level 6 can:

- Conceptualize, generalize, and utilize information based on their investigations and modeling of complex problem situations.
- Link different information sources and representations and flexibly translate among them.
- Do advanced mathematical thinking and reasoning.

- Apply insight and understanding along with mastery of symbolic and formal mathematical operations and relationships to develop new approaches and strategies for dealing with novel situations.
- Formulate and precisely communicate their actions and reflections regarding their findings, interpretations, arguments and appropriateness of these to the original situations.

Results

The frequency and distribution percentages of the answers given by the students who participated in this study in the PISA 2003 questions cognitive domain test are presented in this section. The results were compared with the PISA 2003 results. Furthermore, the frequency and percentage distributions of these questions according to school types are separately examined and presented. Also the results are presented according to competency level of each PISA question

“Exchange Rate” Question: Mei-Ling from Singapore was preparing to go to South Africa for 3 months as an exchange student. She needed to change some Singaporean Dollars (SGD) into South African Rand (ZAR).

“Exchange Rate 1” Question: Mei-Ling found out that the exchange rate between the Singaporean dollar and the South African rand was:

$$1 \text{ SGD} = 4.2 \text{ ZAR}$$

Mei-Ling changed 3,000 Singaporean dollars into South African rand at this exchange rate.

How much money in South African rand did Mei-Ling get?

The ratio of students who received a score of zero by not answering or incorrectly answering the “exchange rate 1” question was 47.4% (581 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 30.3% in the 2003 implementation. The ratio of students who received a full score by correctly answering the same question was 52.6% (646 students) in this study, whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 69.7% in PISA 2003 (MEB, 2005). When distribution percentages are examined for the “exchange rate 1” question, it can be stated that there is an increase with a ratio of 17.1% for students who received a score of zero; there is a decrease with the ratio of 17.1% for the students who received a full score compared to the PISA 2003 results. Furthermore, when it is considered that this question was determined at the 1st competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation, it can be stated that nearly half of the students who participated in the research were able to give an entirely correct answer to a question that is at the 1st competency level.

The answers given by the students who participated in this study to the “exchange rate 1” question are summarised in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 2. Frequency and percentage distribution of the exchange rate 1 question in accordance with school types

School Type	Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Anatolian High School	184	77.3%	54	22.7%	238
Science High School	213	85.9%	35	14.1%	248
General High School	54	21.8%	193	78.2%	247
Vocational High School	31	12.6%	215	87.4%	246
Private High School	164	66.1%	84	33.9%	248
Total	646	52.6%	581	47.4%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of giving an entirely correct answer to the “exchange rate 1” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by Anatolian high schools, private high schools, general high schools and vocational high schools. It is a noteworthy fact that the ratios of giving an incorrect answer or not answering the “exchange rate 1” question in vocational high schools and general high schools are extremely high.

“Exchange Rate 2” Question: On returning to Singapore after 3 months, Mei-Ling had 3,900 ZAR left. She changed this back to Singaporean dollars, noting that the exchange rate had changed to:

$$1 \text{ SGD} = 4.0 \text{ ZAR}$$

How much money in Singapore dollars did Mei-Ling get?

The ratio of students who received a score of zero by not answering or incorrectly answering the “exchange rate 2” question was 48.2% (592 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 45.7% in the 2003 implementation. The ratio of students who received a full score by correctly answering this question was 51.8% (635 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 54.3% in PISA 2003 (MEB, 2005). When distribution percentages are examined for the “exchange rate 2” question, it can be stated that there is an increase with a ratio of 2.5% for students who received a score of zero, whereas there is a decrease with the ratio of 2.5% for students who received a full score compared to PISA 2003 results. Furthermore, when it is considered that this question was determined at the 2nd competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation, it can be stated that nearly half of students who participated in the research were able to give an entirely correct answer to a question that is at the 2nd competency level.

The answers given by the students who participated in this study to the “exchange rate 2” question are given in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 3. Frequency and percentage distribution of the exchange rate 2 question in accordance with school types

School Type	Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Anatolian High School	179	75.2%	59	24.8%	238
Science High School	194	78.2%	54	21.8%	248
General High School	58	23.5%	189	76.5%	247
Vocational High School	35	14.2%	211	85.8%	246
Private High School	169	68.1%	79	31.9%	248
Total	635	51.8%	592	48.2%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of giving an entirely correct answer to the “exchange rate 2” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by Anatolian high schools, private high schools, general high schools and vocational high schools. It is a noteworthy fact that the ratios of giving an incorrect answer to or not answering the exchange rate 2 question in vocational high schools and general high schools are extremely high.

“Exports 1” Question: What was the total value (in millions of zeds) of exports from Zedland in 1998?

The ratio of students who received a score of zero by not answering or incorrectly answering the “exports 1” question was 35.9% (441 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 78.2% in the 2003 implementation. The ratio of students who received a full score by correctly answering this question was 64.1%, whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 21.8% in the 2003 implementation (MEB, 2005). When distribution percentages are examined for the “exports 1” question, it can be stated that there is a decrease with a ratio of 42.3% for students who received a score of zero, whereas there is an increase with the ratio of 42.1% for students who received a full score compared to the PISA 2003 results. Furthermore, when it is considered that this question was determined at the 2nd competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation, it can be stated that the vast majority of the students who participated in the research were able to correctly answer a question at the 2nd competency level.

The answers given to the “exports 1” question are by the students who participated in this study are given in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 4. Frequency and percentage distribution of the exports 1 question in accordance with school types

School Type	Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Anatolian High School	180	75.6%	58	24.4%	238
Science High School	215	86.7%	33	13.3%	248
General High School	110	44.5%	137	55.5%	247
Vocational High School	100	40.7%	146	59.3%	246
Private High School	181	73%	67	27%	248
Total	786	64.1%	441	35.9%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of giving an entirely correct answer to the “exports 1” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by Anatolian high schools, private high schools, general high schools and vocational high schools. Vocational high schools and general high schools are the school types that have the highest ratio in giving an incorrect answer or not answering the “exports 1” question.

