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It's not all about school: Ways of disrupting pre-service teachers' perceptions of pedagogy and communication

Characteristics of an effective learner: *'organised and neat, has time management skills, well-developed routines'* (beginning pre-service teacher)

Introduction

The above quote, which reflects the views about learning and/or teaching expressed by many beginning pre-service teachers, focuses on conformity, organisational skills and the regulation of docile bodies (Foucault, 1977). Experiences of around twelve years of formal schooling leave their mark on students who aspire to the teaching profession. Thus, pre-service teachers often enter teacher education programs with problematic or unexamined assumptions, beliefs and knowledge about students, teaching and schools (Trier, 2006). Disrupting such assumptions is crucial if, as White (2000) suggests, pre-service teachers with naive epistemological beliefs (where knowledge is simple and easily transmittable) tend to have a simplistic view of classroom problems and draw only upon personal experience to solve them. On the other hand, White (2000) argues, those with more sophisticated epistemological beliefs (where knowledge is seen as actively and multiply constructed and evaluated) are more likely to see complexity in classroom problems and seek out alternative viewpoints, including those of the child, family and school, before deciding on a course of action. This article reports on an alternative study opportunity offered to pre-service teachers in their first year at university. The project has attempted to disrupt their perceptions about learning, about pedagogy and about ways of expressing or making meaning, by engaging them in an 'authentic learning' approach outside of mainstream classrooms, and separate from their practicum. We contend that when such 'real-world' experiences are offered as part of the repertoire of academic learning, pre-service teachers have more opportunities to develop sophisticated epistemological beliefs related to pedagogy for diverse contexts and diverse learners.

Authentic learning

The complex and often fragmented demands of teacher education to meet political expectations, bureaucratic standards and partisan claims for particular community interests (Bates, 2005), mean that pre-service teacher educators must negotiate a plethora of expectations. Widening social and cultural gaps between teachers and many of their students demands a knowledge of equity, diversity and global interconnectedness (Butcher et al., 2003); a knowledge that is not considered to be evident in many university teacher graduates (Merryfield, 2000). We tend to place unreasonable expectations on such graduates: that they will be able to make changes that previous generations of educators have been unable to make (Butcher et al., 2003). Particularly so, when teacher education is sandwiched between the system demands for the production of skills for a competitive economy; and the cultural demands of individuals in a quest for meaning (Bates, 2005). This is a climate in which faculty and students are accountable in the quest for 'standards', yet are asked to achieve these standards with increasingly shortened teacher education programs. Resistance to institutional norms is not celebrated (and indeed there seems to be no time for it) in such a system. Thus traditional approaches to pedagogy in academe which 'privilege top-down presumptions of knowledge transfer from faculty to students and power relations between institutions and community and institutions and faculty' (Butin, 2005a p. viii) proliferate teacher education programs.

We use the term 'authentic' learning to describe an approach to learning that resists these traditional approaches to knowledge transfer. This approach involves students' engagement with community sites outside of the boundaries of academe, yet such engagement is intrinsically underpinned by the academic work undertaken at university. In this way, the community engagement is theoretically motivated, and the academic work is situated and enacted in real-world contexts. Students in this approach are given opportunities to observe and enact theories of communication, language and learning in real-world contexts and specifically *not* in classrooms. While the practicum offers a form of 'authentic learning' in teacher education courses, our purpose is to broaden students' ideas about learning and pedagogy; how and where they happen; how they differ in different contexts and for different purposes; who is

in control and what explicit and implicit outcomes they can describe and reflect upon. We see this approach as particularly useful in pre-service teachers' first year of their education degree as it focuses on communication through different designs of meaning, which is integral both for the pre-service teacher at university and for the students they will eventually teach. This approach is underpinned by multiliteracies design and pedagogy (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Kalantzis & Cope, 2005; New London Group, 1996), which sees the diverse learner as an active participant in knowledge generation, and engages them in multiple modes of meaning including linguistic, visual, spatial, gestural and audio. Critically framed real-world, cultural and global issues are paramount in this approach to pedagogy (Johnson, 2007), and the learning always begins with the life-worlds and experiences of the learner before explicit instruction by 'experts', 'mentors' and/or teachers is introduced. Functional and creative application of this new knowledge in real contexts is integral for deep learning to occur (Ryan & Healy, 2007).

