EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE AND THEORY

FORMERLY *NEW EDUCATION*

Volume 32, Number 1, 2010

Editor: Rea Zajda

CONTENTS

Notes and Comments

This volume contains major articles covering such issues as indigenous education and classroom pedagogy, discourses of history curriculum in the global culture, classroom management and discipline, accountability, teachers' self-efficacy, and review of David Turner's latest monographs on theory and practice of education.

In 'Words of Caution on Indigenous Knowledge and Education', Deborah Barca and Alberto Arenas (University of Arizona) critique a series of beliefs and practices surrounding indigenous knowledge and schooling. They argue indigenous knowledge and Western pedagogy represent different, yet complementary knowledge and culture paradigms. The authors conclude that schools should promote a transformational and dialogical pedagogy that reflects an emerging synthesis of Western and indigenous viewpoints (see also Massa, 2008).

In '"And There's Another Country": History Curriculum, History Education and Discourses in the Global Culture', Robert Guyver (University College Plymouth St Mark and St John), argues that history education and historiography can contribute to a better understanding of debates about citizenship globally. Teachers need to expand their global network and participate in the on-going debates and discourses concerning teaching history in the classroom and synthesising their understandings about historiography and the politics of history curricula and textbooks (see also Clayton, 2006).

Erik H. Cohen and Shlomo Romi (Bar Ilan University), in 'Classroom Management and Discipline: Teachers', Students' and Pre-service Teachers' Views of Disruptive Behaviour', using their sample of 895 respondents discuss teachers' pre-service teachers' and students' views on classroom management and disruptive classroom behaviour. Using two types of analysis – a Factor Analysis and the Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), the authors found four factors to be significant: minor disruptions, threats and vandalism, serious disruptions, and criminal acts.

Values education in the global culture is emerging as a timely topic and is attracting a great deal of interest globally – from Australia, across the Pacific Basin, to the Russian Federation. It has been argued

that forces of globalisation have produced characteristic shifts in values education across the world (Zajda, 2008, Zajda, 2009). Both macro and micro societal factors have been affecting the directions of values education in various countries (Zajda, 2009). Laurie Brady (University of Technology Sydney) continues the values education debate. In 'Moral Biography in Values Education' he examines and critiques the theory and application of moral biography in values education. He offers pragmatic classroom teaching strategies for teaching values through moral biography. He concludes that while values are prescribed by the DEST framework (2005), the methods of teaching them are an open-ended one.

Accountability systems and quality assurance play a significant part in teachers' lives. In 'External Accountability Systems, Teachers' Perception of Professional Autonomy, Self-Efficacy and Job Satisfaction: the Israeli Case', Haim Gaziel (Bar Ilan University), discusses the impact of accountability systems on teachers' professional autonomy, self-efficacy and work. His research demonstrates that the impact of accountability is not universal and is dependent on various contextual variables, including teachers' perceptions of their job.

Rea Zajda
Editor

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Words of Caution on Indigenous Knowledge and Education

Deborah Barca
Alberto Arenas
University of Arizona

Abstract

In this article we challenge a series of beliefs surrounding indigenous knowledge and formal education that have been reproduced with enough frequency in educational circles that they are often assumed to be fact. This has had important consequences for philosophical approaches to education and curriculum development. These beliefs, which we argue are misconceived, are that (a) knowledge can be neatly divided into indigenous versus Western worldviews, and these epistemologies are opposite and irreconcilable; (b) indigenous knowledge always supports a view of nature and of social life that is inherently benign and based on an ethic of care; and (c) indigenous knowledge is static and immutable, and when indigenous youth adopt ideas or practices exogenous to the culture, they lose their sense of indigeneity. Implications for educational systems will also be explored. Although all educators may find important lessons in this article, our target audience is non-indigenous advocates of indigenous education who are expanding and refining their understanding of indigenous cultures and history.

Keywords: curriculum development, indigenous knowledge, classroom pedagogy, values

Unresolved Pedagogical Issues in Indigenous Knowledge

Until the 1960s and 1970s, many schools worldwide treated indigenous culture and knowledge as backward, inferior, uncivilized, and even evil, in comparison to Western norms. The main aim of education was to eradicate any trace of the native culture of indigenous students and to replace it with Western values, behaviors, and knowledge. The ultimate goal was to transform indigenous students into 'modern citizens' (Brokensha, Warren, & Werner, 1980; Deloria & Wildcat, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Sieder, 2002). This mentality and practice started to change with the rise of a civil rights discourse and corresponding legislation in the 1960s that defended the rights of

marginalized groups in society. Many ministries of education started to promote educational programs designed to transmit, validate, and preserve indigenous values, philosophies, practices, and languages. National and regional governments, to the best of their abilities and resources, tried to create programs that simultaneously passed on the indigenous culture and the dominant national, modern one. The goal was to ensure that students would have one foot rooted in the vitality and beauty of their indigenous culture and the other rooted in modernity, to ensure their smooth integration into the nation-state. Perhaps inadvertently, however, a series of beliefs have emerged from this effort that seriously distort the complex world of indigenous knowledges (in the plural) and thereby hinder the vitally important work that theoreticians and practitioners of indigenous education have sought to accomplish. These mistaken beliefs are:

1. Knowledge can be clearly dichotomized into indigenous versus Western worldviews. These worldviews not only represent distinct and even opposite epistemologies but are also irreconcilable.

2. Indigenous knowledge is biocentric and promotes an ethics of responsibility for all creation. It always promotes the protection and sharing of land as an integral part of the web of life.

3. Indigenous knowledge is unchanging and immutable. When members of an indigenous group adopt 'foreign' ideas or practices they become corrupted.

   In challenging these beliefs surrounding indigenous knowledge, our intention is not to minimize in any way the very legitimate ongoing struggle for land, cultural rights, and a dignified life that indigenous groups worldwide have been waging since the European conquest and colonization. Rather, we seek to offer educators a different set of theoretical tools that can assist them in creating truly comprehensive and appropriate pedagogical programs for indigenous students. Although all educators may benefit from our article, we primarily address non-indigenous advocates of indigenous education who are exploring and challenging their own cultural biases and expanding and refining their understanding of indigenous cultures and history.

Characteristics of Indigenous Knowledge
   Indigenous knowledge (IK) – also known as traditional knowledge, traditional environmental knowledge, or local knowledge – has been defined as long-standing, localized knowledge that is unique to a given culture and that serves as the basis for local-decision making in a variety of activities, such as housing, clothing, agriculture, health care, food preparation, learning, and natural-resource management. IK is embedded in the social, cultural, ethical, and spiritual environment of

its particular community (see, e.g., World Bank, 2010). As the following quotation shows, IK and the culture that keeps it alive have generally been portrayed as universally good and wholesome:

> Indigenous people hold a very high nature-centered tradition, an ethics of responsibility and respect for all creation. The land is seen as an integral part of the web of life, physical and spiritual, but not inert, empty and passive. This dynamic and living understanding of land has sophisticated ecological and social implications. The strong sense of community rooted in indigenous culture and land is also a wonderful asset to be protected and shared. (Longchar, 2007: 8)

Let us expand on the characteristics mentioned in the quotation and previous definition. Although various authors emphasize different qualities of IK (e.g., Arenas, Reyes, & Wyman, 2007; Bowers, 2001, 2006; Browder, 1995; Cajete, 1994), the following four characteristics appear to be the more commonly cited:

IK is intimately connected to the locality and to daily living. IK is rooted in a particular time and place, and is created by the people who live in that community. The knowledge they generate has the hallmarks of place, and it reflects the integral relationship between humans and the physical space they inhabit. As Richard Norgaard (1994) wrote, social systems and environmental systems influence each other and co-evolve over time, creating a form of knowledge that is unique to a specific place and culture. This knowledge is garnered by trial and error during the practical engagement in everyday life. A possible consequence of these ideas is that the transference of knowledge from one community to another may be potentially unhelpful, if not openly harmful, to the new people and land that are the intended beneficiaries of this knowledge. By contrast, modern, Western knowledge tends to be abstract and universalistic, and not necessarily tied to a local social or environmental system. Under the logic of growth economics such as capitalism, land can be bought and sold in the market with little regard for loss of local cultural identity.

IK is context-dependent. A related idea is that IK is embedded in the social, cultural, and ethical environment of a particular community. This means that beliefs and behaviors have technological, social, political, moral, and cosmological implications, in addition to technological ones. IK, with its emphasis on long-term usefulness and application, is considered valid only if it meets a set of criteria that are based in the local context. Unlike modern knowledge, which disregards the locality and claims superiority based on its alleged universal applicability, IK loses much of its relevance and meaning once it is dislocated from its specific sociocultural-environmental context.

IK tends to be informal and orally transmitted. IK is located in people instead of in books, professional journals, schools, or universities. It is transferred orally via individuals who have been specifically selected and prepared for this role since their youth. Knowledge transmission occurs mostly during daily interactions via observation, modeling, and apprenticeships. Face-to-face activities represent a range of non-commodified behaviors and relationships that constitute the daily life of the community. Even formal moments, such as rituals or direct instruction, have not been commodified through the widespread credentialism of modern society.

IK assumes a spiritual connection between humans and nature, and it views nature as a supernatural being and living phenomenon. IK views nature as a mother that is both protector and nurturer, and that needs to be cared for in return. One version of an indigenous counterpart of the Christian biblical Ten Commandments has for its first two commandments the following: (a) Treat the Earth, our Mother, and all that dwell thereon with respect; and (b) Remain close to the Great Spirit, in all that you do (Native American Commandments, 2004). Although these commandments are one popular culture interpretation of indigenous cosmologies, they appear to have enough resonance in indigenous cultures to support their validity. Julio Valladolid Rivera, an agronomist who studies Andean traditional culture in Peru, explained this characteristic eloquently:

> How to convey the profound feeling of affection and respect that the peasant feels for the Mother Earth, or the joy and gratitude towards his or her mountain protectors . . . One must view the life of the Andean countryside in continuous conversation with the stars, rocks, lakes, rivers, plants and animals, both wild and cultivated . . . The nurturing of the *chacra* [plot of cultivated land] is the heart of Andean culture around which all aspects of life revolve. (Valladolid Rivera, 1998: 51)

Unlike the secular and fragmented orientation of Western knowledge, IK is imbued with the perception that all things are sacred and part of a single whole. Evidence of this is the lack of an espoused doctrine of religion, and even the absence in many indigenous languages of the word 'religion.' There is a shared understanding that nature is the home upon which material and spiritual realities converge.

Now that we have presented the main characteristics usually attributed to IK, it is worth exploring each one in a different, more critical light, specifically through the prism of the following questions: Is IK inherently incompatible with modern, Western knowledge? Are the boundaries surrounding the two worldviews impenetrable to outside influences and to pressures from within? Do IK and Western knowl-

edge represent the culmination of radically different human trajectories that cannot be constructively merged? Or is it more appropriate to view these forms of knowledge as highly porous and shifting, as different points on the same or at least similar cognitive continua? And even further, could not a dialogue be generated between these two forms of knowledge that would create a new understanding altogether? The next section will seek to answer these questions.

Is Indigenous Knowledge Truly Different from Western Knowledge?

Even though IK is a profoundly diverse world, there may be some benefits to assigning a fixed set of characteristics to it – as Arenas, Reyes, and Wyman (2007) did when they contrasted archetypical models of indigenous and modern education as a means to improve schools serving indigenous students. On the other hand, doing so poses a particular danger of oversimplifying the complex universe of ideas and practices represented by indigenous cultures. More problematic still, it may be misleading to assume without question that indigenous communities possess a high degree of social and environmental sustainability and to envision all indigenous practices as models for modern societies. The idea that there are two basic forms of knowledge, an indigenous and a Western one, and that these tend to be incompatible, is found often enough in the literature that the belief has become a virtual truism (Agrawal, 1995; Browder, 1995; Henze & Vanett, 1993). However, when one analyzes closely the alleged differences between the two cognitive typologies, a series of contradictions arise that make such a separation suspect. To support this claim, we first discuss two issues that have not received the attention they deserve; we then explore each of the four characteristics of IK listed in the previous section.

First, vast heterogeneity exists within both IK and Western knowledge, and there are also striking similarities between the two paradigms, as Agrawal argues:

> By what yardstick of common measure can one club together the knowledges generated by such western philosophers as Hume and Foucault, Derrida and Von Neumann, or Said and Fogel? And by what tortuous stretch of imagination would one assert similarities between the Azande beliefs in witchcraft and the decision-making strategies of the Raika shepherds in western India? On the other hand we may also discover that elements separated by this artificial divide share substantial similarities, as, for example, agroforestry, and the multiple tree cropping systems of small-holders in many parts of the world; agronomy, and the indigenous techniques for domestication of crops; or rituals surrounding football games in the United States, and, to use a much abused example, the Balinese cockfight. (Agrawal, 1995: 421)

This diversity within and convergence across the two knowledge paradigms make it extremely difficult to speak about two distinct knowledge systems without engaging in crude (and ultimately erroneous) oversimplifications of worldviews. Does this mean that we can never generalize? No, but it does mean that we must continuously test any generalizations whenever we apply them to a particular temporal and spatial context. After all, generalizations are extremely useful for helping us think critically about what we know and how to transfer that knowledge to other domains in an appropriate manner. These are what Shiveley and Misco (2009) have called 'nomothetic generalizations', generalizations that have predictive explanatory power and some degree of universal validity. Generalizations create more harm than good, however, when they are assumed to be true and applicable in all contexts, and are applied wholesale with only minor cosmetic changes. Instead, generalizations should be used as theoretical tools for developing the capacity to distinguish different forms of knowledge production. As Agrawal (1995) argued, instead of grouping all non-Western knowledges under one label of "indigenous", and using another single label for everything Western, it makes more sense to bridge the socially constructed chasm that separates the indigenous and the modern by recognizing how these knowledges intersect historically and epistemologically.

Second, perhaps an even greater pitfall than the failure to acknowledge both the richness within each tradition and the similarities between them is the inability to recognize that diverse cultural groups have been in contact for thousands of years, long before the European conquest. The idea that there are two distinct forms of knowledge implies a strict compartmentalization of cultures that has no basis in fact. As Lévi-Strauss (1955) elaborated, contact and exchange among cultural groups, even between communities in Asia and the Americas, was a fact of life for thousands of years. So what we today call IK is in fact the result of numerous cultures evolving over the span of several centuries and being influenced by other peoples, making the notion of cultural 'purity' or 'authenticity' suspect at best.

Let us now critique the four characteristics frequently used to describe IK. At least for the first three characteristics, we will show that there are enough exceptions in both IK and Western knowledge to signal much more fluid and flexible boundaries between them than tend to be recognized.

IK is intimately connected to the locality and to daily living. A serious difficulty with this assertion is the fact that, as a result of conquest and colonization, many indigenous groups were forcibly relocated to new areas or lost large portions of their original homelands; such displacement

and reduction disrupted the continuity of place for indigenous groups worldwide. In more recent times many indigenous people have moved to urban areas in search of economic advancement. Thus, by necessity, indigenous groups have created new knowledge that has the imprint of both their original locality and the new one as well. This is not to say that the new knowledge is less authentic or useful than the previous one, but it does challenge the assertion that all IK is local and originated in the specific locality an indigenous group currently occupies.

Regarding the idea that IK focuses on daily life and on knowledge that is concrete and relevant to the immediate needs of individuals, there is a long history within IK of exploring concepts that are highly abstract and not linked directly to the locality or day-to-day living. A well-known example is the highly refined and sophisticated Mayan systems in mathematics and astronomy (Coe, 1999). The Maya created base-20 and base-5 numeric systems, along with the concept of zero, apparently the first culture in the world to employ it (excepting the Hindu, who seemed to have used it only for astronomical calculations). Moreover, the Maya measured the length of the solar year more accurately than the Europeans of that time did, and produced extremely precise charts of the movements of the moon and planets, equal or superior to those of other contemporary civilizations. Thus, clearly, indigenous groups have historically created knowledge that is irrelevant to satisfying immediate, local needs. At the same time, it is incorrect to believe that Western knowledge is completely divorced from people's day-to-day realities. After all, the vast majority of the gadgets in daily life emanate from the use of science as it becomes linked to technology. An important goal of modern science is the application of basic science to address everyday problems.