The question entitled “growing up”, which is the second question example in the change and relationships (algebra) subject area, was asked as 3 questions in a common item root. In this question, “growing up 1” and “growing up 3” questions were asked in a semi-structured question type, whereas the “growing up 2” question is a question type that was prepared as an open-ended question type.

“Growing up 1” Question: Since 1980, the average height of 20-year-old females has increased by 2.3 cm to 170.6 cm. What was the average height of a 20-year-old female in 1980?

“Growing up 1” is a question that is determined in the 2nd competency level in PISA 2003. Answers given to the question were evaluated as either “correct” or “incorrect”. People who gave the answer “168.3cm” to this question received a full score, whereas people who gave “other answers” and people who did not answer the question received a score of zero.

The answers given by the students who participated in this study to the “growing up 1” question are given in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 5. Frequency and percentage distribution of the “growing up 1” question in accordance with school types

School Type	Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total Frequency
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Anatolian High School	159	66.8%	79	33.2%	238
Science High School	186	75%	62	25%	248
General High School	72	29.1%	175	70.9%	247
Vocational High School	60	24.4%	186	75.6%	246
Private High School	145	58.5%	103	41.5%	248
Total	622	50.7%	605	49.3%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of people correctly answering the “growing up 1” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by Anatolian high schools, private high schools, general high schools and vocational high schools. The ratio of people who gave an incorrect answer or did not answer the “growing up 1” question is extremely high in vocational high schools and general high schools.

“Growing Up 2” Question: According to this graph, on average, during which period in their life are females taller than males of the same age?

The ratio of students who received a score of zero by not answering or incorrectly answering the “growing up 2” question was 19.3% (236 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 26.5% in PISA 2003. The ratio of students who received a partial score by partially answering this question was 38.6% (474 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 36% in 2003. The ratio of students who received a full score by fully answering the same question was 42.1% (517 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 37.4% in 2003 (MEB, 2005). When distribution percentages are examined for the “growing up 2” question, it can be stated that there is a decrease with a ratio of 7.2% for students who received a score of zero, whereas there is an increase with a ratio of 2.6% for students who received a partial score; and there is also an increase with a ratio of 4.7% for students who received a full score compared to PISA 2003. Furthermore, when it is considered that this question was determined at the 3rd competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation, it can be stated that nearly half of the students who participated in the study were able to give an entirely correct answer to a question that is at the 3rd competency level, and a vast majority were able to give an entirely correct answer or a partially correct answer.

The answers given by the students who participated in this study to the “growing up 2” question are given in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 6. Frequency and percentage distribution of the “growing up 2” question in accordance with school types

School Type	Fully Correct		Partially Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total Frequency
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Anatolian High School	139	58.4%	76	31.9%	23	9.7%	238
Science High School	161	64.9%	68	27.4%	19	7.7%	248
General High School	47	19.1%	131	53%	69	27.9%	247
Vocational High School	58	23.6%	94	38.2%	94	38.2%	246
Private High School	112	45.1%	105	42.3%	31	12.6%	248
Total	517	42.1%	474	38.6%	236	19.3%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of students correctly answering the “growing up 2” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by Anatolian high schools, private high schools, vocational high schools and general high schools. The vocational high school is the school type that has the highest ratio of giving an incorrect answer or not answering the “growing up 2” question.

“Growing Up 3” Question: This question was formed in the following way: “Explain how the graph shows that on average, the growth rate for girls slows down after 12 years of age”.

In this study, the ratio of students who received a score of zero by either not answering or incorrectly answering the “growing up 2” question was 71.4% (876 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 60.6% in 2003. The ratio of students who received a full score by correctly answering the “growing up 2” question was 28.6% (351 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 39.5% in PISA 2003 (MEB, 2005). When distribution percentages are examined for the “growing up 2” question, it can be stated that there is an increase with a ratio of 10.8% for students who received a score of zero and there is a decrease with a ratio of 10.9% for students who received a full score compared to PISA 2003. Furthermore, when it is considered that this question was determined at the 4th competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation, it can be stated that the vast majority of students who participated in the study were not able to correctly answer a question at the 4th competency level.

The answers given by the students who participated in this study to the “growing up 2” question are given in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 7. Frequency and percentage distribution of the “growing up 3” question in accordance with school types

School Type	Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total Frequency
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Anatolian High School	95	40%	143	60%	238
Science High School	131	52.8%	117	47.2%	248
General High School	32	12.9%	215	87.1%	247
Vocational High School	17	6.9%	229	93.1%	246
Private High School	76	30.6%	172	69.4%	248
Total	351	28.6%	876	71.4%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of correctly answering the “growing up 3” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by Anatolian high schools, private high schools, general high schools and vocational high schools. The ratio of giving an incorrect answer or not answering the “growing up 3” question is extremely high in vocational high schools and general high schools.

“Exchange Rate 3” Question: During these 3 months, the exchange rate had changed from 4.2 to 4.0 ZAR per SGD.

Was it in Mei-Ling’s favour that the exchange rate now was 4.0 ZAR instead of 4.2 ZAR, when she changed her South African rand back to Singaporean dollars? Give an explanation to support your answer.

The ratio of students who received a score of zero by not answering or incorrectly answering the “exchange rate 3” question was 73.8% (906 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 78.2% in 2003 implementation. The ratio of students who received a full score by correctly answering the same question was 26.2% (321 students) in this study, whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 21.8% in the 2003 implementation (MEB, 2005). When distribution percentages are examined for the “exchange rate 3” question, it can be stated that there is a decrease with a ratio of 4.4% for students who received a score of zero, whereas there is an increase with the ratio of 4.4% for students who received a full score compared to the PISA 2003 results. Furthermore, when it is considered that this question was determined at the 4th competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation, it can be stated that the vast majority of students who participated in this study were unable to correctly answer a question at the 4th competency level.