Reflection is an essential part of the learning process, so that students problematise the impact they have on the site and interrogate the types of learning, communication and pedagogy that they observe and in which they take part. Reflection can operate at several levels including academic, critical and spiritual (Koth, 2003) and can also be used to derive personal knowledge and create strategies for making meaning, through the process (Bartolome, 2005).

Authentic learning approaches to pedagogy can problematise traditional academic pedagogies, and can illustrate a different way to negotiate the complexities and contradictions of teacher education. Such approaches break with tradition and can illustrate that academic parameters are a social construction and can be changed (Butin, 2005a). Pre-service teachers can be seen as active, resistant and reflective as they 'encounter the dilemmas and ambiguities of living with and through the complexity of how life works' (Butin, 2005b p. 98). The real-world approach to learning in higher education that we utilise, which uses knowledge application and critical reflection as core tools, provides real opportunities for pre-service teachers to observe and conceptualise the links between university and different sites of pedagogy in the community. According to Butin (2005), the service-learning experience can be viewed through four distinct lenses: technical, cultural, political

and post-modern/poststructuralist. We replace the term service-learning with authentic learning to reflect our new application of this analytical frame to our data. Butin's approach is integral to our theoretical framework around authentic learning in that he highlights the complex hierarchical relationships between the sites, the learners and those offering the 'service' or volunteer work. Butin and others (Swaminathan, 2007) suggest that a deeper understanding and problematization of the experience is necessary to understand the impact of the learning that occurs for all participants.

When placed in schools for the practicum experience, pre-service teachers are led by their supervising teacher. They abide by established rules, procedures and curricula into which they have had no input and therefore 'may be more willing to accept the behaviors and practices they observe rather than to question the status quo' (Baldwin, Buchanan, & Rudisill, 2007). We propose that students need to experience the often contradictory workings of pedagogical knowledge and political motivations in different community contexts, so that they are better prepared for the complexity of enacting their skills and knowledge in their work as educators.

Context and methodology

This project about authentic, real-world learning has been enacted in the first year of a four-year pre-service teacher education program (Bachelor of Education) in a large Faculty of Education in Queensland, Australia. Key tenets of the project relate to the interconnectedness of university learning and engagement in community sites. We approached the project with the view that each of these aspects inform and strengthen the other, hence on-going reflection was an integral component.

The project involved a core communication unit (primary students) on visual and verbal literacies, in which the majority of enrolled students were from white, middle class, mono-lingual backgrounds. As this was a first-time trial of such a project in this unit, the alternative pathway of authentic learning was offered to a small number of volunteer students (n=22). The characteristics of these volunteers reflected the diversity of the unit cohort. Both school-leavers (n=12) and mature-entry students (n=10) were represented. There was a mix of male and female (though predominantly female n= 16) and most were white, middle class students (n=18). Some volunteers,

however, were from low socio-economic backgrounds (n=4) and different cultural backgrounds (n=3). The remaining students (n=360) enrolled in the unit followed the traditional structure of weekly lectures and tutorials. Students in the alternative pathway were asked to attend lectures, however weekly tutorials were replaced with weekly visits to alternative community sites (days and times negotiated between students and sites), along with de-brief sessions on-campus approximately every four weeks. Community sites included: an adventure centre, a circus, an Indigenous art centre, dance schools, horse-riding schools, a learn-to-swim program, junior sport development programs, various Police Citizens Youth Club programs and several others. These sites were approached several months prior to the beginning of semester and provided with information about the project before they agreed to be involved. Students and site supervisors were provided with scaffolds and guidelines for observations and operations during the course of the project. Academic readings and lecture materials were provided for students to supplement and underpin the 'real world' experiences. Students were particularly asked to observe learners and their diverse characteristics and behaviours, teachers/instructors and their behaviours and characteristics, pedagogical and management strategies used, language used, modes of communication, ways that meaning seemed to be made, contextual requirements, and needs, purposes and background of the organisation. They were also asked to reflect upon what implications such observations had for them as both students and educators. All students in the unit (including the 'authentic learning' group) were required to keep an on-going reflective journal, and to give a multi-modal presentation at the end of semester to demonstrate their learning within the unit.