These realities in no way contradict the fact that numerous indigenous cultures worldwide still defend the 'motherland' (that is, the locality) as sacred and refuse to consider it as 'real estate' to be bought and sold in the market. Much IK is still so intimately connected with the land that separation of the local population from their land, through force or lack of economic options, can lead to the physical and spiritual death of the people.

IK is context-dependent. Although colonial and neocolonial governments and institutions have arrogantly and cruelly imposed their way of life on minority cultures worldwide, this does not mean that Western knowledge is context-free; rather, it originated in a specific place and time. The scientists and technicians who created Western knowledge and its application were members of a particular culture, and thus the knowledge itself was bounded by the norms of that culture. This fact

is equally true for Western knowledge and IK: when scholars talk about indigenous education as a single, unitary concept, they are in fact assuming that knowledge originating within one indigenous culture is applicable and true in another indigenous culture (Brokensha, Warren, & Werner, 1980; Cajete, 1994), which may or may not be true. At the same time, there has been intense critique from within the Western tradition about the presumed universality of Western knowledge and objectivity of modern science. Philosophers of science have for several decades offered devastating critiques of the neutrality and objectivity of science (e.g., Kuhn, 1962; Latour, 1979) and have advocated for contextualization of science and technology based on the social, economic, and political realities of a given location. References to 'Western' and 'modern' thought and knowledge signal a particular aspect of European-based traditions. That is, a technological and especially capitalist orientation that, unfortunately, has become hegemonic, especially in the United States and the developing countries it has historically and currently colonized. This strain of 'Western' thought is not entirely representative. For at least a couple of centuries – i.e., since the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution – an array of Western thinkers and writers have expressed profound connections with nature as sacred and have vehemently protested its exploitation.

IK tends to be informal and orally transmitted. This characteristic has historically been largely true – mainly because most indigenous cultures did not develop their own writing systems to codify their knowledge. However, as the modern schooling system (and the Christian Church) has spread to all corners of the world, indigenous communities have gained access to formal education, and thus now informal, oral traditions coexist alongside more formal and written ones. This is especially true for those urbanized indigenous groups that have adopted many of the highly advanced forms of communication used by non-indigenous peoples. In fact, it can be argued that the Internet is a hybrid tool that combines oral and written traditions and may become an extremely useful tool for indigenous communities worldwide. As the anthropologist Wade Davis said in no uncertain terms,

> The Internet is probably the most powerful [communication] tool of liberation for indigenous communities because they no longer feel alone [and can voice their plight to the world]. I know of a Maasai who walked three days to get online for half an hour. This doesn't mean that they are not loyal to space or place. On the contrary, their loyalty is enhanced because of the realization of their own uniqueness and power. (Davis, 2010, n.p.)

Similarly, perhaps many indigenous languages could benefit greatly from their codification in written form, which would mitigate the purely informal and oral quality of cultural transmission. Hawaiian is

a case in point (Kamana & Wilson, 1996). Prior to the U.S. annexation of the Hawaiian archipelago, Hawaiian was the main language spoken in the islands and also the main language of schooling. This was true thanks to the work of Protestant missionaries who developed a writing system in the nineteenth century, eventually enabling the publishing of newspapers in Hawaiian and leading to an extremely high literacy rate in Hawaiian by the end of the nineteenth century. Hawaiian-language schools were shut down in 1896, and it took almost a century for progressive educators and legislators to decide to re-establish them; yet, today a student on the islands can take instruction in Hawaiian from preschool all the way to university. The successful linguistic revitalization of Hawaiian is in part attributed to widespread use of its written form.

We should note that not all indigenous groups want to, or should, create or disseminate a written code to ensure the survival of their language. As Bielenberg (1999) cautioned, indigenous literacy is acquired mostly through two powerful institutions, schools and religion, which have drastically changed countless indigenous cultures. Vital aspects of culture, such as storytelling by elders, forms of apprenticeship, and informal and low-status knowledge, are generally not transmitted through either of these institutions. Moreover, many indigenous leaders fear that stimulating indigenous literacy may lead to replacing the oral tradition with a greater reliance on the written word and thereby disrupt some basic qualities of small communities (e.g., trust in one's neighbors):

> The greater the dependency on the written form, the less personal trust there appears to be in fellow human beings. Those who write seem to be able to detach themselves from what is written [and feel] no longer responsible for what has been 'said.' Meanwhile, people begin to distrust the spoken word, fearing that it has less value and can easily be altered. (Bielenberg 1999: 110)

It should also be noted that oral traditions are not exclusive to indigenous cultures. Within early Western traditions are the oral transmission of the Homeric epic poems, the Irish epics, and synoptic Gospels (Reagan, 2000). Although oral traditions are most strongly associated with IK, their existence in the Western canons suggests a continuous historical interaction between socio-ecological systems and supports Richard Norgaard's (1994) hypothesis that these epistemologies co-evolved throughout history.

The preceding insights show that formal and written modes of transmission will be increasingly integral to the lives of indigenous children and adults, in the transmission of both modern knowledge and, more

relevant to our point here, of IK as well. After all, today it is difficult to find youth who have no exposure to formal education, and organizations like UNESCO have as a basic mission the expansion of primary schooling to all children worldwide. This mission will be aided by global urbanization. It is projected that by 2025, two-thirds of the world's population, including large percentages of indigenous communities, will live in urban areas (Sieder, 2002). Thus, it will be incumbent on schools to ensure that whatever written content they transmit honors the oral traditions of indigenous communities.

IK assumes a spiritual connection between humans and nature, and it views nature as a supernatural being and living phenomenon. Of the four characteristics we cite, this is the one that appears truly incompatible with modern knowledge, at least as it is currently structured. In many if not most indigenous cosmologies, nature is an enchanted world that is active and alive (Capra, 1988). IK views nature as a living, nurturing mother that needs to be protected, just as she protects her children (including humans), and exhorts people to engage in a dialogue with the animate and inanimate objects of the universe, as illustrated in the earlier quotation from Valladolid Rivera. Modern knowledge's relationship to nature is vastly different. It tends to view nature as a non-sacred collection of inanimate objects. Thus, nature can be exploited at will to serve the interests of humans, and land is treated as a commodity with little consideration of how the separation of inhabitants from their homeland affects them both physically and spiritually.

Although this difference is clearly significant, two caveats should be considered. First, having a cosmology that celebrates nature as alive and humans as an integral part of nature did not prevent many indigenous groups from destroying the very ecosystem that sustained them. As Ponting documents in his encyclopedic *A Green History of the World* (1991), preindustrial civilizations large and small, from the Mayas to the natives of Easter Island, not only greatly transformed their environment but quite often exhausted their natural resources to the point of ecological breakdown that doomed the society. A second, related issue is that modern cultures, despite coming from vastly different cultural-historical traditions, are capable of learning to live in ways that are sustainable and ensure a healthy ecosystem. Browder (1995), in his assessment of colonists in the Brazilian state of Rondonia, concluded that despite being newcomers to the Amazon Basin (some having arrived as recently as the 1970s) they were able to understand that their own actions, as well of those of previous colonists, were destroying the environment and that they needed to engage in radically different actions to recuperate and protect the forest. Thus, a new colonist culture was being created in conjunction with the transformation of the environment:

> Like the ethnic Amerind that they [the colonists] displaced, these vanguard colonists are changing, yet preserving the tropical forest environment, just as their own knowledge and lifeways are themselves being modified by the human experience of interaction over time with that environment. (Browder, 1995: 26)

Clearly, not all colonists are adopting lifestyles that are in harmony with nature. But those who are doing so use modern means, including much observation and trial and error, to create a local knowledge that reflects a more holistic and personalistic comprehension of the natural world, without necessarily embracing the cosmovisions of Amazonian indigenous groups.

Ultimately, a more constructive approach would be to view indigenous and modern knowledge as a 'porous array of intersections where distinct processes crisscross from within and beyond its borders' (Rosaldo, 1989: 20–21). What is perceived as an immutable 'indigenous' practice may in fact be the latest in a series of iterations that have evolved over time. And the same is true of Western knowledge. Thus, focusing on the individual cultures of particular groups, and how they experience their own life by means of local and external voices, might be a much more useful endeavor than blanketing all indigenous groups worldwide under a single cultural mantle. We need to recognize that there is no *one* IK, but rather *many* IKs. To reach this stage, however, we must challenge two commonly held views among non-indigenous and indigenous groups alike: the romanticization of indigenous cultures and the essentializing of indigenous knowledge.

The Romanticization of Indigenous Cultures

In recent decades, numerous publications emanating from both academic and activist circles have painted an overly romantic picture of indigenous groups and especially of IK (Agrawal, 1995; Browder, 1995; Indigenous Way, 2010). IK is portrayed as unconditionally positive, wholesome, and the only appropriate route for the development of indigenous groups. Simultaneously, Western civilization and modern knowledge are denigrated as promoting selfishness, individualism, fragmentation, and the destruction of communities and nature. The 1981 Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land exemplified this view:

> In the world today there are two systems, two different irreconcilable 'ways of life.' The Indian world, which is collective, communal, human, respectful of nature and wise – and the western world, which is greedy, destructive, individualist, and an enemy of nature. (cited in Browder, 1995: 18)

A more recent iteration of this view is found in *The Indigenous Way* (2010, n.p.), a website that promotes indigenous cultures:

> There are at least two ways of knowing. Through the head and through the heart. The authoritarian system comes from the head – it is the way of the mind – analysis, fear and fragmentation. This is the foundation of western Civilization. The indigenous Way comes from the heart – the way of the circle. The heart is the only way of truly knowing and comes from love. The European Way sees Mother Earth as dead because spirituality is removed or fragmented from all aspects of life. What is the Indigenous Way? If we go back far enough all people on Mother Earth lived in extended-family-communities, connected to other extended-family-communities forming tribes and nations. Tribal communities or tribes, *uncorrupted* by Authoritarianism, were based upon the Indigenous Way and were places of peace, love, abundance, spirituality and liberty with no violence, no anger, no selfishness, no controls, no courts, no police, no government and no authority. They were places of reverence, caring and respect for Mother Earth and all of her inhabitants. (italics in original)

The fallacy of this view is not that it does not contain some elements of truth (it certainly does), or that historically there have not been indigenous groups that engaged in cultural practices that sought a co-evolving relationship with nature (there certainly were), or even that today there are not native groups around the world that practice some aspects of environmental and social sustainability (because there certainly are, especially in the normative advocacy of certain theorists, researchers, and practitioners). The problem lies in the overgeneralization that places all indigenous cultures in the same basket and denies or ignores the historical and anthropological evidence that prior to western European colonialism some, perhaps even many, indigenous groups engaged in practices that were extremely destructive towards the community and the natural world. As Jared Diamond wrote in his book *The Third Chimpanzee* (1992) in a provocative chapter titled 'The Golden Age That Never Was', preindustrial societies often failed to understand the correlation between population growth and resource depletion, which led to social and environmental collapse:

> It's now clear that preindustrial societies have been exterminating species, destroying habitats, and undermining their own existence for thousands of years. Some of the best documented examples involve Polynesians and American Indians, the very peoples most often cited as exemplars of environmentalism. (Diamond 1992: 319)

The naïve assertion of the inherent goodness of indigenous cultures also extends to social practices that are considered reprehensible from a human rights perspective. Honor killings, tribally sanctioned rapes, and forced female circumcision are a few examples of practices that have existed in traditional communities worldwide for centuries, and continue to exist today (for a recent example of forced clitoridectomy among the Embera Chamí in Colombia, see Castellanos, 2008).

This is not to say that the rate of natural resource depletion and environmental deterioration has not changed over time. There is no doubt that in industrial societies the speed and scale of the destruction is much greater than in the past. Nor does it mean that all IK knowledge and practices are invalid. As we explained previously, local and traditional knowledge constitutes a cultural repository of enormous significance for indigenous groups in the creation of a truly sustainable society. But as IK pertains to institutions of cultural transmission, especially the educational system, these facts do suggest we should avoid adopting all cultural dimensions wholesale; instead, it is useful to display a healthy dose of skepticism towards certain forms of practice and knowledge considered 'pure' as well as those viewed as 'syncretic.'

Defending the Importance and Inevitability of Syncretic Knowledge

Claude Lévi-Strauss's well-known anecdote about encountering a Native American at the New York Public Library is emblematic of the syncretic lives of indigenous peoples around the world, and of outsiders' reactions to those lives. While living in New York City in 1941, the French anthropologist observed 'an Indian wearing feathered headgear and a pearl-embroidered leather coat taking notes with a Parker pen in the New York Public Library' (cited in During, 1993, p. 75). Lévi-Strauss described the image with much nostalgia, for he foresaw the imminent loss of a cultural purity that, according to him, had become corrupted by modern life. What made Lévi-Strauss uncomfortable was that this man, a member of the Kwakiutl nation, had strayed beyond the stereotyped schema that the Western scholar had locked him into. Lévi-Strauss was disconcerted by what he perceived as the Indian's lack of 'authenticity,' which he believed was a sign of the inevitable demise of indigenous peoples and cultures.

Lévi-Strauss could however have perceived this encounter in a radically different way, as a portent of the dynamism and changing nature of indigenous cultures. He could have theorized that native cultures are fluid and transform themselves over time, just like Western cultures do. This interpretation would not have negated the reality of the systematic destruction, marginalization, and forced assimilation of indigenous groups worldwide, both historically and in the present. It would however have rejected the notion that indigenous cultures are solely a feature of the past, and supported the idea that native groups, like all other groups, are products of the past and the present, more so today than ever, given the influence of global media such as television and the Internet. Lévi-Strauss could have assumed, as we do in this article, that indigenous peoples can and want to call the shots on their own terms. Ultimately, the belief that indigenous groups remain, or

should remain, unchanging over time is disingenuous at best and prevents an in-depth understanding of the hybrid nature of all cultures. This hybridity is particularly strong among indigenous youth who, upon encountering manifestations of hegemonic cultures in school and the mass media (particularly those manifestations originating from the United States), may adopt these modern 'impositions,' sometimes wholesale but at other times adapted to suit their own cultural roots.

The hybrid nature of new cultural manifestations is augmenting as global contact and communication deepen. Boundaries between groups are becoming highly permeable, and ethnic identities are increasingly subject to renegotiation and hybridization. Indigenous knowledge combines with Western beliefs, principles, and practices to create a syncretic lifestyle. To assume one must either abandon local knowledge for a Western one or vice versa is to reject any possibility of fruitful alternatives. Cultural syncretism reconciles what are at times distinct beliefs by creating qualitatively unique traditions that contain aspects of two (or more) cultures. An interesting example is found in hybrid expressions of the musical genre hip-hop as it gets exported from its original birthplace in the Bronx in New York City to countries worldwide. As Christgau argued (2002), hip-hop is not a phenomenon that eradicates local cultures. Instead, marginalized groups outside of the United States that have historically been silenced often create new hybrid musical forms that combine hip-hop with local musical elements to give themselves a voice. Through the musical cross-pollination that takes place, youth activist groups in Bolivia, Chile, Indonesia, and New Zealand (among others) use hip-hop to express their identity as young people and to support such varied causes as human rights, environmental justice, and cultural revitalization. A case in point is the Bolivian hip-hop sensation Wayna Rap, a group that sings contentious lyrics in Spanish, Aymara, and Quechua, and mesh Andean instruments with electric guitar and synthesizer (Forero, 2005). As Christgau wrote,

> In hip-hop, styles are regionally distinct, although they certainly crossbreed. Hip-hop speaks so loudly to rebellious kids from Greenland to New Zealand not because they identify with young American blacks, although they may, but because it's custom-made to combat the anomie that preys on adolescents wherever nobody knows their name. (2002, n.p.)

Popular entertainment is not the only cultural domain where such hybridity is found. In many areas of their lives, people experience a mix between the old and new, local and global, traditional and modern. And this is especially true for youth, who are exposed more today than ever to hybrid forms and may see them as a cornerstone of their identity and sense of belonging. This makes it imperative for schools to offer a space

for students to explore these hybrid manifestations. It is at times a hybridity that youth themselves are creating, on their own terms.