The answers given by the students who participated in this study to the “exchange rate 3” question are given in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 8. Frequency and percentage distribution of the exchange rate 3 question in accordance with school types

School Type	Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency
Anatolian High School	94	39.5%	144	60.5%	238
Science High School	126	50.8%	122	49.2%	248
General High School	18	7.3%	229	92.7%	247
Vocational High School	8	3.3%	238	96.7%	246
Private High School	75	30.2%	173	69.8%	248
Total	321	26.2%	906	73.8%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of giving an entirely correct answer to the “exchange rate 3” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by Anatolian high schools, private high schools, general high schools and vocational high schools. It is a noteworthy fact that the ratios of giving incorrect answer or not answering the “exchange rate 3” question in vocational high schools and general high schools are extremely high.

“Exports 2” Question: What was the value of fruit juice exported from Zedland in 2000?

A) 1.8 million zeds. B) 2.3 million zeds. C) 2.4 million zeds. D) 3.4 million zeds. E) 3.8 million zeds.

The ratio of students who received a score of zero by not answering or incorrectly answering the “exports 2” question, which was prepared as a multiple-choice question, was 50.3% (617 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 63.5% in the 2003 implementation. The ratio of students who received a full score by correctly answering the same question was 49.7% (610 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 36.6% in PISA 2003 (MEB, 2005). When distribution percentages are examined for the “exports 2” question, it can be stated that there is a decrease with a ratio of 13.2% for students who received a score of zero, whereas there is an increase with the ratio of 13.1% for students who received a full score compared to the PISA 2003 results. Furthermore, when it is considered that this question was determined at the 4th competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation, it can be stated that nearly half of the students who participated in the research were unable to give an entirely correct answer to a question that is at the 4th competency level.

The answers given by the students who participated in this study to the “exports 2” question are given in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 9. Frequency and percentage distribution of the “exports 2” question in accordance with school types

School Type	Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Anatolian High School	162	68.1%	76	31.9%	238
Science High School	202	81.5%	46	18.5%	248
General High School	52	21.1%	195	78.9%	247
Vocational High School	49	19.9%	197	80.1%	246
Private High School	145	58.5%	103	41.5%	248
Total	610	49.7%	617	50.3%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of giving an entirely correct answer to the “exports 2” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by Anatolian high schools, private high schools, general high schools and vocational high schools. It is a noteworthy fact that the ratios of giving an incorrect answer or not answering the “exports” 2 question in school types such as general high schools and vocational high schools are extremely high.

The question entitled “carpenter”, which was asked in the space and shape (geometry) area, is a question that was determined at the 6th competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation. This question is a question example that was prepared in the complex multiple-choice question type. Answers given to the questions were evaluated as “fully correct”, “partially correct” and “incorrect”. In this question, people who gave four correct answers as “yes, no, yes, yes” received a full score; people who gave “exactly three correct answers” received a partial score; and people who gave “two or fewer correct answers” and people who did not answer the question received a score of zero. The ratio of the students who received a score of zero by not answering or incorrectly answering the question was 46.7% (573 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 62.6% in the 2003 implementation. The ratio of students who received a partial score by giving three correct answers to this question was 25.3% (310 students), whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 25.6% in PISA 2003. The percentage of students who received a full score by giving 4 correct answers to the same question was 28%, whereas it can be seen that this ratio was 11.8% in 2003 (MEB, 2005). When distribution percentages are examined for the “carpenter” question, it can be stated that there is a decrease with a ratio of 15.9% for students who received a score of zero; there is a decrease with a ratio of 0.3% for students who received a partial score, whereas there is an increase with the ratio of 16.2% for students who received a full score compared to PISA 2003. Furthermore, when it is considered that this question was determined at the 6th competency level in the PISA 2003 implementation, it can be stated that nearly 30% of the students who participated in the study were able to give an entirely correct answer to a question that is at the 6th competency level, and nearly 55% were able to give an entirely correct answer or a partially correct answer.

The answers given by the students who participated in this study to the “carpenter” question are given in the table below in the form of frequency and answer percentages in accordance with school types.

Table 10. Frequency and percentage distribution of the carpenter question in accordance with school types

School Type	Fully Correct		Partially Correct		Incorrect/Unanswered		Total Frequency
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Anatolian High School	80	33.6%	76	31.9%	82	34.4%	238
Science High School	143	57.7%	49	19.8%	56	22.6%	248
General High School	16	6.5%	58	23.5%	173	70%	247
Vocational High School	13	5.3%	56	22.8%	177	72%	246
Private High School	92	37.1%	71	28.6%	85	34.3%	248
Total	344	28%	310	25.3%	573	46.7%	1227

When distribution percentages are examined in accordance with school types, it is observed that the ratio of giving an entirely correct answer to the “carpenter” question is highest in science high schools. These schools are followed respectively by private high schools, Anatolian high schools, general high schools and vocational high schools. It is a noteworthy fact that the ratios of giving an incorrect answer or not answering the carpenter question in vocational high schools and general high schools are high.