The data analyzed for this article include reflective journals; a series of focus group interviews with the pre-service teachers; pre and post project questionnaires; an informal unit feedback questionnaire; university standardized teaching and unit evaluations; and feedback from the supervisors at the community sites. While both pathways completed reflective journals and teaching and unit evaluations, other data were collected from the alternative pathway only. In the interests of space, only the data from the alternative pathway are analyzed here; however comparisons are drawn between the formal unit and teaching evaluation data from both pathways. During moderation of the work for the unit overall, it was noted that the alternative pathway

students were more likely to show a deeper and more substantive engagement with the key tenets of the unit as they apply to practice.

Data were analyzed using Butin's (2003; 2005b) conceptual framework. This framework relates more commonly to service learning; however we argue that it can also be applied to our conception of authentic learning, in order to glean a richer sense of the effectiveness of the project through four different lenses. These lenses have accordance with our guiding multiliteracies framework for authentic learning. Particularly, we see the functional application, critical framing and culturally diverse elements of learning (see Kalantzis & Cope, 2005); along with the multiplicity of viewpoints and designs of meaning within the multiliteracies framework as consistent with Butin's (2005) analytic frame using four distinct lenses: technical, cultural, political and post-modern/poststructuralist.

A *technical* conceptualization of authentic learning focuses on its pedagogical effectiveness where learning is conceptualized as 'one among multiple pedagogical strategies; it serves the function of better teaching for better learning' (Butin, 2005b p. 90). The technical perspective concentrates on the innovative elements that link the learning to improved student outcomes in the university unit of study, rather than the implications of the placement for the student, the organization or the wider community. A *cultural* dimension involves 'the meanings of the practice for individuals and institutions involved' (Butin, 2005b p. 90) and can assist with acceptance of diversity. The cultural perspective suggests that by undertaking authentic learning, students will develop a greater respect and understanding of diversity, increase their engagement and will gain a greater sense of who they are in their community.

A *political* focus involves 'promotion and empowerment of the voices and practices of disempowered and non-dominant groups in society' (Butin, 2005b p. 91). This perspective is related to power. Authentic learning can be viewed as a process that may alert students to recognize dominant groups and values in our society. The combined experience of authentic sites and reflection may develop goals to transform power relationships. Finally, a *postmodern/poststructuralist* perspective would focus on how the 'process creates, sustains, and/or disrupts the boundaries and norms by

which we make sense of ourselves and the world' (Butin, 2005b p. 91). The postmodern/poststructuralist perspective has two premises: there is no single truth, and individuals are constructed and construct themselves in society.

Analysis and Results

These lenses overlap in many ways; however for our purposes here we will provide data examples and analyses to highlight some of the rich meanings we have made by viewing the data through the different lenses. Some data were more useful for particular lenses. For example, after a first scan of the data to draw out themes, we decided to use the unit evaluations and pre/post questionnaires for analysis under the technical lens. Within the cultural lens however, we drew from the site questionnaire and focus group data, the latter of which included reference to the reflective journals. The data sources are indicated after each data excerpt in the analysis.

Technical Lens

A technical conceptualisation of real-world learning focuses on its pedagogical effectiveness. Within this lens, questions regarding the efficacy, quality, efficiency, and sustainability of both the process and the outcome of the innovation are noted (Butin, 2003). Data from the university standardized teaching and unit evaluations for the first year project indicated that students in the alternative 'authentic learning' pathway, rated both the unit and the tutors more highly (on average) than did their peers who followed the 'normal' pathway in the unit. This may be attributable to the efficacy of a small group who were involved in a project focusing on quality rather than quantity. However, these positive ratings do indicate the students' satisfaction with the alternative pathway. Data from the informal unit feedback questionnaire indicated that *every* participant in the alternative project cited the opportunity for independence and the site visits as the best features of the unit. Interestingly, many students also cited the reduced contact time with tutors as a feature they would like to change. What is noteworthy is that the students in the alternative pathway (with less tutorial time and regular site visits) achieved a much higher grade average (with academic peer moderation) than any other tutorial group in the unit. During moderation of student work across both pathways, we found that the inclusion of the site visits enabled the 'authentic pathway' students to more fully understand and

problematise the theories of communication, meaning-making and pedagogy that we explored within the unit. These students were able to question and discuss theoretical underpinnings based on what they observed in the community sites. They were, however, unsure about their capacity to achieve success with less structured time in tutorials. This may be more a reflection on their prior experiences of learning than on their experiences in this unit, given their final grade average.