We would be remiss, however, if we ignored or dismissed the fact that most forms of syncretism originate in First World countries, particularly the United States, then travel abroad. The opposite trajectory – of manifestations from developing countries being absorbed into highly developed nations – is less common and is limited to certain easily commodified manifestations such as salsa dancing or Mexican restaurants. It is even rarer to find lateral syncretism between developing regions; that is, cultural manifestations being exchanged and adopted among Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Despite their highly unidirectional transmission, all syncretic forms need to be approached from a 'dialogical or conversationalist stance' (Apfel-Marglin & PRATEC, 1998: 12), in which the foreign form enters into dialogue or conversation with local forms. Locals (indigenous or otherwise) must be empowered to decide what to keep and what to discard. For schools this entails offering courses on a critical pedagogy of popular culture, so that students can acquire the theoretical and practical tools to avoid uncritical adoption of foreign cultural manifestations, and to protect and validate non-commodified IK. A dialogical approach can help students understand how different categories of knowledge and ways of knowing actually inform each other:

> Students and teachers gain the intellectual ability not only to distinguish different forms of knowledge production but, most importantly, to construct a vision of what a culturally diverse, ethical, intellectually rigorous system of knowledge production might look like (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999: 51).

To close this section, a word of caution is warranted: There is danger in reifying the concept of syncretism (or the older concept of hybridity) in the same way that 'culture' has been reified in the past (Apfel-Marglin & PRATEC, 1998: 8). To understand syncretism, particularly when viewing another culture from the outside, as a coherent, ahistorical, seamless whole with no internal contradictions, would be to make the same mistake that Lévi-Strauss committed in his reading of the Kwakiutl Indian he encountered seven decades ago. It is ultimately up to cultural insiders to determine what is syncretic, traditional, or modern, and to understand that these categories shift over time and depending on the relative openness of the culture, using their own agency to assert and reassert their identity. The syncretic is no less 'authentic' than the traditional, as the following anecdote reminds us:

> At a recent conference [on indigenous rights] held in New Zealand, local newspapers were informed and invited to interview some of the delegates. One news reporter thought it would be a good idea to have a group photo-

graph, suggesting that it would be a very colourful feature for the newspa-
per to highlight. When she and the photographer showed up at the local
marae (cultural center) they were so visibly disappointed at the motley dis-
play of track suits, jeans, and other items of 'modern' dress, that they chose
not to take the photograph. (Smith, 1999: 72)

This anecdote reminds us of the paradox that members of indigenous
groups find themselves in: The hegemonic society has already deter-
mined what an 'authentic' indigenous person should look like. The
more agency indigenous people or groups assert, and the more syn-
cretic practices they engage in, the less authentic they are considered
by outsiders. This can have the dangerous effect of placing indigenous
peoples in a position where they feel pressured to manufacture some
form of IK that outsiders consider authentic, in order to be perceived
as protectors of a 'pure' and 'true' cultural or ecological tradition
(Wohling, 2009). Ultimately, promoting ethnicity as a marker of iden-
tity that is static and immutable (and ethnicity viewed as the only sig-
nificant identity characteristic) reduces individuals to fixed stereotypes
and narrows the expectations others have of their potential for per-
sonal and social growth.

Some Thoughts on Applying IK in Schools

Now that we have problematized IK, it is important to consider the
ways in which IK may be appropriately introduced in schools. First, it
is vital that teachers and administrators not fall into the same traps
that the general public and activists have already fallen into, of adopt-
ing a naïve interpretation of indigenous cultures and overly romanti-
cizing indigenous knowledges and cultures. If we recognize honestly
that some indigenous spiritual, economic, and social practices have
been closely tied to the protection and sustainability of the land and
its inhabitants, but that other practices have been reprehensible in
terms of the protection of the environment and human rights, the ques-
tion then becomes, which traditions do we uphold and which do we re-
ject? For Abdullahi An-Na'im (1990), the answer lies in how cultural
relativism is applied. Cultural relativism in its extreme form argues
that we should respect diverse customs and abstain from moral judg-
ments regarding other cultures. Critics of relativistic views denounce
them for a disturbing lack of objectivity in the idea that all knowledges
are equally defensible and true, within the context of their particular
cultures. Pure cultural relativism may give cultural groups license to
dismiss human rights as culturally incompatible if doing so fits their
political agenda. A less extreme and more sensible approach allows the
condemnation of repressive practices within the context of defending
individual rights, but recognizes that those repressive practices are
part of a culture's sanctioned mode of life. An-Na'im writes, 'Human

rights should be based on the inherent dignity and integrity of every human being [which can be achieved through] the principle of reciprocity – namely, that one should not tolerate for another person any treatment that one would not accept for oneself' (1990: 344-45). Any analysis of indigenous knowledge and culture needs to be imbued with this critical approach to cultural relativism that explores the 'language' of human rights in each culture's 'native tongue.'

A related issue is that teachers may inadvertently reinforce stereotypes if they present an overly simplistic view of local indigenous life. Gerald Mohatt asserted that well-intentioned educators have 'oversimplified culture with their dichotomous lists of native and western values', when in reality schooling in indigenous communities is 'part of a complex relationship between issues of school change, culture, power and control' (1994: 179). Teachers who are committed to integrating educational experiences based on non-Western ways of knowing into their pedagogy must go beyond the surface of the subject matter to synthesize local indigenous and mainstream Western knowledge. In addition to creating content that is hybridized, teachers must become aware of the learning environment they create through their teaching style, classroom management, decision-making, and language choices. For example, teachers can take an anthropological approach by teaching content through different cultural lenses. Glen Aikenhead (1997) asserted that, like anthropologists, teachers can explore topics and ideas from multiple cultural perspectives, but while doing so they can also examine the contexts within which these perspectives are situated. Aikenhead explained this process, which he called 'autonomous acculturation', as teachers' growing awareness of the plurality of knowledges, so that they 'do not have to accept the cultural ways of [those being studied] in order to understand or even engage in some of those ways' (1997: 26).

Although some general guidelines for culturally integrated or hybridized schooling may apply across contexts, a great deal of variation exists within and between school communities. Teachers in indigenous communities are being pressured to conform to industrialized methods of education that historically have failed these communities. Restructuring a school based on non-Western knowledge systems involves the community, teachers, and administrators in redefining all aspects of school life, including how they build connections between indigenous and Western knowledge, between the traditional and the modern. The idea of progress as a strictly linear process needs to be questioned as traditional practices become more relevant in solving modern problems. In order to allow the relevancy of the traditional to emerge, educators must (a) not oversimplify cultures with essentialized overviews

of indigenous versus Western values, and (b) not artificially separate content areas during the study of topics that transcend conventional discipline boundaries. A culture's knowledge should not be a bounded domain with an essential nature. Instead it should be viewed as ever changing to meet the new questions cultures produce about themselves and their social/natural environments. Moreover, nature itself changes and knowledges must also change to interact effectively with natural and human-made environments. Mohatt described the 'need for complex cultural negotiation . . . that a school can become a new, "third reality"' (1994: 179). This third reality is neither Western nor non-Western; rather, it is a new perspective and way of knowing based on a synthesis of both. This syncretic approach to education in indigenous communities is essential to challenging the social and economic practices historically used to enclose the biological and cultural commons upon which indigenous communities base their survival.

Teachers must also resist the urge to become civilizing agents. One would hope that most if not all teachers in a school serving indigenous students would be respectful and appreciative of indigenous cultures, but it is always possible that some teachers will consider IK useful only so long as it is confined to the home or to certain holidays. Such teachers might resist incorporating IK into the daily operation of the school or helping students use it to consolidate their own sense of identity rooted in indigenous ways. This resistance arises in part because teachers tend to follow the norms and ideologies they received in their pedagogical training, which often focus more on national standards and economic competitiveness than on cultural protection and revitalization. A case in point is seen among Aymara communities in northern Chile (Arratia, 1995). The national government has created special programs to train Aymara teachers to teach in their own communities, but these teachers see themselves as purveyors of modernity rather than as cultural midwives or as transmitters of native culture:

> Teachers see themselves as dutifully carrying out their mission. Teachers have been trained to deliver national (urban oriented) programs packaged by the Ministry of Education [in Santiago]. The majority have not been trained or encouraged to innovate. They expect certain results from applying the pedagogical techniques learned at [the] university and in their frustration at the poor results obtained in national tests . . . they try to find new ways within their repertoire for these children to learn. But when they do so, they are not thinking of the dynamics of Aymara culture. They are civilizing, modernizing agents. (Arratia, 1995: 277),

Clearly, to offset this problem, teachers need to saturate the concept of culture into the curriculum and pedagogy, including what is taught, how it is taught, where it is taught, and who teaches it – particularly

bringing the school to the community to learn from indigenous elders. This is particularly difficult because hegemonic groups have used their power to impose their knowledge system as the only correct and useful one. The knowledge that supports those in power within a society takes on the mantle of "expert" and high-status knowledge (Bowers, 2001; Giroux, 1988). Expert and high-status knowledge have the epistemological reputation of enshrining "official" and "legitimate" ideas due to their association with the ideologies of mainstream culture and the interests of the economically and politically powerful. Knowledge that is not based on these cultural assumptions has been co-opted or marginalized, viewed as irrational, and often ignored or even prohibited. Indigenous cultures in particular suffered immense losses in cultural capital when Europeans of mostly Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch ancestry colonized native lands throughout the Americas, Asia, Australia, and Africa. In the context of schooling, local ways of knowing have been suppressed because 'indigenous modes of education do not transmit the type of knowledge that suits the circumstances of institutionalized schooling' (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006: 163).

In regard to science, Aikenhead (1997) identified participatory research projects as a way of making the content more relevant to students' lives. A program of study called Science-Technology-Society (STS) explores scientific and technological developments in their cultural, economic, social, and political contexts. Students are encouraged to consider the impact of science on everyday life and make responsible decisions about how to address such impacts. To enhance the effectiveness of STS with indigenous students, projects should focus on local phenomena such as natural and cultural resources embedded in their community. Such community-based participatory research can foster both a sense of self-efficacy and collective empowerment through its critical approach to science – a characteristic also aligned with STS.

Although ideally these efforts at cultural renewal would take place after or simultaneously with changes in the economic system that empower indigenous communities to become more reliant on their own resources and skills, the truth is schools cannot wait for systemic economic changes to occur before they make pedagogical changes. The ethno-education and intercultural education approaches currently being implemented in many countries around the world should go forward, and are certainly steps in the right direction (for some examples, see Apfel-Marglin & PRATEC, 1998; Arenas, Reyes, & Wyman, 2007; Arratia, 1995).

Educators must also recognize that they may encounter resistance from some indigenous students, parents, and community members who

view indigenous values and practices as having less currency than modern knowledge, and thus adopt modern knowledge in the hope of socioeconomic advancement. This may occur especially when schools try to teach the students' ancestral language, but many students do not see their community's vernacular as having the same economic value as the national hegemonic language. Thus, educators must be able to persuade students of the importance of learning the culture of power (especially at the secondary level) while at the same time learning about their traditional values, practices, and language (see Delpit, 1995, for an exploration of this topic with minority communities in the United States). Educators need to be savvy enough to transmit the idea that both cultures are indispensable and ought to have a space in schools.

Similarly, many indigenous youth who are apathetic in school become enthusiastic as soon as they engage in activities that are interesting and exciting to them outside of the school setting. One of us (Arenas) observed once that youth from the Nivaclé community in Paraguay displayed little apparent interest during a workshop on indigenous issues, but later that night at a party where hip-hop and reggaeton music were being played, these previously apathetic youth became the life of the party. In later conversations with them, Arenas found out that they were extremely proud of their indigenous culture, but for entertainment they gravitated towards musical forms considered 'alien' by their elders. One student even had a ring pierced through his eyebrow, for which he was shunned by other community members who considered his attire 'too modern' and non-indigenous. Whatever one may think of these students' attitudes, the truth is their behavior is not unusual. In fact, many indigenous youth worldwide find contemporary pop culture more appealing than traditional forms of recreation, and if educators are to reach them effectively they must be open to allowing the students to express themselves in ways that appeal to them – while at the same time exposing them to more traditional forms of entertainment.

Conclusion
This article has questioned three interrelated sets of beliefs that undermine the extremely important work done by advocates of indigenous education. First, we have challenged the belief that IK and modern knowledge belong to radically opposed epistemological camps. Instead, we have argued for the inevitability of cultural syncretism, and asserted that the fusion of knowledges is particularly strong among rural and urban youth who have been exposed to a formal school culture and who, when given the opportunity, sometimes create new cultural realities and identities for themselves.

Second, we have rejected the romanticizing of indigenous cultures' relationship with nature and each other, as well as the view that indigenous cultures are stagnant relics of the past. The idea that IK always connects people, land, and spirit in entirely positive ways, and that IK is unchanging and static, end up creating a harmful caricature of what is in fact an incredibly diverse pluri-verse (as opposed to universe) of indigenous cultures worldwide. Instead, we have supported the premise that indigenous people have agency, that their values and practices change over time, and that they can and should make their own decisions regarding their lives. This unavoidably leads to the reality that sometimes they will make good decisions and sometimes they will make bad ones – just as anyone does. Finally, acknowledging agency means accepting that some indigenous people no longer possess traditional local knowledge (having lost it through the forces of modernization and urbanization), that not all indigenous members are interested in recuperating and protecting IK (at least not in its "pure" form), and that not all IK is valid or useful.

And third, we have supported the importance of culture. But we do not understand culture as a single universal expression that is ahistorical, coherent, and without internal conflicts. Rather, localized cultures need to be understood within their own history and internal logic, with a recognition of their internal inconsistencies, contradictions, and capacity to evolve. The positive and negative aspects of local cultures need to be analyzed individually as they transform over time through exposure to outside and inside influences.

What does all this mean for education? The lessons are equally clear for education serving indigenous and non-indigenous students. Ideally it should focus on both a descriptive and normative view of indigenous culture and knowledge; that is, schools should create an educational experience that accurately shows what a particular indigenous culture and knowledge is (both the positive and the negative), and then presents what it ought to be. In a normative sense, schools should endorse a pedagogical philosophy that views nature as active and alive, and that seeks to protect nature and human communities in tandem. The land should be seen as an integral part of the web of life, both physically and spiritually. Schools should promote a strong sense of serving the community, through apprenticeships and other forms of productive education. They should endorse the importance of non-commodified practices and low-prestige knowledge that, while having little monetary value in the economic market, are extremely important for creating a sense of cultural cohesion and molding students into responsible, self-reliant individuals. And finally, schools should advocate for a dialogical stance which allows for the creation of new forms of knowledge

from the fusion of Western and indigenous viewpoints, and which recognizes that the end product may be as valid and legitimate as the original forms from which it emerged.

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"And There is Another Country": History Curriculum, History Education and Discourses in the Global Culture

Robert Guyver

University College Plymouth St Mark and St John

Abstract

Debates about citizenship need to be enlightened with debates about history education and the history curriculum. Discourses about history that can be shared across national boundaries contribute to the globalisation of the political economy of global citizenship education. There is an increasing agreement about pedagogy, but synthesising understandings about historiography and politics is problematic if nations are too inward-looking. Negotiating common ground amid a range of competing national exceptionalisms is an ongoing task for historians in dialogue with teachers and indeed with politicians. Towards this end the setting of national histories into wider regional and global frames offers ways ahead especially if accompanied by partnerships between teachers, history teacher educators and historians working in a global network supported by enabling e-based access to archives, libraries and museums.

Keywords: discourse, citizenship, exceptionalism, historiography, presentism, politics, economy, pedagogy, historiography, network, interconnectedness

Introduction

The first part of the title of this piece comes from the second verse of the hymn 'I vow to thee my country' which is often sung in Remembrance Sunday services in the UK. The point that conflict or belonging or identity has a wider and even spiritual dimension is reflected in the second verse which begins 'And there's another country . . . ' which is actually about heaven, though it is being used in the title of this piece to indicate the need to bear in mind that there are other countries as well as one's own. One is reminded of the First World War memorials in the chapel of New College Oxford which included the names of German students who had studied at the College, positioned side-by-side with fellow English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish students who had actually fought on the other side.

This is an examination of global perspectives and possibilities in history education and it touches on the theme of the political economy of global citizenship education in its hypothesis that citizenship elements within history education carry with them a greater possibility of global synthesis and synchronisation than pure citizenship education, mainly because of the significant differences between open, closed and transitional societies as well as between first and third world nations. Whereas history education can still draw on some discourses that are not entirely politicised, citizenship education is predicated on a Western model that certainly will not fit all societies.