Discussion and Conclusion

According to the results obtained in this study, an improvement is observed in half of the PISA 2003 evaluation questions in a general sense compared to the PISA 2003 results. A decrease was detected in other questions. It is understood that a vast majority of the students who answered the evaluation questions were unable to give an entirely correct answer to a question at the 6th competency levels in terms of distribution percentages. It is observed that a vast majority or half of the students were unable to give an entirely correct answer or correct answer to the questions at the 4th and 5th competency levels. When answer distributions in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd competency levels are examined, it is observed that nearly half or more of the students were able to give an entirely correct answer or correct answer to these questions. It is concluded that a vast majority of our students still cannot give answers to questions at high competency levels in the desired manner, and just under half can give answers to questions at low and medium competency levels. According to the results of the PISA 2003 implementation, it is observed that more than half of the students who participated in the implementation scored below the 2nd competency level in mathematical literacy scale, and their average score is 425. Similar results were also observed in 2006. Turkey raised its average score to 446 with an increase of over 20 points in mathematical literacy in the PISA 2009 implementation (MEB, 2009). In parallel with the findings of this study, in a study in which Turkey’s condition regarding the education system was evaluated by examining the results of PISA studies, and it was detected that Turkey made progress, though slight, when the results of PISA 2003 and PISA 2009 were compared (Çelen, Çelik and Seferoğlu, 2011). Although Turkey is among the countries that increased their scores the most, the country was

unable to raise its level and remains at the 2nd level in mathematics, science and reading skills in PISA 2003 and PISA 2009 (Çalışkan, 2008; Özenç and Arslanhan, 2010). The question types, to which the vast majority of students were unable to give an entirely correct answer or correct answer in a general sense, are question types that were generally prepared in an open-ended format at the 4th, 5th and 6th competency levels. Among the reasons for this condition, we can state the fact that our students generally encounter multiple-choice question types in the national examinations in which they participate. It is observed that students experience difficulty with the question types that are prepared as open-ended for that reason. In the study conducted by Demir (2010), as a general result, it was concluded that the success levels of the students in Turkey are higher in structured (multiple-choice, complex multiple-choice and semi structured) question types than the other question types (short-answer, open-ended) to which they are expected to form the answers on their own. Furthermore, in the results of a conducted research, it was observed that questions, problems, exercises and examples, which were at the 1st (23%), 2nd (47%), 3rd (24%) and 4th (6%) competency levels, were given an elementary mathematics 8th grade textbook. As it can be seen from the ratios, it was observed that the 2nd level questions are featured the most among these levels, and the ratio of the questions at the 4th level is only 6%. It is another striking result that there are no questions at the 5th and 6th levels, which are the highest among mathematics levels (Aydoğdu İskenderoğlu and Baki, 2011). According to the results of the study, a decrease was observed regarding the ratios of correctly answering half of the PISA 2003 evaluation questions, whereas an increase was observed regarding the ratios of correctly answering over half of the PISA 2003 evaluation questions compared to 2003. However, it was observed that the students still cannot sufficiently answer questions at a high competency level, and the ratio of giving correct answers to questions at a low competence level is not at the expected level. The students who participated in this study are students who completed their education with the changed elementary mathematics curriculum. It was observed that they were unable to give correct answers to the questions at a desired level. Whether or not the changed curriculum, which is aimed at in the study, is sufficiently effective can be reviewed by conducting various different studies. Its inadequate and failing aspects can be determined, and its effectiveness can be increased.

When the findings obtained from this study are examined according to the subject area, a general improvement is observed in questions of in probability area. The reason for this can be determined by the fact that this area, which was not predominantly featured in our previous curriculums, was predominantly featured in our new curriculums. In the algebra area, the results either show parallelism with PISA 2003 results or a decrease is observed. It is observed that the students were unable to give entirely correct answers to a question at the 6th competency level in the geometry area; however, there is improvement compared to the PISA 2003 results. The reason for this improvement can be determined by the fact that geometry instruction is distributed to every class level in the changed curriculum. A General improvement was observed in questions in the arithmetic area. It was determined that the performances of the students who participated in the PISA 2003 implementation in four areas of mathematics are similar to each other (MEB, 2005).

According to the findings obtained from this study, it was observed that the school type that showed the best performance regarding the ratio of answering the evaluation questions was science high schools, as expected. It is observed that school types in which the ratio of not answering or incorrectly answering the questions is highest are vocational high schools and general high schools. When the results in PISA implementations are examined, it can be observed that science high schools are the most successful school type among the school types that participated in the implementation. Differences of serious extents were observed among the school types in terms of mathematics success in the PISA 2003 and 2006 implementations (MEB, 2005; MEB, 2007). Berberoğlu and Kalender (2005), who found a similar result from the findings that they obtained in their study, stated that the differences

among school types are in serious extents rather than regional differences in success levels of the students in both ÖSS and PISA evaluations. Differences were also observed among school types in the PISA 2009 implementation (MEB, 2010). It was determined that the school type that showed the lowest performance in mathematical literacy is elementary schools. When mathematics average scores of secondary level schools were examined, it was observed that the lowest averages belonged to school types such as general high schools, Anatolian vocational high schools, vocational high schools and multi-programme high schools (MEB, 2005; MEB, 2007; MEB, 2010). According to the results of this study, the school types that have the lowest success levels among all the school types are vocational high schools and general high schools. In view of these results, the reasons for this condition can be identified by conducting qualitative and quantitative research studies in these school types in more detail, and necessary precautions can be taken. It is observed that success differences among the school types are still continuing in serious extents. It is a noteworthy fact that the ratio of correctly answering the questions in vocational high schools and general high schools is low in many questions. The effectiveness of the changed curriculum can also be reviewed for these school types.