We also noticed quite different perceptions about learners and learning contexts when comparing the pre and post project questionnaires. Comments related to the characteristics of an effective learner in the pre-project questionnaire were more focused upon efficiency through routinised and self-regulated learning, organisational skills and students as passive participants.

'organised and neat...develops a learning routine...time management skills...able to take in information' (1st yr pre-qre)

'accept ideas...take instruction and criticism...organised and willing...patient' (1st yr pre-qre)

'allowing themselves to respond/not respond...absorbing knowledge...retain information' (1st yr pre-qre)

On the other hand, comments related to effective learners in the post-project questionnaire showed evidence of more sophisticated epistemological beliefs (White, 2000) by focusing on quality, efficacy and sustainability through life-long learning; where students were described as active learners, innovative, willing to question what they had learnt and apply knowledge in new spheres.

'independent, active, innovative...able to apply meaning in different situations and contexts and connect new ideas to things they already knew...' (1st yr post-qre)

'doers...visualisers' (1st yr post-qre)

'generating knowledge' (1st yr post-qre)

'question and clarify...actively participate...explore new ideas' (1st yr post-qre)

Cultural Lens

A cultural perspective in authentic learning focuses on the meanings made by both individuals and sites through the project. It can assist the individual to support and extend civil engagement, to enhance their sense of community and belongingness to something greater than themselves and to see how communication and learning can happen in different ways in different contexts. It can also be seen as a means of fostering in the individual a respect for and increased tolerance of diversity, to gain a greater awareness of societal concerns, develop a stronger moral and ethical sense and encourage volunteerism and civic engagement (Butin, 2003).

Students in the first year project did not make any comments related to volunteerism or civic engagement. The sites they attended were community groups, however they were also businesses which needed to make money. Mostly middle class clients paid for themselves or their children to attend. These types of sites do not rely upon volunteers; hence students may have de-valued their own input. The students did not reflect upon their contributions to the sites nor on the influences that they may have had on the learners or teachers; however, the site supervisors were positive about the students' contributions.

'They were great and very helpful...it made me think about how clear my instructions were...' (riding school)

'Nice students...very helpful and interested...I'd have them back' (swim school)

'It made me think a couple of times about how I actually go about instructing the kids. I got quite shocked when I was told the littlies don't seem to listen to a word I say, but watch the bigger ones...yeah I took

*some notice and that was right. You live and learn...pretty smart students'
(circus)*

These supervisors suggest that they were more reflective about their own pedagogy and the way that learners learn as a consequence of the students' visits.

The students did, however, reflect upon the diversity of learners and contexts, teaching styles and ways of communicating or expressing meaning. Several students commented upon learners who learnt more when 'doing' rather than just listening. They also noted that learner confidence has a big impact on the learning, yet confidence was gained in different ways by different groups.

'It's like girls are trying to get confirmation among themselves...boys are more looking towards the instructor. That was really interesting...(1st Yr focus group)

They noticed learners who copied peers rather than listening to the teacher, and they reflected upon different modes of communication and expression, both for themselves as students and for learners that they might teach.

'Like now I'm doing a collage in my journal, whereas before I'd be like just writing it. So like expressing what you're learning, a different way. A different method' (1st yr focus group)

Some students particularly explained those modes of communication that they observed as most effective for non-English speaking learners.

'...some people speak no English. It's interesting to see the gestures they use and how they get that information across to them – bodily kind of ways' (1st yr focus group)

The language used here reflects the language used in the unit materials related to gesture and bodily designs of meaning (Evans, Davies, & Wright, 2004; Stinson, 2004). These students show evidence of applying that knowledge to their observations

of diverse learners in the sites. They also comment upon the different teaching styles and strategies that were appropriate for different purposes and contexts. One student explains that she observed a highly teacher-centred approach with skill and drill – an approach that she suggests she wouldn't normally advocate, but which seemed to be appropriate in this situation.