The internationalisation of higher education has already happened. The sharing of the Internet and email has facilitated and accelerated this, as well as increased travel and the intellectual exchange and dialogue that flows at conferences. What is the nature of the discourses that impact on history education and the history curriculum?

Political Discourse

The most fundamental one is a political discourse involving a definition of the parameters within which the subject is taught and learnt. Inevitably there will be variety according to the kind of polity shared by the 'elite' groups who have power or influence in curriculum matters. Karl Popper in his seminal work looked at open, closed and even abstract societies. Although writing before the onset of the Internet he was aware of the political power to impose an abstract and remote bureaucracy, a feature of both apparently open and of closed societies. However, this summary must be seen as a simplification as societies are complex and have many open, closed and abstract attributes within them. There is undoubtedly flow between the closed and the open, and between the open and the closed, with constant re-calibrations, and different transitional stages. The increase of remote surveillance in what had been perceived to be open societies is an example of this. Even universities flourish or struggle within a wider political discourse, as few can survive without public or central funding, or indeed without external monitoring. Of course schools themselves depend on taxpayers' money and they too are organised within political and micropolitical dimensions, although privately-funded schools, and in rare cases, universities, may have more power to self-govern.

Typically, but not universally, there have been strong history education and curriculum discourses around neo-conservatism or neo-liberalism. These views influenced history curriculum change in England and Wales, and provided some resistance to proposed change in the USA. Similarly there have been national revivalist discourses in newly independent states in the re-alignments that followed the break-up of

old imperial or federalist structures as after the break-up of the Soviet bloc. For example the Baltic States have shown this trend. Pan-African discourses with some elements of a new nationalism affected the South African history curriculum after Nelson Mandela became President. Across what had been the British empire, in what became the Commonwealth, new positions on national history have developed, as for example in India. In India, as indeed was the case in so many other formerly colonised societies, finding a distinctly Indian set of identities has involved a radical and sometimes turbulent political and intellectual repositioning.

There has been some politicisation of Angst – for guilt, especially as reflected and felt in old mother-countries like the UK, and especially, England, has been a strong factor in determining curriculum positions. Histories of slavery, genocide and even – in some cases – collaboration with an enemy, are strong elements which influence how pasts are seen, structured and presented. Political attitudes to Indigenous histories have played a significant part in the development of history curricula. An example of this has been the heated debate in Australia between two polarised positions about the treatment of Aboriginal and other Indigenous peoples. This has reflected deeper differences in society based around neo-conservative and liberal interpretations. Stuart MacIntyre and Anna Clark (2004) interestingly examine, among other issues, the roles of historians Manning Clark and Geoffrey Blainey. Stuart MacIntyre is now playing a leading role in constructing a new history curriculum for Australia (draft published by ACARA in May 2009, after March 2010 a consultation version is available).

The place of citizenship in relation to history is naturally also a political concern, as witnessed in the UK in two cases of addresses, in 2005 and 2006, about 'Britishness' by the then Chancellor or the Exchequer, Gordon Brown. Similar lectures were given in Australia and New Zealand about citizenship. For example New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark's 'Concepts of Nationhood' address was one of eight delivered on September 26th 2007, the 100th anniversary of New Zealand achieving Dominion status. Historian Giselle Byrnes challenged some concepts of nationhood as continuing colonial constructs (Byrnes, 2007). Similarly John Howard, Australian Prime Minister , addressed the National Press Club in the Great Hall, Parliament House, Canberra: 'A sense of balance: The Australian Achievement in 2006', in which he touched on the importance of school history for understanding the origins of the nation, stressing the Enlightenment and Judeo-Christian ethics as well as the importance of Indigenous history and reconciliation. Howard's formula for teaching the national past to upper secondary level, rather unfortuitously published just before a

national election, was put to one side by Kevin Rudd's new Government and its advisors in the current curriculum debates.

Brown's Fabian Society speech was followed by a series of seminars and a plenary in which issues not only of history but also of inclusion were discussed. The idea that civilised values had been appropriated almost solely by Britain was challenged, though this was not exactly what was said. There was nevertheless a hint of 'exceptionalism' about the Brown lecture which prompted a critical response from some historians, and the expression of some concern from Professor Martin Daunton, President of the Royal Historical Society, in his annual newsletter. Political interventions to define or even suggest a set of national values that have developed over time can easily run into problems. This is particularly the case when seeking a pan-religious, 'ecumenical' or all-inclusive solution to citizenship where different communities, having a range of cultural outlooks, may have quite different sets of values.

The notion of hybrid identities can be helpful in this, and the work of Leonie Sandercock offers some constructive – but nevertheless still problematic – solutions to transform ways of seeing the nation. Sandercock may underestimate the emotional ties of nation. She suggests that nations should be seen as spaces across which people travel. The titles of her books – *Towards Cosmopolis* (1998) and *Cosmopolis II* (2003*)*, give clues as to how she sees multiple and hybrid identities in the 21st century. However there exist now as in the past tensions between populations with 'stable' identities and those with 'fluid' identities contesting rights of settlement. Paul Gilroy's (1993) claim that the British found it quite a shock to realise that the Empire had *come to them*, has a great deal of truth in it. It is a reversal of what was happening in what James Belich (2009) describes as the British Wests in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the post-war world Britain, and ultimately to a large extent much of Europe and significant parts of North America, became a 'West' in the sense of a destination for new waves of migrating settlers arriving from nations with fewer economic prospects and often with more repressive political systems.

Exceptionalism is an area where political and historiographical discourses elide. It does not merely mean that a nation's history is distinctive. It means that it is special in the sense of being unique, and indeed implies not just uniqueness but superiority or the notion of being ahead of the game. The old 'Whig' interpretation of history implied that everything was getting better up until the almost perfect situation as seen in the present. In the hands of historians like G.M.Trevelyan or even his ancestor Thomas Macaulay, the nation, and

in particular the English or British nation, was presented as paternalistic and wise, with institutions of hoary maturity that were being envied and replicated around the world. After 1945 it was impossible to have such optimism or confidence, as Britain seemed to be in decline, at home and abroad. This is not to say that political histories or political narratives are all tarred with the brush of exceptionalism, for this is clearly not the case. Those who aspired to write 'grand' narratives would not have so much that was 'grand' in the old sense within them, but there would still need to be overviews and big picture histories.

However exceptionalism in the teaching of history has not completely disappeared. It can still be seen in strong elements of retrospective presentism in history education, based on the assumption that a selection of past periods, people(s) or themes will have been influenced and determined by or least have some form of relationship with a set of present values – often related to citizenship.

Neither is the world of one mind politically. The distinction has already been drawn between open, closed and transitional societies. Each of these is likely to have their own forms of presentist exceptionalisms, almost like political filters through which history should be taught. The themes of presentism and exceptionalism form strong strands throughout much of Jonathan Clark's *Our Shadowed Present* (2003), as well as the inter-relationship between philosophy, politics, culture and historiography. He sees great dangers in affluent societies adopting an 'ahistorical' approach which places the present on a pedestal.

> It may indeed be that the leading characteristic of barbarism is not violence or insecurity but historical amnesia, the imprisonment of mankind's ancient self within a two-dimensional present, the invention of a world without legacy and without foresight. To destroy the distinction between myth and history is to revert to that subtle, carefully structured world-view that Lévi-Strauss termed totemism. The controversies over postmodernism and over the presentism of popular culture both reveal, however, that the ahistorical vision is not confined to 'savages' in 'primitive' societies. Much evidence suggests that it is, on the contrary, a way of picturing the world which is widespread, and becoming more widespread, in more affluent societies. (Clark 2003: 12-13)

Historiographical Discourse

Historians, as it has been seen, can offer critiques when politicians enter historical territories. But historiographical discourse is not only about the variety of interpretations brought to the past, but also about how historians see the nature of their subject. It is rare to find any country where historians do not have an interest in how politics impacts on history or in the development of the school history curriculum.

It is after all the schools that supply the universities with future history students, and the depth or breath of students' knowledge at the beginning of their degree studies is of some concern. Nevertheless it will only be a small proportion of school leavers who will study university history, and it is not just for their sakes that schools have a history curriculum. Historians are among others who have a public interest in the range and quality of history taught and learnt in schools. Their concern about the quality and structure of the history taught is significant and this underlying discourse has the potential to be a universal factor or principle that would apply in any society. Historians have in several cases been directly involved in designing history curricula and in writing framework programmes. This has certainly happened in the UK, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the USA.

What now seems to be happening, and recent developments in Australia are an example of this, is a repositioning of the national past against imperatives towards international understanding. In cases like this the countries studied in a curriculum may not have played a significant part in the past but may well play an important part in the future. Thus there is an inclusion of the history of China in the proposed Australian history curriculum. Historians might be seen as acting in these situations in a sense as quasi-political advisers, but history itself is a semi-political activity. One of the battles in the so-called Culture Wars in the USA (known as the History Wars in the experience of Australia) was how to position the history in a wider international perspective, but not just so that students of school age could understand their own country, but also so that they could understand the world. In the very first meeting of the English National Curriculum History Working Group, in London in January 1989, when the terms of reference given to the Chair were being discussed, and especially the placing of the history of Britain at the core, the historian John Roberts said in the presence of the Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Baker, that school students should be given an opportunity to study the history of another country from the inside, and not only the other members of the Group, but also Baker himself agreed. Insider accounts of this curriculum process can be found in: Prochaska, 1990; Jones, 1991; Guyver, 1990; Baker, 1993; Thatcher, 1993; Graham and Tyler, 1993; and Phillips, 1998.

Of course this can be, and indeed has been, developed into a much wider principle, that 'national' history curricula should be seen as 'history' curricula taught and experienced in particular countries, and that international understanding is as important as understanding the national past. It involves the concept of 'trajectory' and, inevitably, some speculation about what that trajectory will be. This is where it is im-

portant to return to the work of historians because the writing of meta-national or international history is a field or indeed a set of fields in it-self. Understanding concepts like the renaissance, reformation, enlightenment, empire, revolution or communism involves examining tracts of history which cross national borders, and in Braudelian terms, accessing *la longue durée*, long spans of chronology. At a simpler level, trade and commerce depend on travel – sometimes extensive – in the search for goods, and many fascinating narratives such as the journeys of Marco Polo or Ibn Battuta involve trading and the lives of merchants, their wider family networks and the people they encountered.

The work of Ross Dunn both within the context of writing the National Standards in the USA and his parallel work on the globalisation of the history curriculum, is significant here, especially because he has published work on the life of Ibn Battuta (1992) and sees the study of eras like Han dynasty China (220 BCE – 206 CE) being as significant as the Roman empire, for indeed they may best be studied comparatively, having occurred at approximately the same time (Nash, Crabtree & Dunn, 1997). Road and wall building and militarisation on massive scales (especially seen in the Terracotta Army, found near Xi'an in Shaanxi province, near the mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor) were common to both societies. The only criticism of this approach might be that proximity or cultural identity may provide some stumbling blocks to a sense of ownership about either empire depending on the position of view. The USA is placed between the Mediterranean world and China so such a comparative study is geographically relevant, but may not be seen by all as culturally 'appropriate' to Americans except when the increasingly important notions of trajectory and future relevance are considered. Similarly the Chinese may have difficulties about studying the Roman empire and dynasties but the points of comparison are good starting points for international understanding and indeed dialogue. Ross Dunn has also been involved with The World History for Us All project, which, represents a strong, ongoing collaboration between historians and history teachers (http://worldhistory-forusall.sdsu.edu). It offers many opportunities for work that transcends national boundaries. The National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles) oversees a number of World History Projects, and awards grants, all of which must involve a school or school district as the initiator of the grant application. There is also the World History Association.

Oceans can provide non-national boundaries for new historical interpretations, and curriculum organisers need to consider such perspectives. For example both Paul Gilroy and Daniel Hulsebosch, though from very different viewpoints, have taken the Atlantic as a

vortical 'centre'. The titles of their works are important here: Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic – Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) and Hulsebosch's *Constituting Empire – New York and the Transformation of Constitutionalism in the Atlantic World 1664-1830* (2005). Whereas Gilroy's work looks at the experience of slaves as people and the consequences of the organisation of slavery across a wide span, and examines this from the inside (using Collingwood's terminology), Hulsebosch includes slavery as one of many legal situations that arose in a study of comparative and developing constitutionalisms.

Peter Marshall's comparative study *The Making and Unmaking of Empires* (2005) examines the course of events in America and India, but shows that India's wealth had far more economic impact on the wealth of Britain than what had been lost when the American colonies gained independence. Thus relations with other countries that may form part of a national study benefit from the perspectives of historians. Peter Marshall, like John Roberts before him, was chosen to be the academic historian on the English National Curriculum History Working Group. Ironically, but perhaps significantly, both men have written about international history. Peter Marshall was influential in persuading the Group to include a study of the Mughal empire in the National Curriculum. The relevance of the history of the Indian subcontinent to Britain is two-fold, first because of its place in British history, and second because of the identity or inheritances argument as so many families who have settled in Britain over generations have strong links with that area.

Common experiences of the movement of 'settlers' across the globe form the thesis of a new book by New Zealand historian James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth – the Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (2009). A new idea of his, illustrated in a map on page 69, is that of a two-pair Anglo-World consisting of 'Old America' with its own American West, and, correspondingly, 'Old Britain' with the British Wests of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Microcosm – a Portrait of a Central European City (Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, 2003) shows how the history of a city (variously called Wroclaw, Wretslaw, Presslaw and Bresslau) can reflect the history of the wider area, indeed a microcosm of international developments. Norman Davies, also an expert on the history of Poland, favours a pan-European parallel approach to individual national studies.

It might be thought that only themes which are less overtly political like the history of architecture can attract academic attention worldwide, as is the case with a recent conference on Chinese architectural history.

However, this embeds an assumption which may no longer apply, however. According to its website, ' . . . [t]he University of Nottingham Ningbo, China is the first Sino-Foreign University in China with approval from the Chinese Ministry of Education. It is run by the University of Nottingham UK with cooperation from Zhejiang Wanli Education Group-University' (http://www.nottingham.edu.cn/content.php?d=251). The courses offer no apparent political differentiation for what might be perceived to be Chinese sensibilities and include full-bodied international history courses at all academic levels. Similarly Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University was founded in 2006 and has a School of Humanities and Social Science. Xi'an Jiaotong's English language website has an historical overview of the region from earliest times, which recognises the importance of the find of the terracotta warriors for the local economy (http://www.xjtu.edu.cn:8080/en/localculture/). Thus the globalisation of historical discourse enables cultural and academic changes and exchanges in a variety of political contexts, and widening of the possibility of 'big picture' history where eyes are drawn upwards and outwards in comparative studies.

What is significant is the inter-connectedness of the histories of nations. It would be naive to underestimate the hostility which some nations feel about each other's roles in their pasts, for example China and Japan (Black, 2008), but a study of history can – it is to be hoped – put some distance and objectivity between the present and the events that happened, and help both sets of peoples to see them in a wider context, perhaps of global not just local conflict. In a remarkable study edited by Luigi Cajani and Alistair Ross (2007), Sami Adwan and Dan Bar-On describe a project where Palestinians and Israelis are learning each other's historical narratives. The Appendix to their chapter defines the features of two very different interpretations of the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

Pedagogical Discourse
In a way pedagogical discourse draws breath from the political and historiographical discourses. The political discourse will determine the model of teacher professionalism on which a curriculum is based, possibly corresponding with Popper's delineations of the nature of closed or open societies, but on a continuum between control and autonomy, affecting approaches to teaching method and teaching content. John Codd's work (2005) is significant here, especially the contrast between the teacher-as-technician and the professional/reflective models of teaching. It is possible that both models have to co-exist, made humanly possible by the teacher's own sense of irony (Hoyle & Wallace, 2007). The ideal or archetype of the autonomous professional with sophisticated levels of subject knowledge might apply to history graduates, but where the subject is taught alongside others and possibly in

combination with other subjects or 'areas of learning', the teacher cannot always be expected to demonstrate independent expertise, but is more likely to work within a team. Similarly it is expected that societies with different values about communities such as overtly collectivist states will have less flexible programmes and a corresponding amount of text-book use and rote-learning. These would fit a model of citizenship that respects the way these values have developed. It would seem however that in China, for example, an increasing willingness to discuss and debate goes alongside a changing attitude to economics, although there are some grey areas in the relationship between West and East here. With the transfer of a number of industries to China the West is already an economic partner and contractually accepts the situation there.