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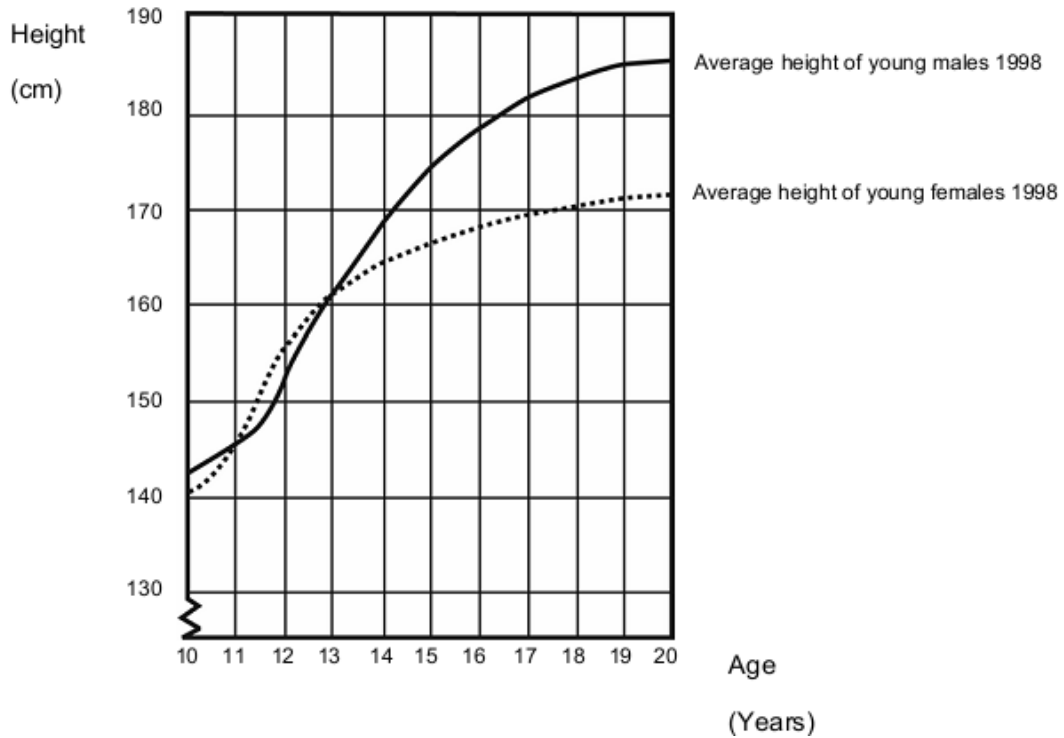
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APPENDIX

GROWING UP

YOUTH GROWS TALLER

In 1998 the average height of both young males and young females in the Netherlands is represented in this graph.



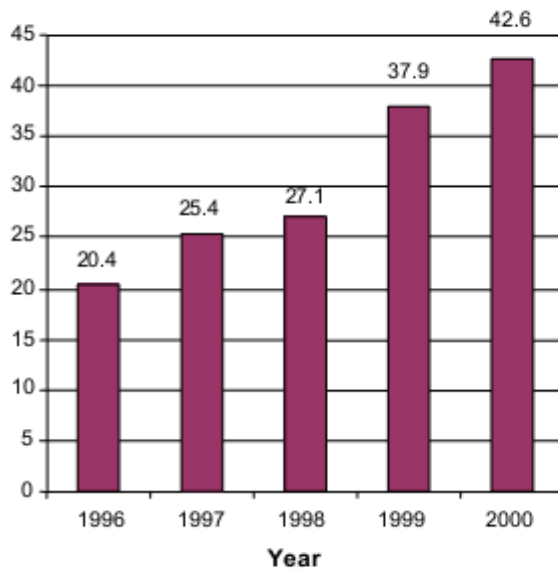
“Growing Up 1” Question: Since 1980, the average height of 20-year-old females has increased by 2.3 cm to 170.6 cm. What was the average height of a 20-year-old female in 1980?

“Growing Up 2” Question: According to this graph, on average, during which period in their life are females taller than males of the same age?

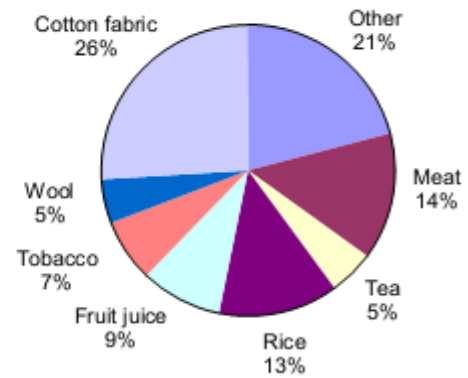
EXPORTS

The graphics below show information about exports from Zedland, a country that uses zeds as its currency.

Total annual exports from Zedland in millions of zeds, 1996-2000



Distribution of exports from Zedland in 2000



“Exports 1” Question: What was the total value (in millions of zeds) of exports from Zedland in 1998?

“Exports 2” Question: What was the value of fruit juice exported from Zedland in 2000?

A) 1.8 million zeds. B) 2.3 million zeds. C) 2.4 million zeds. D) 3.4 million zeds. E) 3.8 million zeds.

The Influence of Personalization of Online Texts on Elementary School Students' Reading Comprehension and Attitudes toward Reading

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Abstract

The purpose of this research was to examine the role of personalized and non-personalized online texts on elementary school fifth grade students' comprehension and their attitudes toward reading. Participants were 47 fifth-grade students from a rural elementary school in north Florida. The subjects were randomly assigned into two (personalized online text and non-personalized online text) groups. Prior to reading online texts, each students completed personal interest inventory for use in personalizing the online texts. Reading comprehension scores were measured by using multiple choice questions and an attitude survey was administrated to measure subjects' motivation, enjoyment and interestingness. Although the mean score of the personalized text group was slightly higher than non-personalized text group and in contrast to patterns found within research on online reading environments, independent *t*-test showed that the differences in the comprehension scores between two groups were not significant. According to attitude survey results personalized text group showed higher motivation, interestingness and enjoyment than the other group.

Keywords: personalization, online text, reading comprehension, motivation, elementary school

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Introduction

Technology is becoming more significant as a teaching and learning instrument both at home and in our schools. Classrooms today are different from the classrooms of 30 years ago, primarily because of the improved use of technology. The students are more skilled than ever before in using technology to explore for information, and to answer questions about various topics. Many students find technology mediated reading to be very motivating and interesting. Technology has the prospective to significantly increase access to text, opportunities for self-selection, and social interaction about text. With technology on the enhance, it is important that teacher become more aware of positive impact technology can have on students' literacy engagement, motivation, and achievement (Gambrell, 2006).