'As much as you want to judge and say it's the worst thing ever, it's not. We did lots of drills...then we went to play a game...there were lots of questions...and the kids had so much fun' (1st yr focus group)

Other students also discussed times when teacher-centred approaches work, such as when physical safety is at stake or when an extremely important skill is needed to progress to the next activity. These students seem to be trying to negotiate the often contradictory discourses which surround traditional 'skill and drill' approaches to pedagogy and more learner-centred approaches. Debates in the Australian media, for example the phonics versus whole language debate in early literacy classrooms suggest a binary between the two approaches, which literacy research has problematised. Luke and Freebody (1999), Kalantzis (2006) and others suggest that a repertoire of resources or pedagogical strategies is the key. Such discussion about different contexts and teaching approaches suggests that students are taking notice of how different contexts and purposes can call for different pedagogical styles; that teachers need a repertoire of strategies and styles that they can choose to weave through their pedagogy where appropriate. The binary notion of didactic styles as *bad* versus learner-centred approaches as *good* or vice versa; is problematised here as students realise that good teachers draw on a number of different approaches at different times for different purposes. This is consistent with multiliteracies pedagogy (Kalantzis & Cope, 2005), which posits both explicit instruction and learner-driven pedagogies as key elements of learning at different times in the learning process.

Political lens

A political focus to authentic learning can involve a critical enactment whereby power relations are questioned and may be resisted. In order to make sense of the data within this lens, we found that we needed to broaden Butin's macro conception of power to

include the micro-physics of power that play out in everyday activities (Foucault, 1972). For example, the way our pedagogy can change based on parental expectations or 'who is watching'. The first year pre-service teachers were mainly working with white, middle class learners, and as such they did not actively seek to empower non-dominant groups in their accounts. There were, though, some instances where students recognised dominant or majority discourses (Apple, 2004; Bernstein, 1996) permeating the learning sites.

'Well the environment in which the learning takes place affects the learning as well as the influence of individuals in that environment. Some things may be more encouraged to learn about than other things and some behaviours are more accepted than others. It depends on the views and opinions of the majority' (1st yr post qre)

This comment reflects the understanding of how institutional discourses (Shapiro, 1995; Singh, Kenway, & Apple, 2005) shape the learning that is valued and therefore rewarded. The micro-physics of power were recognised when the interests of particular groups were seen to influence the pedagogy at some sites.

'At the swim centre... Parents sit in the front row and their eyes are like hawks. They just watch everything, they watch the instructor. I feel for her because they really monitor her' (1st Yr focus group)

The notion of teaching as a political enterprise is becoming a visible discourse for some of these students. They observe pedagogy in sites which have different goals, with clientele who have different levels of social and cultural capital (Compton Lilly, 2003, 2007) and consequently differentiated levels of power in broader society. Their reflections on the practices in such sites have given students the opportunity to experience the ambiguities and complexities of pedagogy when different social, cultural or economic discourses are at play.

Postmodern/Poststructural lens

The postmodern/poststructural lens questions whether the real-world learning disrupts perceptions about who the teacher is and who the learner is; who is served and who is doing the serving; and how identities are shaped and performed through this experience. Some of the pre-service teachers showed evidence of questioning who the teacher is and who the learner is. Approximately one half of these participants made comments that questioned the teacher-learner nexus, with some of these acknowledging that learning happens in spaces other than specific sites of pedagogy such as classrooms or real-life learning classes.

'I now see teaching and learning to be intertwined. One cannot teach unless prepared to learn' (1st yr post-qre)

'Learners can be teachers. Teacher=learner=teacher' (1st yr post-qre)

'It's not all about me being the teacher...they're going to take a lot of information from other sources' (1st yr focus group)

Each focus group of first year students discussed and questioned characteristics of learners. They problematised the notion of the learner as necessarily docile (Foucault, 1977).

'...even if the kids are fidgety...they are still watching...they still want to do it' (1st yr focus group)

However, some of their comments about learners were not problematised. For example, one student makes judgements about gendered behaviour.

'I noticed the difference between the boys and girls. The boys would be highly confident or act confident...you can see the girls sitting back a little bit, hesitating. The girls are really giggly...whereas the boys show more

finely skilled movement. They know what they're doing more than the girls' (1st yr focus group)

This student was working with a group in a male-dominated sport, yet she has not drawn in the powerful social discourses of 'normal' gendered performance in this context. Girls and boys learn from an early age that particular performances of gender are expected and valued in particular contexts (Davies, 1989; Griffin, 2004; Keddie, 2003). This student has not queried such gendered performances, indeed she was not asked to; rather she has accepted them as evidence of boys' superior ability in the skills of the game.