For those who study history degrees in China, there will be an expectation to examine more than Chinese history, as a glance at the curriculum of the School of History in Renmin University will show (http://sls.ruc.edu.cn/en/18952.html). The courses here include Western historiography and histories of the political thought and political systems of Western countries. In China as a whole some books are still banned, such as Jung Chang's *Wild Swans* (1992). However, her work on the life of Mao is available in Chinese but has been criticised in the West for the treatment, verifiability and use of sources. The re-examination of the formerly great is not just happening in China (in the case of Chairman Mao) but also, and perhaps even more problematically, in Russia with Stalin. In August 2009 Vladimir Putin made some statements about the former Soviet leader that tended to diminish Stalin's role the mass murder of millions of Russians, preferring to see him as a victorious war-leader who defeated the Nazis. It should of course be remembered that during the Second World War Stalin was on the Allied side, and Churchill famously said 'my enemy's enemy is my friend' after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in July 1941. Churchill himself has been re-examined many times, most recently in a controversial revisionist study by Patrick Buchanan.

The historiographical discourse influences the way the subject is seen by teachers. This is especially true in the sense of what teachers believe about the subject, often based on how they themselves were taught or the degree of enjoyment experienced when learning history when they were students at school. The teaching of history can start with exploring the nature of the subject through its associated knowledge bases, and this can help to build an argument that takes history beyond mere content. This is of course at the heart of Jerome Bruner's spiral curriculum theory, that a subject can be taught in an honest form to children of any age by taking the syntactic or procedural knowledge

base of that subject as a foundation. In Gilbert Ryle's terms, this means 'knowing how' before, or possibly alongside, 'knowing that'. The ideas expressed in Jerome Bruner's early seminal texts (1960, 1966, 1977) were opposed by David Ausubel, who did not like the implications of their discovery orientation for the role of the teacher, or their apparently dismissive attitude to substantive knowledge. Bruner's later work (1996) has a revised position on subjects as being sites where there are communities of practice. Much of Bruner's work corresponds with theoretical positions in Vygotsky and Bakhtin (for example Bakhtin's notions of polyphony and unfinalisability). In a seminal paper Bruner, Wood and Ross (1977), appropriate Vygotsky's ideas (especially the zone of proximal development) and offer a twin theory of peer mentoring and scaffolding (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976).

Collingwood's influence, especially in seeing history as a recreation or reconstruction of the past, is considerable, especially for teachers who see intrinsic motivation as a key factor in learning. Role-play, especially after discussion of source-material, is one way to achieve not only 'getting inside the event' in Collingwood's terms, but also to experience the internalisation of knowledge and hence a greater degree of ownership. The active learning of learning of history especially when simulations and role-plays are combined with visits, can allow students to bring enthusiasm and their own interpretations to history.

However the organisation of the history to be studied (the content) remains a major pedagogical problem. It can be approached thematically, conceptually or structurally. Themes can be long-term like transport through the ages; concepts can be first or second-order, though perhaps the use of syntactic or substantive as terms offers more clarity, i.e. causes and consequences, change and continuity, similarity and difference (known as the six 'key' concepts) – these would be examples of syntactic concepts alongside 'interpretations' and 'source-work' or 'enquiry'. Examples of substantive concepts would be revolution, democracy, collectivisation, industrialisation, human rights, and suffrage. Structural organisation can be seen geographically or chronologically. This might be local-regional-national-international as a basic geographical structure or ancient, medieval and modern or sub-divisions with them as a basic chronological structure.

However, perhaps the most promising structural device is the notion of 'overview and focus'. This was used in the UK from the earliest days of the Schools History Project and builds on a model of the teacher as an initial context builder or framework provider. The work of Peter Rogers, Jon Nichol, Peter Lee, Alaric Dickinson, Ros Ashby and Denis Shemilt embeds this approach and it has had a considerable influence

on curriculum developments such as the unit on *Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Vikings* for 7 – 11 year olds in England. A primary teacher should offer an overview of all three 'settlements' (the unit was known as 'Invaders and settlers'), followed by a focus on one of the three, in depth. This unit has been taught in primary schools in England since 1991 and will only be replaced as a mode of curriculum organisation after the new curriculum designed in the Rose Review (DCFS 2009) comes into force after September 2011.

It does involve more than one of these three discourses for decisions to be made about the content of a history curriculum. For example even if the principle of overview and focus is accepted as good pedagogical practice, who will decide on what aspects of the past are to be overviewed and within those overview which aspects might be studied in depth? Husbands, Pendry and Kitson (2003) write about two traditions of organising history for teaching: the 'great' and the 'alternative'. By great they undoubtedly mean mainly political narrative history, by alternative they mean the histories of minorities (for example Indigenous peoples) or previously unrepresented but significant groups, like women. The question raised by Husbands, Kitson and Pendry, and indeed by some teachers, is whether the so-called 'great' tradition has had its day, and can be replaced a number of inter-penetrating counter-histories, indeed by what J.G.A. Pocock calls 'an infinite series of micro-narratives, micro-moments and micro-managements'(1998, 2009). Jonathan Clark too addresses this problem, but positions it in his wider evaluation of the role of postmodernism in creating the conditions for it:

> Postmodernism is the most theoretically expressed version of a rejection of the historical. This rejection is a consequence of the way in which postmodernism has set itself against what it takes to be 'modernist' ideas of truth and objectivity, replacing what it sees as a set of grand narratives claiming objective authority with a diverse pattern of localized narratives and fluid identities. Postmodernism therefore defines itself against 'positivism', which it associates with scientific method that is itself held to underpin 'modernism'. Positivism, materialism, production and false claims to objectivity are heard to characterize modernism. Consumption rather than production is at the heart of the postmodern vision, and the commercialization of culture geared (or so it is alleged) to the diverse demands of a mass consumer market. The politics of class, based on production, everywhere gives way to the politics of cultural identity, built around consumption. Because "truth' is made problematic, placed within accusatory inverted commas, history is assimilated to myth, fiction and advertising (and also, necessarily, to propaganda).

> Narrative (involving history) now assumes a key role. Postmodernism collapses a grand narrative into a collection of little narratives, and within those little narratives the passage of time, and the differences created by the passage of time, are hardly important. (Clark 2003: 3-4).

One of the main reasons why New Zealand and Australia, and particularly New Zealand, have found it so difficult to make sense of their pasts for the benefit of schools is an inability to by-pass an intellectual bottleneck within the interpretation of political history, especially in the areas where Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment thinking meet. Nothing in modern civic society can ever seem to compensate for the fact that Indigenous peoples were *tangata whenua* (a Maori expression meaning 'the original people of the land'), that they have had their lands taken away, their culture compromised and their rights overlooked. In Australia there was tension between what came to be known as the 'back armband' group who sympathised with Indigenous peoples, and the 'whitewash' group who stressed the achievements of settlers and downplayed negative incidents of violent hegemony. Here there seem to be two parallel narratives, an impasse, an apparently unresolvable dualisation, especially when discussions of sovereignty and nationhood were being discussed. It is very reassuring that Australia is now coming to terms not only with the inclusion of the history of its Indigenous peoples in the curriculum, but also with contextualising Australian history into a much bigger regional and global framework, thus dedualising the hitherto very fraught debate.

One way ahead in plotting the course of a nation's political narrative and to avoid atomisation into a myriad of micro-histories, is to consider the development of the law as a significant instrument in managing relationship between different groups. The New Zealand Dominion Day Symposium address, September 26th 2007, by Alison Quentin-Baxter shows how the law in New Zealand has dealt with the concerns of Maori, especially since 1985:

> In 1985 the jurisdiction of the tribunal was widened to include 'historic claims', that is claims going back to the date of the Treaty, 6 February 1840, even if the measures concerned are no longer in force . . . Another Parliamentary initiative, taken for quite specific and benevolent reasons, was to include in the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 the following provision: 'Nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi'. Similar provisions were subsequently put into other legislation.

Christopher W. Brooks in his *Law, Politics and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) offers a replicable template for further similar works where political and social developments are seen within the wider context of both common law and parliamentary legislation. This is a way of retaining a narrative structure that respects and includes all socio-economic, gender and ethnic groups.

Fusing the Discourses in School History

School history can have common features across the world. In a battle for hearts and minds there is sometimes a preference by politicians for control of school history to free it from the interference of historians. The motive, both in open and closed societies, is to enhance a sense of the nation. Historians can complicate matters, and often seem to introduce unnecessary relativisms. However when seeking to define quality in subject knowledge, the field of academic history would appear to offer the only set of workable standards. For example this might include the use of a range of sources, the ability to handle complex concepts of causation, the incorporation of a number of interpretations. It might also include the ability to sequence events in order, and to offer critiques and analyses in the form of comments and explanations. Examiners of school history and university academics often work together in devising tools of assessment. Teachers need to be aware of developments in the subject in order to teach history more effectively. It is not just pure academic history which should be on teachers' reading lists. What teacher of the Tudor period will not have been aware that the 2009 winner of the Man Booker prize for fiction was Hilary Mantel who has written a novel about the 'inside' thinking of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's minister, who was executed in 1540. But updating does not always have to involve the reading of books. Discriminating use of television and the Internet can help teachers' awareness of recent interpretations and perspectives.

Evaluation of History Pedagogy Discourses

If the title of this piece can be reconsidered, how can national pasts and international understandings be synthesised and synchronised in order to achieve a globalisation of history curriculum discourses? In a sense the question is the wrong way round and should perhaps be 'how can the globalisation of history curriculum discourses synthesise and synchronise national pasts and international understandings?' All of the discourses are at international levels anyway because politicians, historians, history teacher educators and teachers of history communicate internationally. For example the organisation HEIRNET (History Education International Research Network) has conferences attended by academics from Turkey, Russia, Rumania, South Africa, South America, and the USA. Books on history teaching pedagogy, for example by Hilary Cooper (2007), reach a worldwide audience. Curriculum structures are shared around the world. The structure of English national curriculum history and of the earlier Schools History Project was influential in the creation of South Africa's history curriculum in the 1990s, mainly because of the internationalisation of the discourse, and the freedom of academics to travel and communicate.

For discourse to flourish there need to be certain features within a network. Primary and secondary teachers of history need to have dialogue not only with each other but also with history teacher educators and historians. This can best be facilitated through an historical association which encourages membership of all of those groups. Managers of archives need to look for opportunities to digitise, edit and publish archive material that can be used by schools. In this process there needs to be dialogue between archivists, historians, history teacher educators and teachers. Specialists with ICT and presentational skills need to be used when creating these websites. Ideally archives need to be set in wider social, economic political and cultural frames – and the creative possibilities of archivists working with teachers and historians are considerable. In New Zealand and Australia the dictionaries of national biography have been digitised and there are further developments which will make these sources more accessible to teachers. In New Zealand the Te Ara ('the pathway' in the Maori language) website is full of material, for example various stories of settlers getting to New Zealand. The National Archives in London (TNA) have a new set of resources entitled Learning Curve which explore themes through archives, often interactively. The Historical Association in London is developing a number of e-cpd sites which offer different ways for teachers to enhance their subject knowledge. This has been linked to TNA and other sites. An exciting way ahead would be for historians, history teacher educators and teachers to co-operate in writing web-materials that provide a working spiralled curriculum which embeds both recent scholarship and good practice.

Conclusion

On a broader level national curricula are increasingly less concerned with promoting the exceptional nature of the 'national' and recognise that part of a nation's history curriculum must be a set of positions about the interrelationship of the home territory with other lands, both neighbouring and distant. Indeed understanding other countries from the inside, and seeing them as separate entities and not always through a home-based lens is part of getting inside the event that was so favoured by Collingwood (1946).

Nevertheless there are still dangers in thinking that one can ever get away from 'big picture' history with its 'grand' narratives. To substitute a set of ever-multiplying micro- and alternative histories is almost like escapism in the absence of a currently acceptable grand narrative. Finding a middle way between the new exceptionalism of citizenship and the old traditional Whig exceptionalism is not an easy task. One way ahead is to regard the narrative of inclusion and the increasing hybridisation of identity as an essential part of the new nar-

rative where current changes can be linked to older colonial and post-colonial readjustments. The use of bridging narratives in this process is clearly a sensible way ahead where communities living in the same neighbourhood seek to get inside each other's histories with open minds. There is much promise in the notion of history as dialogue and discourse between communities about each other's pasts underpinned by an Oakeshottian sense of conversation that starts and continues with no rules, except perhaps the rules of evidence (Oakeshott, 1959; 1962/1991).

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Classroom Management and Discipline: a Multi-method Analysis of the Way Teachers, Students, and Preservice Teachers View Disruptive Behaviour

Erik H. Cohen
Shlomo Romi
Bar Ilan University

Abstract

This study uses a multi-method approach to examine students', pre-service teachers', and veteran teachers' views on disruptive classroom behaviour. Factor Analysis differentiates between: minor disturbances, serious disruptions, threats and violence, and criminal acts. Smallest Space Analysis confirms the four factors and ranges them from most-to-least severe, with an additional core-periphery structure differentiating between disturbances created with an external implement those without. Analysis of Variance shows significant differences between the three populations. Each population's relationship to the structure of disturbances is shown in the SSA map. A mapping sentence explicates the four behaviour categories and the differentiation between tool use/non-use.

Keywords: discipline, teachers, students, multi-method

Introduction
Classroom management and school discipline

Classroom management and school discipline receive much theoretical and empirical consideration, as well as a great deal of attention in the popular media. Often, classroom management and discipline are perceived and approached as two sides of the same coin (Freiberg & Lapoint, 2006; Kohn, 1996).

Discipline may be defined as a system of sanctions which addresses a breakdown in an accepted code of conduct (Romi & Freund, 1999). Evertson & Weinstein (2006: 4) defined classroom management as ' . . . the actions teachers take to create an environment that supports and facilitates both academic and social-emotional learning'. In his pres-

entation on 'theorizing discipline', Slee (1997) argued that addressing discipline problems involves more than an imposition of order and behavioural control. Slee differentiates between classroom management techniques and a theory of educational discipline which should 'demonstrate consistency between the goals of the curriculum, preferred pedagogies, and the process of school governance' (Slee, 1997: 7).

Various research methods have been used to study classroom discipline. Standard statistics have been used to analyze data gathered from research populations comprised of students, teachers, principals and pre-service students (Jones, 2006). Results have generally indicated that the educational team perceives breaches of discipline in the classroom as more severe than the manner in which students and parents perceive them (e.g., Romi & Freund, 1999; Romi, 2004). Reflecting on three decades of research in the field, Walker (2000) stresses the importance of long-term interventions to improve the disciplinary climate and follow-up of students with behavioural problems throughout their school careers.

Brophy (2006: 18), who described the history of research on classroom management, stated that 'it is not feasible to use classical experimental methods to develop and test comprehensive management models'. Based on this observation, the present research applied several statistical methods to the same set of data, in an attempt to discover the contribution of a variety of analyses to explaining data regarding classroom management and school discipline.

Techniques for the creation of an appropriate educational environment are the focus of some studies (Butchart, 1998; Glasser, 1988; Nelsen, Lott & Glenn, 1997), particularly in the case of youth with identified emotional and behavioural problems (Hayling et al, 2008). The way teachers handle their students' disruptive behaviour is an important aspect of classroom management (Garrahy et al., 2005; Edwards, 2000; Lewis, 2008; Tauber, 1999; Wolfgang, 2004). Some researchers have looked at the sociological context for behaviour problems and school violence (Baker, 1998; Benbenishty & Astor, 2005; Horowitz & Kraus, 1987), including possible exposure to violence in the wider society (political, domestic, etc.), and the frustration and alienation of youth, particularly within disenfranchised minorities, expressed through the violence of gangs at school (Iram, 1997).

Other studies sought a cross-cultural and international view of classroom discipline. One such study, Lewis et al., (2005) examined schools in three countries (Australia, China, and Israel), and explored students' perceptions of classroom discipline strategies in each culture. The re-

searchers analyzed the effects of six classroom discipline strategies on students' levels of misbehaviour. The strategies were Aggression, Involvement, Discussion, Hinting, Recognition, and Punishment. Only Aggression was found to be related significantly to higher levels of misbehaviour, whereas others were related to students' responsibility.