Literacy has been altered fundamentally by the develop of computer-based and Internet technologies. The role of educators includes teaching children to challenge with whole new set of texts and contexts for reading. Comprehension is also developing new meanings and new prominences. Many texts in electronic environment have unique characteristics, many activities carried out in electronic environments are distinct, and each reader brings to the comprehension process experience with technology and reading (Duke, Schmar-Dobler, & Zhang, 2006). One of the unique characteristics of texts in electronic environment is personalization.

Personalization

Personalization refers to understand individual needs, habits and lifestyle, attitudes, preferences, likes and dislikes of customers, and addressing customers' individual needs and preferences. Şimşek and Çakır (2009) defined personalization –as an educational meaning- “embedding students' past experiences and interests into the educational content” (p.278). Taylor and Adelman (1999) defined similarly the personalization as accounting for individual differences in both capacity and motivation. Personalization symbolizes an application of the principles of normalization and least intervention needed. Personalization can be treated as a psychological construct by viewing the learner's perception as a critical factor in defining whether the environment appropriately accounts for the learner's interests and abilities. In defining personalization as a psychological construct, learners' perceptions of how well teaching and learning environments match their interests and abilities become a basic assessment concern.

Researchers claimed that appropriately designed and carried out, personalized programs reduce the need for remediation related to literacy. Maximizing motivation and matching developmental ability can be an adequate condition for learning among ordinary level students. Personalized programs also represent the type of program regular classrooms might implement in order to significantly improve the efficacy of inclusion. Teachers should know the importance of designing interventions to be a good fit with the current potentials of their students (Taylor, & Adelman, 1999).

If the customers of online text are students, we need to consider their needs, attitudes, preferences, like and dislikes. Electronic books mostly focus on attractiveness, rich color, sound, animation, zoom, size, changeable font, moving graphics, feedback, interactive, headings, introduction, highlight, style, name, and encouragement as a common character. The discovered benefits of personalization are: Children's curiosity is enhanced; interests are maximized, and enhance a child's motivation to read. Personalization provides to the kid with an engaging and enjoyable experience, enhance the believability of characters, and personalization allow easy understand and remembering the story (DeMoulin, 2001). Miller and Kulhavy (as cited in Lopez, 1990) claimed that personalized representations develop

recall by increasing the associative strength during encoding of personalized material and related information in a text.

Reading Comprehension

Anderson and Pearson (1984) define comprehension as the process of constructing meaning by interacting with text. This definition has highlighted the constructive and interactive process of reading comprehension. Understanding the meanings of words and texts is the main function of literacy that enables people to communicate messages across time and distance, express themselves, and generate and share ideas. Without comprehension, reading word is reduced to mimicking the sounds of language, repeating text is nothing more than memorization and oral drill. There are many definitions of comprehension, but little agreement, because the boundaries of the subject are so broad. Reading comprehension is interaction among the intentions of the author, the content of the text, the abilities and purposes of reader and context of the interaction (Paris & Hamilton, 2009). The understanding readers obtain from reading comes from their prior knowledge, experiences that are activated as they read the author's words, sentences, and paragraph. Through the procedure of comprehending, readers associate the new information written by the author to old information already stored in their minds (Doty, 1999).

Motivation and attitude are important factors involved in comprehension process. Attitudes influence motivation and motivation influences our thinking about why we are successful or not. Reading failure frequently leads to negative attitudes toward reading. When children constantly experience reading difficulty, they may lose their eagerness and motivation for reading (Rasinski & Padak, 2004). Guthrie and Wigfield (2000) emphasized that "A less motivated reader spends less time reading, exerts lower cognitive effort, and is less dedicated to full comprehension than a highly motivated reader" (p. 406).

Reading comprehension is also influenced by new technology. Utilizing the computer to text can aid children improve their comprehension because technological features of the computer allow control of text. Readers of computer-mediated texts (electronic texts) are able to easily gain word meanings. This feature can affect children to explore the meanings of words they find difficult. Comprehension can improve if the computer can be reduced the pressure and motivate students to be more active in monitoring their reading comprehension (Doty, 1999). Multimodal, nonlinear, dynamic, and multilayered features of digital texts changed traditional conceptions of reading comprehension, online reading comprehension (Shinas, 2012). Rand Group (2002) pointed out "an explosion of alternative texts" and "electronic texts that incorporate hyperlinks and hypermedia introduce some complications in defining comprehension because they require skills and abilities beyond those required for the comprehension of conventional, linear print" (p. 14).

Online Text

In this research, online text refers to mean compositions for the computer screen. Different textual formats present configure new spaces and possibilities so students may achieve a more level comprehension. Online texts make possible to the reader the means and dynamic tools to actively construct knowledge representations (Alvarez, 2006). Online texts possess new characteristics that require different types of comprehension processes and a different set of instructional strategies. Online texts provide new supports as well as new challenges that can have a great impact on an individual's ability of reading comprehension (Coiro, 2003).

With the advancement of technology there is a controversy about the printed page being replaced by online text. Online texts are not meant to replace traditional texts, but to

provide an alternate reading media. There are strengths and weaknesses of using an online text. The strengths of online text are that they are fresh and original works that readers often cannot find in a bookstore. You can save costs, speed and storage with online text. In addition, they are the new wave because there is no waiting. They are updated and up to date, and there is no need for ink, paper. Some e-books even allow the children to add comments, notes, or post ideas. Strength of online text that they are faster, cheaper, and more searchable compared to paper texts.

Online text has some weaknesses. For example, reading on a screen sometimes could be a challenge. The children tend to lose place and to shut down the computer for other necessities. These are some of weaknesses we have to consider about electronic texts. Another weakness is that when you search Internet there are limited number of free online stories to read because of copyright issue, so the children can't always read the story when they want.