Some comments about adult learners were contradictory. For example, in one focus group the students suggest that adults don't need feedback or praise when learning because they are self-motivated and know what they are doing. Yet later in the same focus group interview, the students highlighted the importance of feedback for them in this unit. These students seem to be still negotiating how to 'perform' their identities as adult learners. They posit adults as confident and motivated with little need of praise, yet they themselves are motivated (yet sometimes unsure) adults who still need reinforcement and feedback on their learning. These students demonstrate developmental notions of learning which suggest that younger learners need most direction and support. This notion is problematised in multiliteracies pedagogy (Kalantzis & Cope, 2005; The New London Group, 2000), where learners of all ages can be completely independent and/or need explicit guidance at any time in the learning process.

These pre-service teachers showed evidence of shaping and performing their often contradictory identities as students as they worked through this alternative pathway unit. They embraced the independence of this pathway, yet they felt that they needed more tutorial support. They suggested that they were more prepared to express meaning in new and different ways, yet they asked for more guidance on journal layout and multi-media presentations. The visits to the sites with peers from this unit enabled these students to observe learning by the clients at the site (some children,

some adults), but also to observe ways of learning by their peer classmates at the same site.

*'In my site visits I was able to observe three levels of "learners" –
Primary school students, university student (fellow student at site visit)
and a student teacher' (1st yr unit feedback)*

This multi-levelled learning opportunity gave them a broader repertoire of 'performative learning' possibilities to draw upon in shaping their own student and learner identities.

Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of this real-world approach with first year pre-service teachers has been to disrupt their perceptions of learning, pedagogy and ways of expressing or making meaning. We cannot discount the effect of other experiences that these students may have had during the project, for example, in other university units or in their everyday lives. However, we suggest that by viewing these data through Butin's four lenses, we have been able to gain rich insights into the complexities of pre-service teachers' epistemological beliefs, and to some extent, disrupt naïve positionings of learners and teachers and the work that they do. These pre-service teachers performed highly in this first year unit compared with their peers in the 'normal' pathway, although it may be that they self-selected because of their predisposition for this type of learning. Their reflective journals and final multimedia presentations showed sophisticated understandings of a multiliteracies pedagogical framework and designs of meaning as applied practice. Their presentations showed an ability to apply the designs of meaning (visual, linguistic, gestural, spatial, audio) to embody their changing views of themselves as learners and future teachers. They incorporated computer technology, embodied performance, visual metaphor and other devices to represent their learning as an ongoing process, and to show how they problematised their original naïve notions of pedagogy, learning and learners as outlined in the data analysis. Although they were reluctant to 'let go' of more structured academic approaches, their unit results suggest their ability to do so successfully.

These participants are still negotiating their identities as both students and as beginning teachers, however their engagement in this authentic learning pathway has given them the space to question how pedagogy can be enacted, how learning can happen differently in different contexts, and how broader social, cultural and economic discourses can influence both learner and teacher. Importantly, these students will enter schools with more complex notions of pedagogy and communication. They have more 'resources' to draw upon with which to problematise the practices and discourses that they will encounter in their school practicum placements.

An important consideration for this project is that the data collected were richer and more comprehensive for some lenses (technical and cultural) than for others (political and postmodern/poststructural). Sagers and Carrington (2008) report on a service learning project (utilizing Butin's framework for analysis) within an inclusive education unit in a pre-service teacher program. Their findings, similar to those in this project, suggest that if we had also used these lenses to *guide pre-service teacher reflection* and therefore their learning, it would have resulted in richer data that could be analysed to give potentially deeper insights into pre-service teachers' epistemological beliefs.

Another limitation of this study is the lack of comparative journal data from the 'normal' pathway students. Direct comparisons of reflective data such as these would be useful in future applications of this project to determine the efficacy of the lenses as a guide for reflection. These data could then be more closely coded to reflect students' understanding and application of these four dimensions of authentic learning.

Finally, this project has been trialled with a relatively small number of students in one semester. While learning can occur within a thirteen week period, the sustained effects of such learning need to be monitored across the remainder of the degree course. The implications for implementing an 'authentic learning' approach such as this with full cohorts of students may be problematic. Resources need to be allocated to projects such as this at the faculty and university level if they are to be successful on a larger scale.

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