The relationship between teachers' discipline strategies and students' sense of individual and communal responsibility was the topic of a subsequent study (Romi et al., 2009). Another study investigated students' attitudes toward schoolwork and toward teachers and the validity of teacher intervention, as well as the effects of these attitudes and their relationship to the teachers' disciplinary actions (Lewis et al., 2008).

The impact of the home environment on school discipline, and the relationship between parental discipline, peer group relations, and children's behaviours is not clear, with studies yielding mixed and even contradictory results (Micklo, 1992; Palmer & Gough, 2007; Ruchkin et al., 1998; Shaw & Scott, 1991; Vuchinich et al, 1992; Yelsma et al., 1991). In addition, the school environment itself may encourage or discourage violence and lack of discipline. This may happen when there may be a sub-culture of violence in a school, and students' behaviour becomes a 'situational factor' encouraging similar behaviour among other students (Iram, 1997).

Given current public reports on the magnitude and severity of behaviour problems in schools worldwide (Heaviside et al., 1998; Ohasko, 1997; Smith, 2003) and highly publicized tragic events of violence in schools (for example, student shootings in the USA and racially motivated crimes against minority students in France and Germany), it is difficult for people working in education to maintain a balanced perspective. It is similarly difficult to sift through the myriad recommendations, programs, and systems for confronting behaviour problems in the classroom (Butchart, 1998; Charles et al., 1981; Cotton & Wikelund, 1990; Wolfgang, 2004).

A school's main goals are education and social activity, and it is widely accepted that some level of school discipline must be observed in order to attain these goals effectively and efficiently (Charles et al, 1981; Romi & Freund, 1999). At the same time, over-emphasis on maintaining strict order without addressing pedagogical or social issues related to discipline problems may negatively impact the educational process (Butchart, 1998; Kohn, 1996). Even in relatively orderly schools, teachers must deal with daily minor disturbances such as students talking or moving about during lessons. A study conducted in the

UK (Wragg, 1993) found that teacher effectiveness in maintaining classroom control was composed of raising children's self-image (by noting positive achievement) and of having clear classroom rules - consistently and fairly enforcing both components with humour.

Analysis-integration methodology

Various research methods have been used to study attitudes about discipline and classroom management. Standard statistics have been used to analyze data gathered from research populations comprised of students, teachers, principals and pre-service students (Jones, 2006).

Garrahy et al., (2005) used the qualitative method of interviews to explore how teachers acquire and apply classroom management skills. Lewis et al. (2008) used MANOVA and raw correlations to compare students' attitudes towards schoolwork and teachers' interventions in Hong Kong and Israel.

Ho & Hau, 2004 used factor analysis to explore similarities and differences in discipline styles of teachers in Australia and Hong Kong. However, Lewis et al., (2005: 731) noted that using Factor Analysis, on data sets from different countries, and even using even using confirmatory factor analyses to compare goodness of fit measures presented a problem if ' . . . students' views of classroom discipline provided different measures'.

Using a variety of statistical methods to examine the same set of data has been proven useful in exploring complex social phenomenon and how they are perceived by multiple relevant populations. For example, Gray and Wilson (2009) investigated the relative impact of a number of travel hazards on people's travel decisions. Three types of travel hazards were identified using Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), and a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to identify whether there were any differences between the participant groups in perceived risk for the three hazard categories.

Cohen (2006) studied perceptions of peace and used Factor Analysis and the SSA technique to analyze participants' perceptions of peace in the Middle East. A comparison of the results of the factor analysis and the regions found in the SSA provided mutual verification of the results. Cohen & Werczberger (2009), Cohen (2005, 2007) and Menon, et al., (2008) integrated qualitative and quantitative methods in order to understand and improve supervisory and motivational factors influencing program implementation. Finally, Apodaca and Grad (2005) used confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and SSA in order to check the structure of teaching competencies.

The present study uses data from a study conducted in Israel. A variety of data analysis techniques are used to uncover and portray the structural relationships of attitudes toward disruptive behaviour, and a preliminary definitional framework is presented.

Method
Sample
The sample included 895 respondents comprising three sub-populations. The first group consisted of 376 teachers from schools in the central region of Israel. The second group consisted of 310 students from schools in the same area. The schools were chosen to ensure a wide and representative sample in terms of school size and socio-economics. The third group consisted of 209 pre-service teachers enrolled in three different teacher-education colleges, also in the central region of Israel. These colleges offer training programs for students majoring in elementary and junior-high education, special education, early childhood education, non-formal education and child and youth care work. Participation in the survey was voluntary; respondents expressed enthusiasm and were interested in the research project.

Most of the adult participants in the sample were female: 73.7% of the teachers and 85% of the pre-service teachers. This accurately reflects the representation of women as teachers in the Israeli educational system (Lewis et al., 2005). The student sample was more evenly divided, again representing the gender breakdown in the surveyed classrooms: 47.1% of the students were female.

The mean age of the teachers was 40 years, with a standard deviation of 9.5. The mean age of the pre-service teachers was 26 years, with much less variation among the sample: standard deviation was 3.41. The mean age of students was 15 years, with naturally little variation: standard deviation was 1.96.

Instruments
In the first part of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to provide background information on their age, gender, family status, years of education and (for the teachers) number of years they have been working. The second part of the questionnaire was based on a trial run to in which frequent classroom discipline problems were identified among students of the relevant age groups. The questionnaire contained a list of 28 behaviours potentially associated with discipline problems (see Table 1: for all tables and figures see appendix). The list was formulated based on the results of focus groups and in-depth interviews with the various sub-populations of the study. It covers a wide spectrum of behaviours, which are potentially discipline problems, for example 'Student does not

prepare homework,' 'Student kicks peer in the middle of a lesson,' or 'Student throws a chair during class'. This list was given to all participants: teachers, pre- service teachers, and students. They were asked to rate each item in terms of its degree of severity on a 5-point Likert Scale, ranging from 1 *(least severe)* to 5 *(most severe)*.

Procedure

In each school, the teachers were convened for a special meeting. The meeting began with the research team presenting a brief explanation of the study's objective and importance, following which they received a structured questionnaire. The students received questionnaires at school, as was logistically possible given class schedules. The pre-service teachers were given the questionnaires during classes at their colleges. The findings presented in this article were gleaned only from those questionnaires which were completed in their entirety, or nearly so.

Mapping Sentence

A mapping sentence is a key aspect of Facet Theory, an integrative approach developed by the late Louis Guttman (1992) for developing theories in the social sciences. A mapping sentence delineates a population facet, content facets, and a range facet. Each content facet represents an aspect of the research subject. There are a number of elements in each content facet. The range indicates the joint meaning determined for all of the items. The mapping sentence defines the studied phenomenon as sets of potential, measurable variables. This enables the researcher to overcome central problems in variable sampling and validation of indices (Cohen & Levy, 2005). The flexibility of the mapping sentence technique allows for the substitution of different population facets, and the addition of more content of population facets as they are uncovered in studies of other aspects of the discipline issue.

A preliminary mapping sentence was designed for the study, updated based on the analysis of the results.

Analysis of Data

Two types of analysis were performed on the data collected. The first was a Factor Analysis. The Principal Axis Factoring Extraction method and the Promax Rotation Method with Kaiser Normalization were used due to the high dependency between the questionnaire items.

To verify and further explore the results of the Factor Analysis, a second analysis of the data was performed, using the Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) technique. The SSA is a method of non-metric multidimensional scaling, which graphically portrays the structure of the data

(Guttman, 1968; Levy, 1994). The first step in conducting an SSA is to calculate a correlation matrix for the selected primary variables, in this case the selected classroom behavioural problems. The regression-free Monotonicity Coefficient, (MONCO) was used to calculate the correlation matrix.1 Correlations range from -100 to +100, with 0 indicating a neutral relationship (no correlation).

The data from the correlation matrix were then plotted so that each variable (i.e. each questionnaire item) is represented as a point in a Euclidean space. The points are plotted so that the higher the correlation between two variables, the closer the points are on the map. In this way, the structure of a large amount of data is graphically portrayed in an easily readable fashion, creating a 'cognitive map' of the data. SSA attempts to find the space with the minimum number of dimensions in which the rank order of relations is preserved. Since by definition, a structure for *n* variables may be found in *n-1* dimensions, the lower the number of dimensions necessary to find a structure, the stronger the result.

The map is then interpreted according to the theoretical basis of the research, as expressed in the mapping sentence. Contiguous regions of correlated data which correspond to content facets of the mapping sentence may be identified (Canter, 1985). These regions may be part of various types of structures such as centre-periphery, sequential or polar (pie- shaped regions emanating from a common centre, sometimes portraying pairs of opposed concepts) (Levy, 1985). It should be emphasized that the placement of the variables on the map is objective, based on the correlation matrix. The regionalization of the resultant map – the designation of borders between regions and titles for the regions – is subjective and corresponds to a theoretical approach. There may be more than one legitimate and logical regionalization of the same map, depending on what aspect of the issue under study is being considered. This may be likened to geographic maps, whose features are set but which may portray boundaries between regions according to political borders, vegetation zones, population density, etc.

A feature of the Smallest Space Analysis, which distinguishes it from other multidimensional data analysis techniques, is the 'external variables' procedure (Cohen & Amar, 2002). A correlation matrix is calculated for the set of primary variables and each selected external variable (for example a sub-group of the study population). On the basis of their correlation with the primary variables, each external variable is introduced into the SSA map. The placement of the primary variables is fixed and is not affected by the introduction of the external variables (Cohen & Amar, 2002).

Results

Factor Analysis

Table 1 shows the results of the Factor Analysis. The results were quite strong. In all but a single case, items loaded at 0.5 or greater for the relevant factor. The highest loading for each item is indicated in bold type. Other loadings of 0.5 or greater are indicated in italics.

Four factors were found:

Factor 1: Minor Disruptions. There were 10 items for which the highest loading was Factor 1 (items 1-10 in Table 1), with a reliability of 0.83. This factor included problems such as 'Student hums during class' and 'Student is late for class activities.'

There were four other items with high loadings on Factor 1, but higher loadings for other factors. These are items 18, 21, 24 and 26. They are included in the respective factors for which they have the highest loading, but their relevance to Factor 1 should be noted. Each may also be considered a 'minor disruption' as they do not include any type of violence.

Factor 2: Threats and Vandalism. The factor includes nine items (11-19, Table 1), with a reliability of 0.87. Seven of the items consist of behaviours which border on violence (threats, vandalism, or major disruptions of the class), and two (13 and 17) are actual acts of physical violence. It is not clear why these items seemed to be differentiated from other acts of physical confrontation. Item 17, 'Student hits another student with knuckle-duster,' also had strong loading on Factor 4, here, too, Item 21 also had high loading for this factor, although it is included in Factor 3. The high loading of this particular item ('Expelled student makes noise outside classroom') on three factors deserves further investigation.

Factor 3: Serious Disruptions. There were seven items (20-26, Table 1) whose highest loading was on Factor 3, which had a reliability of 0.81. This was titled *Serious Disruptions*. The acts are similar in kind to those in Factor 2, consisting of some physical fighting and disruptions which may not allow the lesson to continue. There were five other items (1, 5, 6, 16, and 19) which had a loading higher than 0.5 for Factor 3, although they are included in other factors for which they had even higher loadings. These are also disruptions such as talking or bouncing a ball in class which may, despite the intensity of the action, present a major disruption to the lesson.

Factor 4: Criminal Acts. There were only two items for which the highest loading was on Factor 4, with a reliability of 0.40. This reliability is significantly lower than for the other factors. These two items were 27 ('Student threatens other student with a jack knife') and 28 ('Students get together to smoke marijuana/ hashish'). This factor was titled *Criminal Acts.* Additionally, there were three items (14, 17, and 22) which had loadings of higher than 0.5 for Factor 4, although they are included in other factors. These each consist: of acts of physical aggression which, depending on the level of intensity or resultant injury to others, could be criminal acts.

Analysis of Variance

The ANOVA test for the three groups and the four factor scores together showed a significant group difference F(2, 892) = 32.35, p <.001, eta_p^2 =.127. ANOVA tests conducted separately for each factor were all statistically significant as follows:

Factor 1: Minor Disruptions. ANOVA test for the difference between groups on Factor 1 was statistically significant (F(2,892) = 45.76, *p* <.001, eta_p^2 = .093 Post hoc tests (Scheffe) showed significant differences between the groups: the teachers' group had the highest scores, meaning they rated the items in this factor more severely than did the respondents in the other two groups. The students' group had the lowest scores, indicating that they attributed the lowest severity to the items in this factor. It seems logical that the students would be less concerned with disturbances such as making the class laugh or students talking than the teachers would be. The pre-service teachers group was in the middle.

Factor 2: Threats and Vandalism. ANOVA test for the difference between groups on this factor was statistically significant F(2, 892) = 36.09, *p* < .001, eta_p^2= .075. Post hoc tests (Scheffe) revealed significant differences between the students' group, the pre-service teachers group, and the teachers group. The students' group assigned the lowest severity to the items in this factor, with the teacher's group only slightly higher (not significantly different). The pre-service teachers assigned the greatest severity. It is possible that these less-experienced teachers would be most disturbed by threats which could develop into more serious problems.

Factor 3: Serious Disturbances. ANOVA test revealed a significant group difference F(2, 892) = 79.02, p < .001, eta_p^2 = .093. eta_p^2 = .168. Post hoc tests revealed significant difference between the pre-service teachers' group which had the highest scores, and the students group which had the lowest scores; differences were also found between the

teachers' group (which placed between the other two groups) and the students' group. No significant differences were found between the teachers and the pre-service teachers.

Factor 4: Criminal Acts. ANOVA tests for the difference between groups on this factor showed statistically significance F(5,1131) = 20.86, $p < .001$. eta_p^2 = 022. Post hoc tests revealed significant difference between the pre-service teachers' group which had again the highest scores and the students' group, which had the lowest scores as well as between the teachers' group which were in the middle. No significant differences were found between the teachers and the students.

Preliminary Mapping Sentence

A preliminary mapping sentence was designed. The population facet (P) specifies the three sub-populations of the study. The items in the first content facet (A) are the categories identified in the Factor Analysis. The range facet (X) defines the range of perception of the behaviour from low to high severity.

Smallest space analysis

The data were also analyzed using the multi-dimensional smallest space analysis. The correlation matrix for the set of behaviour-items is shown in table 3. The correlations between responses to the given behaviours range from a low of -40 between the items 'students wait for teacher outside the classroom' (v57) and 'student threatens another student with a jack knife' (v24), and a high of +86 between the items 'student punches another student' (v80) and 'student threatens to injure another student' (v113).

The resultant cognitive map is shown in Figure 2 (see appendix).

The map may be divided into four regions which represent a logical sequence from the least to most serious acts, as ranked by the survey respondents. The least serious acts are at the right hand-side of the map and include items such as 'Student makes the class laugh' and 'Student does not participate in class activities.' These represent relatively minor disruptions and do not pose any physical threat. All of these items were included in the factor Minor Disruptions of the Factor Analysis.

Moving to the left, the next region includes moderately disruptive acts such as vandalism, lying, yelling, stealing, and coming to class late. Most of these were included in the Minor Disruptions factor, although a few (yelling during a fight, playing ball in class) were in the Serious Disruptions factor.

The next region to the left includes behaviours which represent serious behavioural problems, such that could harm or seriously bother the teacher or other students (e.g., lying, stealing, and threatening or carrying out acts of physical violence). Most of these items were in either the Serious Disturbances or Threats and Vandalism factor.

The final region, in the lower left-hand corner of the map, includes the two behaviours defined as criminal acts: threatening with a jack knife and smoking marijuana/hashish.

In addition, it is possible to discern a core-periphery structure, which reveals another distinguishing characteristic of the behaviours. Behaviours which involve only the student's own body are located around the periphery of the map. Those which involve the use of a weapon or other implement outside the student's own body are located in the core, at the lower left-hand corner. The curved line in Figure 2 delineates between the peripheral (body- only) and core (use of external implement) behaviours. Only one of the minor disturbances is located in the core region: forging parents' signature, involving the writing implement and a document. The moderate and serious disturbances regions each have a number of items which involve an external implement and those which do not. Playing ball in class and inscribing tables are moderate disturbances involving an external tool (ball, the table and the tool used to inscribe on it), whereas lying and yelling do not. Similarly, in the serious disturbances region we see behaviours around the periphery involving only the student (i.e., threatening, punching) and those involving another object (stealing, throwing chairs, hitting with knuckle-duster). There is only one 'misplaced' item. Hitting is located in the inner region although it does not involve (or at least does not specify) use of anything other than the student's hand. This small amount of 'noise' does not disturb the overall structure of the map. Both of the criminal acts involve external tools: a knife or a drug.