Review of Related Studies

Lack of interest in reading and reluctance to reading are common problems among students (Dwyer, 1996). Personalization would be one of possible solutions for this common problem because personalized materials provide more motivation, enjoyment, interestness for reading. Researchers have studied on personalization since the beginning of 1980s. However, there is a limited number of study on the use of personalization on reading comprehension and online texts.

Some of research findings showed that personalization of instructional materials increase reading comprehension and motivation (Dwyer, 1996; Lopez, 1990; Anand & Ross, 1987). For example, Dwyer (1996) examined the effects of three level of personalized reading materials on the comprehension of high school students. The results of the study explained that low ability students indicated a significantly higher overall preference for the stories on the attitude test than high ability students. Also, results of the same study showed that personalization can be useful as a motivator to support low ability students to read more, which could increase their reading achievement (p. iv). In another study, Bracken (1982) found that personalized stories were more useful for reading comprehension of fourth-grade level poor students than average students. However, all of researcher do not agree on the positive effects of personalization in the students success. Several reserachers claimed no significant increase in students achievement when the personalization was used (Bates & Wiest, 2004; Andre, Mueller, Womack, Smid, & Tuttle, 1980; Ryan, 1974).

Some of studies conducted in the area of mathematics (Lopez, 1990; Anand & Ross, 1987; Davis-Dorsey, 1989; Şimşek & Çakır, 2009). Lopez (1990) examined role of three levels of personalization of seventh grade Hispanic students on mathematic word problems. She found that personalization had a significant outcome on student achievement on problems and attitude data favored individualized personalization. Anand and Ross (1987) conducted a study that using computer-assisted instruction to personalize arithmetic materials on 96 fifth- and sixth-grade children. Personalization was made possible to change referents in story problems to personal information, such as personally favored people, places and activities. The personalized treatment was shown overall to be the most successful method in the study. With regard to attitudes, the personalized group showed a significant achieve over the other group. Davis-Dorsey (1989) investigated whether personalization of mathematics word problems would benefit elementary school children. According to study, second graders benefited from the combined intervention of personalization and problem rewording. Suggestions of this study were that older children can benefit more from personalized context of mathematics story problems.

There are also lots of researches about online texts. Reinking (1988) examined comprehension of paper text and electronic text. Electronic text comprehension was higher for both good and poor readers. In this study, the electronic enhancements also improved reading comprehension. Digital learning environments, through good quality of flexibility of the medium, have the potential of scaffold instruction in a rich variety of ways (Bus, De Jong, & Verhallen, 2006). The research on online texts demonstrated that online texts increase reading comprehension of students. For instance, digital storybooks improve reading motivation for children with reading difficulties (Glasgow, 1997), story comprehension (Doty, Popplewell, & Byers, 2001). Matthew (1997) compared the reading comprehension of students who read the printed storybook and the interactive CD-ROM storybook. The participants included 30 third grade students. Matthew's research supported that electronic texts significantly enhanced students' reading comprehension scores. All those studies show that the influence of online text depends on the types and quality of texts, and the characteristics of the students.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to understand how the use of personalization on the online texts affect the students' reading comprehension, attitude (motivation, interest, enjoyment and belief) toward reading. In this study, personalization refers to adaptation of online texts according to each student's information, and interest (name, favorite objects, place, events) and choices of color, font style, picture by each student on the computer screen. This research sought to answer the following research questions:

- Does personalization of online texts affect reading comprehension of students?
- Are students' attitudes (enjoyment, motivation, interest and belief) toward reading affected by the use of personalization on the online texts?

Method

Participants

Participants consisted of 47 children who were fifth grade in Elementary School which is located in a small, rural community in north Florida. Children are the age range of 11-13. The students belong to low-socio economic level Eighty-six percent of the students participated in the federally funded free or reduced priced lunch program. The mobility rate for students was approximately 55% and the turnover rate for teachers was approximately 4%.

Data Collection

Each child was presented with one of two conditions: (a) computer presentation of the texts with choice background color, picture, font style (personalized group) (b) computer presentation of the texts with no choice background color, font style, picture (non-personalized group) In experiment, the students were randomly assigned to one of two groups. All students read two different online texts in two sessions and after reading each of students completed total 12-item multiple choice comprehension questions, and 10-item attitude survey. The time limit was 15 minutes for each text. Students received one point for correct responses, and zero points for an incorrect or missing response. The highest total possible score was 12 points for this reading assessment. The students' responses were scored by the researcher. In this study, online texts include the short stories, entitled Nellie's Journey (first), and A Taste of Freedom (second).

These short stories and reading comprehension questions were chosen from fifth grade text book but not used by this elementary school. Both texts were approved by experts and the teachers as being suitable for the age group being tested. The books are approximately the same length and have a fifth grade readability level. Three weeks prior to study, each students completed the personal inventory for use in personalizing the online texts. According to inventory result, if students had previously read the text were eliminated from the study. It was important that the texts were previously unknown to subjects. The personal inventory and attitude survey had been developed by researcher after that these inventory and attitude survey were evaluated, corrected and approved by two experts.

Data Analysis

This research was a quantitative data analysis of the influence of personalized and non-personalized online texts on elementary school fifth-grade level students' reading comprehension and their attitude toward reading. The data of research consist of the results of a standadized test of reading comprehension (12-item multiple choice reading comprehension questions) and an 10-item attitude survey. This quantitative data was analyzed by researcher focusing on reading comprehension, and attitudes such as motivation, enjoyment, interestigness, and believeability. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) used for the purpose of data entry, manipulation, and analysis. Independent t-test was performed to compare the groups' reading comprehension scores at the .05 level of significance using a two-tailed test. Descriptive statistics (frequency and percentage) were calculated to summarize attitude survey results.