Sub populations as External Variables in the SSA

We used the SSA technique to further investigate the respective attitudes of the students, teachers and pre-service teachers. First, an SSA was run for each of the populations alone. Each time, the same basic structure of the data was found. Therefore, we can say that the differences between them are differences in emphasis, not in their fundamental perception of the organization of the items.

The three sub-populations were introduced as external variables into the SSA map (using the one created with the data from all three populations together). The correlation matrix for the external variable and the set of primary variables is given in Table 4.

The placement of the three sub-populations in the structure of behaviours is shown in Figure 3.

The students have a negative correlation with all the behaviours, ranging from almost neutral (-4 for Item V17 – hits with knuckle-duster) to more strongly negative (-66 for Item V19 – kicks peer). The teachers' correlations range from a moderately strongly negative (-27 with V113 – threatens to injure another student) to moderately strongly positive (+44 with item V94 – Student hums during class). The pre-service teachers have a greater range of correlations from -16 (with Item V57 – students wait for teacher outside classroom) to +69 (with Item V113 – threatens to injure another student).

The teachers are in the region with the Minor Disturbances. The pre-service teachers are in the region with the Serious Disturbances. The students are at the far edge of the space, near the Minor Disturbances.

Discussion
Degree of Severity among Categories of Disruptions
The four factors identified in this study are similar to the categories found in previous studies which compared the attitudes of teachers and students regarding students' disruptive behaviours in school (Romi & Freund, 1999; Romi, 2004). However, these previous studies did not show a clear order of severity in the organization of categories (factors). The Factor Analysis conducted in the present study did show the degree of severity of the items, and this order was further clarified in the SSA technique conducted, as will be discussed in more detail below. In the present factor analysis, some behaviours seem to cross these boundaries, loading strongly on more than one factor. This may reflect various intensities of behaviour covered by the same item (for example, students yelling at each other could be a minor or a serious disturbance; students hitting each other could be a serious disturbance or a criminal act). Looking at the mean scores assigned to the behaviours in each factor, these categories may be ranked from least severe to most severe in an order agreed upon by the students, the pre-service teachers, and the teachers. The minor disturbances were ranked as least severe, followed by serious disturbances, then threats and vandalism. Finally, criminal acts were considered the most severe.

The SSA technique also shows four clear categories arranged in a logical sequence from the least to the most severe discipline problems. There is very high agreement between the factor analysis and the SSA mapping of the items that made up the range of disruptive behaviours in the classroom.

Centre-Periphery Structure: Body Alone vs. Tool-assisted Disturbances

Additionally, it offers a unique contribution in its portrayal of a centre-periphery structure, which differentiates between actions which do or do not involve use of a weapon or other implement. Three of the regions include both a core – disturbances which involve an external implement – and a periphery – disturbances involving only the student's body. All of the 'criminal acts' involve some external implement and therefore are in the core. In other words, using an object during the disruptive behaviour intensifies the degree of the disruption even when the disruption is considered moderate or minor. In studies of adolescent and school violence, the difference between violence involving weapons (including threats with weapons) and weaponless fighting is often delineated (Kingery et al., 1998; Nofziger, 2001). The former is generally considered the more serious problem; the latter sometimes even viewed as a 'normal' part of adolescence (Bauermeister, 1980). On a theoretical level, Benjamin (1968) explores the human urge to extend the body and its impact through the use of instruments. The 'empty' periphery of the criminal acts region may indicate that some questions or items are missing in the research instrument. There may be a need to add behaviours which would fit the description of criminal acts carried out without the use of an external implement (for example assault and battery or strangulation).

Benefit of the Multi-method Approach

The two data analysis methods used in this research offer a reciprocal confirmation of the categorization of disruptive behaviours in the classroom from minor through criminal. The compatibility of the factor analysis and the SSA technique lend strength to the results and it is indicative of very high validity of the analysis of discipline issues in the classroom.

However, the SSA structure goes beyond simply confirming the categories in the Factor Analysis. It graphically portrays the range of disturbances from least to most severe and also shows a centre-periphery structure of disturbances with and without the use of a tool. This type of insight could not be attained using Factor Analysis. The FA does indicate that several items can belong to two factors as described at the onset, but it does not present a boundary- cutting content segmentation of all factors simultaneously. The factors are, by definition, orthogonal.

Maraun (1997) discusses the limitations of using Factor Analysis to find a structure of the data. Using SSA he found a clear ordering of five regions corresponding to the classic five factor model of personality trait descriptors, and importantly, ' . . . only two dimensions were re-

quired to adequately summarize the relations among the variables, while a factor analysis requires at least five dimensions (Maraun, 1997: 638).

Multi-method Approach to Comparison of Sub-populations

The Analysis of Variance of the Factor Analysis showed that in each case the Israeli students considered the discipline problems to be less severe than did the teachers and pre- service teachers. The pre-service teachers rated three of the four categories more severely than did the veteran teachers, who gave a more severe rating to the minor disturbances.

It may be noted that in a study of American pre-service teachers' perceptions of traits of effective teachers found they emphasized the importance of being 'student-centred' followed by being an 'effective classroom and behaviour manager' (Minor, et al., 2002). Differences in the educational systems and the socio-cultural context between the U.S. study and this study should be considered.

The SSA visually located the populations in the structure of disruptive behaviours. The teachers are in the region with the minor disturbances, reflecting their relatively more severe rating of this category. The students are also in this region, but at the other side of the region, close to items related to non-participation in learning activities. The pre-service teachers are in the region with the severe disturbances, reflecting their more severe rating of the behaviours in this and the two adjacent regions.

Expanded Mapping Sentence

Based on the results of the Factor Analysis and the Smallest Space Analysis, an expanded mapping sentence was developed for the aspects of the discipline issue explored in this study. The expanded mapping sentence shown in Figure 4 articulates a theoretical framework for subsequent studies on perceptions regarding the severity of various disruptive behaviours in the classroom.

As in the preliminary mapping sentence, the population facet (P) specifies the three sub-populations of the study. The items in the first content facet (A) are the categories identified in the Factor Analysis and confirmed by the SSA. A second content facet was added, to reflect the distinction between core and periphery uncovered in the SSA. Facet B defines the distinction found in the SSA between actions carried out with or without an implement. Facet (X) defining the range of perception of the behaviour from low to high severity is unchanged.

Conclusion

The findings of this study have implications for future research. The four categories found by both the Factor Analysis and SSA methods provide researchers with a logical basis for selecting a sample of disturbances, ranging from the minor through moderate and serious to criminal, which adequately cover the field of classroom management and discipline. This may be considered the 'range of civility' in the classroom. The items which loaded strongly on more than once factor indicate that in these cases some differentiation regarding the severity of the act may be necessary. For example, the item 'Expelled student makes noise outside classroom' had a loading of over .6 for all the first three factors. The extent to which the noise disrupts those still in the classroom may need to be clarified.

While the SSA preserves the range from minor through criminal, the four regions do not appear in a linear sequence, but rather as four wedge-shaped regions, overlapped with the centre-periphery structure differentiating between disturbances carried out using only the students' own body and those which involve the use of some external implement. The minor, moderate, and serious disturbances all include items in this core region and those outside of it. In this way we see the range within each category: a forged signature on a document represents a more severe type of minor disturbance than does, for example, making the class laugh; carving into a desk represents a more severe type of moderate disturbance than does messing up the classroom, and so on. This finding is a unique contribution of the SSA. This contribution is articulated as a distinct facet in the mapping sentence.

Similarly, the placement of the students, veteran teachers and in-service teachers as external variables in the SSA map goes beyond verifying the varied level of responses by the three sub-populations as found in the ANOVA. It visually portrays their relative positions within the structure.

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Appendix
Table 1: Factor Analysis, Extraction Method, and Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
1. Student hums during class (V94)	.724	.582	.375	.086
2. Student is late for class activities (V58)	.686	.430	.321	.111
3. Students discuss non-lesson issues without permission (V50)	.636	.613	.459	.028
4. Students wait for the teacher outside the classroom (V57)	.630	.314	.043	-.246
5. Student refuses to stop talking after being asked (V43)	.572	.520	.439	.270
6. Student sings during class (V34)	.564	.538	.279	.010
7. Student does not prepare homework (V17)	.549	.143	.042	-.022
8. Student makes the class laugh (V102)	.523	.279	.040	-.060
9. Student does not participate in class activities (V118)	.515	.262	.063	.059
10. Student forges parents' signature (V18)	.449	.355	.321	.373
11. Student threatens to injure another student (V113)	.105	.425	.756	.388
12. Student threatens to injure teacher (V98)	.066	.316	.728	.316
13. Student punches another student (V80)	.130	.461	.719	.457
14. Student throws a chair during class (V76)	.092	.368	.702	.531
15. Student lies to teacher (V70)	.401	.466	.659	.284
16. Student bounces a ball during class (V82)	.437	.515	.652	.299
17. Student hits another student with knuckle-duster (V63)	-.041	.314	.639	.589
18. Student messes up classroom before class (V81)	.536	.120	.616	.285
19. Student inscribes tables or chairs (V56)	.366	.560	.568	.423
20. Student kicks peer in the middle of a lesson (V19)	.378	.669	.388	.303
21. Expelled student makes noise outside classroom (V93)	.603	.655	.626	.159
22. Students hit each other during class (V26)	.201	.637	.476	.577
23. Student yells at a classmate (V25)	.394	.632	.402	.112
24. Students play ball without permission during a lesson (V22)	.525	.629	474	.485
25. Student takes another student's belongings without permission (V36)	.274	.550	.489	.439
26. Students yell at each other in a fight during class (V115)	.532	.549	.328	.133
27. Student threatens other student with a jack knife (V24)	.025	.304	.355	.657
28. Students get together to smoke marijuana/ hashish (V41)	.090	.185	.355	.587

Table 2: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Means and Standard Deviation for Total Scale and Four Factor Scores for Teachers, Pre n-Service Teachers and Students

Group	N	Factor 1 Minor Disruptions		Factor 2 Serious Disruptions		Factor 3 Threats & Vandalism		Factor 4 Criminal Acts		Total	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
1. Teachers	376	4.53	.86	5.58	.85	5.62	1.23	6.45	1.00	5.54	.73
2. Students	310	3.83	1.05	5.43	1.14	4.73	1.09	6.36	1.13	5.09	.82
3. Pre-service teachers	207	4.27	.99	6.24	.62	5.68	.83	6.75	.71	5.73	.59
Total	893	4.23	1.01	5.70	1.13	5.31	1.02	6.49	1.00	5.43	.78

Table 3: MONCO correlation matrix for primary variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
V17	1	100	50	26	43	38	58	55	46	42	48	13	33	26	5	17	34	35	-7	11	12	-21	32	3	8	34	25	-6	4
V18	2	50	100	46	45	54	27	52	53	26	38	50	62	29	45	39	50	44	50	55	48	28	56	35	28	49	44	20	35
V34	3	26	46	100	45	66	48	51	64	42	38	51	42	46	29	30	55	54	6	8	40	-2	32	-8	9	40	37	3	2
V43	4	43	45	45	100	59	41	67	70	50	42	54	68	56	56	52	69	58	47	52	59	44	60	58	53	60	62	48	49
V50	5	38	54	66	59	100	56	66	66	42	46	58	54	54	51	47	74	56	10	-3	60	20	61	34	35	64	57	38	45
V57	6	58	27	48	41	56	100	67	58	52	53	39	30	42	0	14	45	44	-40	-33	17	-36	22	-19	-16	45	13	-13	-13
V58	7	55	52	51	67	66	67	100	70	51	53	44	59	44	39	37	59	51	12	35	51	24	49	32	41	56	54	25	26
V94	8	46	53	64	70	66	58	70	100	64	49	59	63	56	37	49	80	66	25	30	51	7	52	30	32	60	52	28	29
V102	9	42	26	42	50	42	52	51	64	100	50	34	32	30	9	18	41	51	-8	-2	20	-16	24	-15	-4	30	30	-21	-16
V118	10	48	38	38	42	46	53	53	49	50	100	20	42	29	23	29	32	52	-2	19	27	-5	21	4	3	27	26	-12	-2
V19	11	13	50	51	54	58	39	44	59	34	20	100	56	62	68	54	61	56	43	29	59	41	43	35	46	42	46	31	37
V22	12	33	62	42	68	54	30	59	63	32	42	56	100	59	73	60	63	55	75	54	67	50	56	62	60	57	67	49	57
V25	13	26	29	46	56	54	42	44	56	30	29	62	56	100	59	55	58	60	21	22	47	35	49	38	61	50	51	42	49
V26	14	5	45	29	56	51	0	39	37	9	23	68	73	59	100	69	51	44	82	57	69	75	49	71	67	45	54	53	64
V36	15	17	39	30	52	47	14	37	49	18	29	54	60	55	69	100	56	51	65	58	56	66	58	66	65	47	56	58	64
V93	16	34	50	55	69	74	45	59	80	41	32	61	63	58	51	56	100	59	40	27	61	44	67	52	57	73	67	64	59
V115	17	35	44	54	58	56	44	51	66	51	52	56	55	60	44	51	59	100	19	32	47	21	45	28	35	51	53	29	29
V24	18	-7	50	6	47	10	-40	12	25	-8	-2	43	75	21	82	65	40	19	100	81	65	78	51	74	71	37	57	61	70
V41	19	11	55	8	52	-3	-33	35	30	-2	19	29	54	22	57	58	27	32	81	100	61	77	52	71	75	35	52	59	63
V56	20	12	48	40	59	60	17	51	51	20	27	59	67	47	69	56	61	47	65	61	100	70	59	69	67	58	64	62	65
V63	21	-21	28	-2	44	20	-36	24	7	-16	-5	41	50	35	75	66	44	21	78	77	70	100	60	88	85	44	71	80	83
V70	22	32	56	32	60	61	22	49	52	24	21	43	56	49	49	58	67	45	51	52	59	60	100	73	71	70	66	72	71
V76	23	3	35	-8	58	34	-19	32	30	-15	4	35	62	38	71	66	52	28	74	71	69	88	73	100	81	59	65	84	84
V80	24	8	28	9	53	35	-16	41	32	-4	3	46	60	61	67	65	57	35	71	75	67	85	71	81	100	67	78	77	86
V81	25	34	49	40	60	64	45	56	60	30	27	42	57	50	45	47	73	51	37	35	58	44	70	59	67	100	75	60	65
V82	26	25	44	37	62	57	13	54	52	30	26	46	67	51	54	56	67	53	57	52	64	71	66	65	78	75	100	57	70
V98	27	-6	20	3	48	38	-13	25	28	-21	-12	31	49	42	53	58	64	29	61	59	62	80	72	84	77	60	57	100	86
V113	28	4	35	2	49	45	-13	26	29	-16	-2	37	57	49	64	64	59	29	70	63	65	83	71	84	86	65	70	86	100