Results

According to personal inventory results 90 percent of children answered that they have computer at home. The children are familiar with computer and they use computer at least once week at the computer lab in the school. Mostly they use computer for playing game, entertainment (watching cartoon, music listening), searching, reading, and class work.

Comprehension

The mean score for the personalized group was ($M=9.60$, $SD=3.8$) and for non-personalized group was ($M=8.34$, $SD= 4.3$). Mean scores for the number of questions answered correctly out of twelve showed a difference of 1.26 points between personalized and non-personalized online texts (see Table 1). An independent *t*-test showed that the difference in the scores between the two groups were not statistically significant, $t=1.063$, $df=45$, $p=0.294$ ($p < 05$, two tailed).

Table 1. *Independent t-test Results for Comprehension*

Groups	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>P</i>
Personalized	23	9.60	3.8			
				1.063	45	.294
Non-personalized	24	8.34	4.3			

$p < .05$, two tailed.

Enjoyment

A significant difference was found for enjoyment, indicating that students reported personalized online text as more enjoyable than non-personalized online text. Question was about whether they did like story or not? All members of personalization group enjoyed the story (100 %), this ratio was 88 % ($f = 21$) for non-personalized group.

Believability

Another important result in this study is believability. The students generally found that short stories in the online text were believable ($f=19$), (83 %) for personalized group and ($f=19$), (80 %) for non personalized group. Personalized group has the highest percent.

Interestingness

For fifth graders, a significant main effect was found for presentation type, survey results indicated that the simultaneous presentation was rated significantly more interesting than the other group; ($f =13$), (57 %) for personalized group and ($f =8$), (33 %) for non personalized group.

Perception

This part of survey questions was including their perception about themselves as a reader. The questions include such as are you a good reader, do you like challenge books, do you usually learn difficult things by reading, do you like reading something when the words are difficult? There were similarity between groups (Table 2). 91 % percent of first group of students and 92 % percent of second group students answered positively these questions. (I am good reader, I like challenge books, and I like to read new things). Results illustrated that they had had positive perception about themselves and they had had positive attitude to reading. Students explained that they did not like complicated stories, reading something when the words are difficult, and vocabulary questions. There were no significant differences between both groups.

Motivation

For fifth graders, survey results revealed that there were differences for personalized group in regard to motivation. As we can see on the Table 2, effect of personalization on motivation was significant; ($f=21$), (91 %) for personalized group and ($f=14$), (58 %) for non personalized group. Survey results indicated that the students reported significantly higher motivation for the personalized online texts than for the simultaneous non-personalized online texts.

Survey question 9 and 10 were open-ended questions (what did you like and did not you like about online text?). The students thought that computer did good job. This result is similar to finding of previous researches. While all students (100 %) thought Computer was successful. The students want to read another online text. We can separate into two groups their answers. While non-personalized group liked theme and context, personalized group liked mostly choosing color, changing writing. They wrote, "You can read at your own page", "faster", "it does not correct reading mistakes", "It help you get smart", "reading fast" and so on. Some of students' did not like stories. For example context (No food, illness, sad, died mom), too long, sentence too long, too much click, could not track, too short etc.

Table 2. *Attitude Survey Results*

	Personalized Group		Non-personalized Group	
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%
Enjoyment	23	100	21	88
Believability	19	83	19	80
Interestingness	13	57	8	33
Perception	21	91	22	92
Motivation	21	91	14	58

Discussion

This research presented a window on children's use of online text for reading. The research did not show statistically significant differences of reading comprehension ($p=.294 > .05$, with two tailed) while the students read personalized online text. However, the mean of reading comprehension score of personalized online text group ($M=9.60$) was higher than the reading comprehension score of on the personalized online text group ($M=8.34$). The result of the study is similar to finding of studies conducted by Bates and Wiest (2004), Andre, Mueller, Womack, Smid, and Tuttle, (1980) and Ryan (1974) that they could not find any significant effects of personalization. Although the finding of research could not show any significant effect of personalization on the children's comprehension, personalization of online text still might be an effective instructional design strategy for improving children's reading comprehension achievement. This study advocates that personalized or non-personalized online texts and online storybooks can be used successfully for instructional purposes in classroom. Online texts in the classroom also can be more economically advantageous than printed texts. Through the use of online text, teachers have a promising solution for very limited availability of children books.

The results of Attitude Survey demonstrate that the respondents thought personalized online texts provided more positive attitudes (enjoyment, believability, interestingness and motivation) toward reading than non-personalized online texts except perception. Robb (2000) claimed that children's interest in reading for pleasure and motivation to read was being reduced. Personalized online texts can help these unmotivated and uninterested children. Personalization can make reading more enjoyable and interesting to students. The students in this study were highly motivated to read the personalized online texts and were on task continually. Findings from this research suggest that personalization of online text increased engagement of elementary students. These results support outcome of previous studies (Dwyer, 1996; Lopez, 1990; Anand & Ross, 1987). Possible reason of this result was that the students could able to control and choose some of features of online texts such as picture, color, and font.

Teachers can use vary personalization types in their classroom to enhance students' motivation and reading achievement. We need to carry on to assess online text technologies and to make efforts to integrate personalization, psychology and human computer interaction principles.

Future studies, relating experimental and correlational design, will assist us to gather more information about the effects of personalization on the elementary school students'

comprehension and motivation and will enable us to make more detailed finding about causality. Researchers should continue to seek ways to integrate and customize available online texts and technologies to meet the diverse of needs of the students.

Ultimately, this study has limited to use the personalization as adapting online text according to students' personal informations (name, objects, place, events) and choosing color, font style, picture by students on the computer screen. Future research can expand to other age groups and skill areas to examine the other kind of personalization implications (supplemented with sound effects, animations etc.) on the electronic text. Future studies should include a larger sample, more sensitive measures of personalization.

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Miscellany

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