Table 4: MONCO correlation matrix for external variables

```
INPUT EXTERNAL MATRIX**

                 1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8    9   10   11   12   13   14   15   16   17   18   19   20   21   22   23   24   25   26   27   28
            +-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
            I
Pre-teachers 29 I -12   -2   18   24   22  -16    5   16  -11   -3   30   31   44   51   39   24   14   63   25   46   68   43   58   60   24   31   57   69
            I
Teachers     30 I  12   27   33   29   24   43   30   44   34    7   52   21   31    4    7   38   24   -5    5   33  -24    0  -21  -19   10   -1  -14  -27
            I
Students     31 I  -4  -26  -47  -45  -41  -33  -33  -55  -28   -6  -66  -44  -58  -38  -35  -54  -35  -32  -22  -61  -20  -31  -16  -20  -27  -22  -22  -16

* The original coefficients were multiplied by 100 and rounded into integer numbers
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Figure 1: Preliminary Mapping Sentence
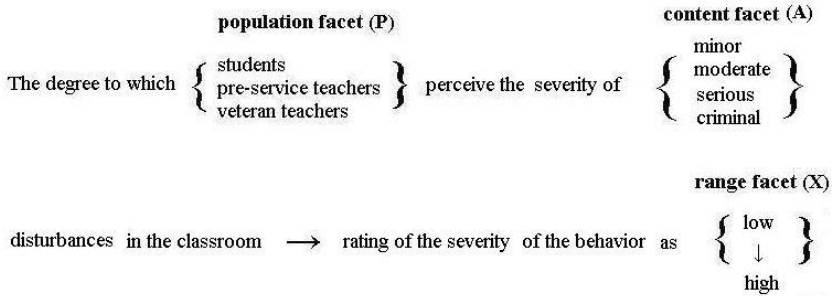
Figure 2: Smallest Space Analysis of disturbing behaviours
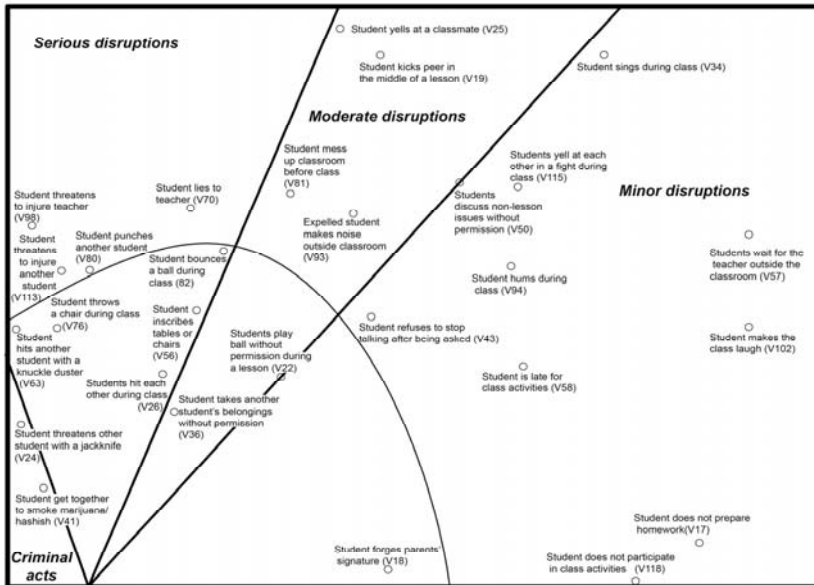
Figure 3: Smallest Space Analysis of disturbing behaviours, with three survey sub-populations (students, teachers, and pre-service teachers) as external variables
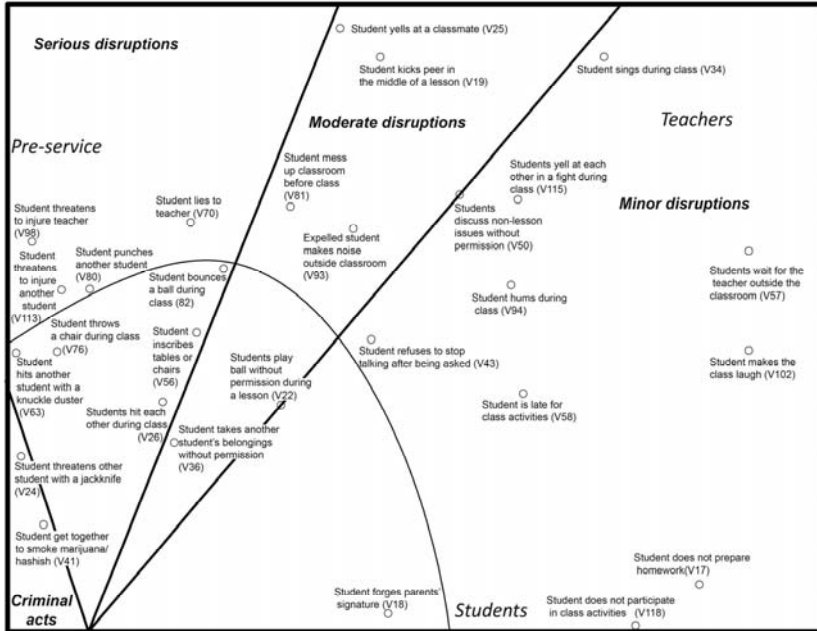
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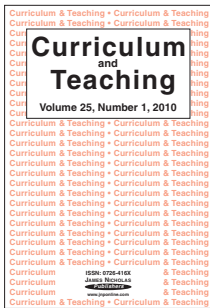
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CONTRIBUTIONS

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Moral Biography in Values Education

Laurie Brady
University of Technology, Sydney

Abstract

An increased emphasis on values education in schools, and in particular the introduction of a national framework specifying nine core values, has ignited the debate about prescriptive and values-relative approaches to teaching values. A listing of desirable values for teaching, usually dubbed the 'trait approach', is associated with either direct teaching through exhortation, or indirect teaching using moral biography. This article examines the theory and application of moral biography, and provides a brief critique by answering typically posed questions. It argues that mora biography has often been poorly utilised; has often been assumed to involve indoctrination; has often been often unfairly judged, and is currently viewed as less consistent with contemporary understandings of teaching and learning.

Keywords: values education, moral biography, prescriptive approach, values-relative approach

Introduction

The introduction of the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2005), with its advocacy of what Kohlberg once referred to pejoratively as 'a bag of virtues' (Kohlberg 1975: 673) has refuelled the seminal debate in values education, that is, the extent to which desirable values should be prescriptive. Arguing the need for a more committed vision of values education in schools, the framework specifies nine core values: (1), care and compassion; (2), doing your best; (3), freedom; (4), fair go; (5), honesty and trustworthiness; (6) integrity; (7) respect; (8), responsibility, and (9), understanding/tolerance and inclusion.

While the values are prescribed, the strategies for teaching them are not. The framework's companion publication, *Values for Australian Schooling Professional Learning Resources (DEST, 2005b),* avoids this contentious issue: 'individual schools will develop their own approaches to values education . . . ' (DEST, 2005: 7), and confines its discussion of

method to a single page under the heading of 'Teaching and Learning Strategies and Tools'.

The specification of values with the implicit assumption that they can be taught, may be interpreted as at least a prima facie advocacy of what has been dubbed the 'trait approach' to values education. While particular traits or values may be targeted for teaching through other approaches like values clarification and moral dilemmas (the cognitive developmental approach), the more explicit focus on qualities or traits has been historically associated with either exhortation, or more typically with moral biography.

This article examines the theory, practice, and possible limitations of moral biography as an approach to values education. Such an approach, implicit in the specification of traits, has diminished in practice in Australian state schools, though it has possibly retained more significance in the Catholic systemic schools in which the qualities of certain religious figures are regarded as desirable. The decline in use may be partly attributable to the more 'relativistic' approaches to values education (like values clarification) that are arguably more consistent with contemporary approaches to teaching and learning, in their emphasis on the student and teacher as co-constructors of knowledge.

Such an examination of moral biography, and all approaches to values education, are regarded as timely given the resurgent advocacy of values education by all Australian states in specific or substantive documents such as *Values in NSW Public Schools (2004),* or in more inclusive curriculum offerings (the Queensland Department of Education's *Strategic Plan for 2004-2008;* South Australia's *Curriculum, Standards and Accountability Framework;* Western Australia's *Curriculum Framework;* and Victoria's *Essential Learning Standards).*

Theory and practice
The trait approach to values education is based on the view that there are desirable and identifiable traits or qualities that can be taught. These traits are 'absolutes' in the sense that they are deemed to be a selection of qualities that the culture endorses. They typically include honesty, loyalty, compassion, empathy, tolerance, sharing, consideration, service to others, and the 'bag' prescribed by the national framework. Many organizations specify several core values with which they can be identified. For example, the Boy Scouts are enjoined to be honest, loyal, reverent, clean and brave. The specification of traits or qualities is arguably the 'traditional' approach to values education, and is analogous to the teaching of leadership with its focus on the traits of communicating, structuring the situation, trustworthiness, dependability and so forth.

It is argued by supporters of the approach that it is the responsibility of parents and teachers to transmit the moral-cultural heritage to children by inculcating the desirable values. This may be accomplished 'directly' by focusing on a trait, and teaching it explicitly (extolling the virtues of a particular quality, or naming a trait and calling for examples of how it might be practised), or 'indirectly' through the use of moral biography in which the trait is exemplified through a character's actions.

For decades of practice in Australian schools, the life of a worthy or exemplary person was presented to the class, with the assumption that children would deduce certain desirable qualities or traits that they would transfer into their own value systems. There is an implicit assumption that teachers can evaluate achievement in terms of subsequent student behaviour: that students are more 'moral' if the requisite values are demonstrated in action. Traditional fare included Florence Nightingale, Grace Darling, Lord Shaftesbury, Henry Ford, Caroline Chisholm and Mahatma Gandhi. Curricula did not always specify the particular traits the biographies were meant to exemplify. Subjects or characters seemed to have been selected on the basis of generic goodness, typically a general concern for humanity and the alleviation of suffering, and students were left to deduce an array of virtues.

In an attempt to redress the non-Australian content of biographies presented in schools, and to counter the common student response of 'have you got to be dead to be famous', the author included the biographies of contemporary Australians linked to themes like sharing, getting along with people, social care, change, consumerism and prejudice, (Evonne Cawley, (Australian former world number one tennis player) Neville Bonner (first indigenous Australian to become a member of parliament), Father Brian Gore (a priest who fought for the rights of the oppressed in the Philippines), Helen Wellings (a champion of consumers' rights), Jane Singleton (a journalist, interviewer and political reporter) and Peter Garrett (political activist and former lead singer with Midnight Oil) in a multi-method approach to values education. (Brady, 1989). More recently the work of Rowan, Gauld, Cole-Adams and Connolly (2007: v) prescribes strategies for each of the nine values defined in the national framework, and students are encouraged 'to form inclusive interpretations of the values, questioning our perceptions and exploring the overt and covert assumptions that shape our expectations of the value'. Rather than potted biographies that while usually only a page or two in length, were often a bald chronology of dates or events, the authors use brief extracts, often defining moments from speeches or reports that exemplify the desirable values of the lauded character or speaker. Thus a biography need not simply com-

prise one or a number of desirable behaviours for potential adoption, but it can be potentially powerful in presenting the feelings and thoughts that guide action in specific contexts. These extracts may be followed by specific questions about the value ('What examples of care and compassion are shown?), but are more typically followed by a great variety of values clarifying strategies.

Typical practice involves the teacher presenting the biography, often by reading it aloud, and conducting a full class discussion in which children deduce the values by which the character lives, or that the extract in question reveals. Effective teaching involves more than simple deduction. It includes examination of the reasons for, and consequences of action, and the transposition of the demonstrated values into student-centred contexts ('Can you think of ways that you could practise these values in your own life at home or at school?). Students may also be engaged in small group discussion, and in values clarifying strategies that complement the deduced values (for example, ranking or rating instances of sharing, or creating a privacy circle grid to demonstrate differences in the likelihood of sharing). Some unfair criticism of the approach is the product of superficial and non-probing discussion that in rare expressions has involved the teacher in little more than reading the story and asking the children to draw a picture of something that happened.

Comment
The following critique is based on providing answers to commonly posed questions about the efficacy of moral biography in teaching values.

What is a desirable bag of virtues' and who determines it?
The major source of contention, in common with all prescriptive approaches that are regarded as prescriptive, is the issue of what values are selected and by whom. Teachers are justifiably sceptical about decisions of this nature being determined by policy makers with minimal school experience or knowledge of child development. The issue is further confounded by the difficulty of achieving consensus on a desirable bag of virtues. As previously indicated, different individuals and organizations espouse their own bag. That of Aristotle is temperance, pride, liberality, truthfulness and justice; that of Comenius is prudence, fortitude and temperance; the Boy Scouts and St.Paul have their particular bags'; and at the other end of the moral continuum, the seven deadly sins are listed as those of envy, pride, lust, gluttony, wrath, avarice and sloth.

Yet this example highlights another dilemma: pride appears as one

of Aristotle's desirable values but it is also cited as one of the seven deadly sins. So the problem of consensus extends to the issue of definition. Prescribing supposedly universal values is not an infallible solution as definitions of even the most 'tried and true' values are relative, and are defined by the conventional culture. Does honesty for instance mean that when asked, I should tell my hostess that her dress is hideous when I can be diplomatically evasive? Does tolerance mean that I should meekly accept all opinions and behaviours when it may be necessary to 'stand up and be counted'. One partial solution to the issue of variable understandings of traits is to ensure that they initially be clearly defined (and this is true of the nine core values in the national framework), and that there is freedom for students to explore their nature and application rather than suffering an imposed and formulaic teacher interpretation.

Isn't moral biography a form of indoctrination?

Prescription is often opposed by educators because the specification of a set of values is seen to equate with indoctrination. Tan (2004) argues that indoctrination must satisfy three conditions: students have to be told what to think or do; they have to be denied reasons; and they have to be given no alternatives. These conditions are not necessarily true of teaching by using moral biography. Effective teaching should involve students constructing their own values and interpretations of them; and it should allow for the discussion of justifications from a consideration of alternatives. So moral biography need not be indoctrinative: students can be given freedom to interpret the nested values, as long as reasons and alternatives are provided, and viable forms of action are proposed.

The prescription of values need not necessarily pre-empt explicit or indoctrinative teaching, and the trait approach is not *ipso facto* indoctrinative. Nielson (2005,4) provides a reassuring argument for the proponents of the nine core values in the national framework: 'as long as we provide reason and explore alternatives alongside the teaching of our preferred core values we may have explicit values education without indoctrination'. The approach adopted by Rowan et al., (2007) in providing extracts that capture a person's thoughts and feelings, and which allows them to formulate a personally meaningful stance, offers a solution for those strongly opposed to indoctrination. The framework provided by DEST (2005) may in this way give a focus rather than be tightly prescriptive.

Might some values be difficult to exemplify through biography?

While particular qualities like honesty or sharing may be relatively

easy to exemplify through moral biography, other qualities may not. For example, imagine the difficulty of using a biography that is no more than a simple chronology of 'events' to exemplify, and then accurately identify empathy or integrity as behaviours. Of course when students identify the more general values that equate with these 'general' values, like feeling for/with, and honesty respectively, the teacher can introduce the more particular desired values, and explore the subtle differences through the provision of examples. These values are more likely to be understood by students when presented through both the character's thoughts and feelings, and actions, and their own sharing of student-centred examples.

Will students deduce the values we deem to be desirable?

A possibly implicit assumption of the approach is that students will deduce the 'moral' qualities that the biography has been selected to exemplify. For instance, it would be desirable for students to deduce the values of caring, compassion, kindness and even courage from the biography of Florence Nightingale. Early research indicated that the main message young children deduced from the Florence Nightingale story, was that she was 'a naughty girl,' because the biography mentions that she opposed her parent's wishes in going to the Crimea to nurse. Such a deduction of course is dependent upon the developmental level of the children. For instance, young children who are heteronomous (when good and bad is governed by appeals to significant authority figures like what parents, teachers and other significant adults say) will not be 'ready' to adopt certain 'adult' values (like those involving appeals to universal principles of justice). Teachers also need to screen the biographies for any values that could be construed as 'negative'. Any resources that support teaching and learning need to be age and culture-appropriate.

Is there any evidence of the efficacy of moral biography?

There is a dearth of research evidence on the effectiveness of moral biography, possibly explained by the difficulties of attributing behavioural gains to the quality of student deductions from the stories or extracts, and the likelihood of transfer. This however should not necessarily be a criticism. The fact that virtually everyone can recall a number of people who have been powerful, even life-changing models, and whose values and behaviours they own to adopting, is at least anecdotal testament to the effect of modelling. While most of us would claim that our significant others are those already known to us, we cannot overlook the learning potential of autobiography, great fiction, and Biblical teachings.

What is an ideal teaching strategy to teach values through moral biography?

The following procedure is one of several that may focus on particular values yet not be overly prescriptive:

- Present the biography as dramatically and effectively as possible. This may involve a combination of reading and audio-visual methods.
- Engage in a full-class discussion, questioning for comprehension, clarifying facts, and seeking general reactions.
- Focus the questioning by asking for student deductions about the character's beliefs and values, and the contextual (cultural, historical,) factors that may have prompted his/her actions. Avoid 'piloting or imposing an agenda whereby students have to name a prescribed value.
- Refine the questioning by requiring students to isolate exemplified values and define them, both within and outside the context of the story. This might involve having students identify related or similar values. By this stage students will in all probability have named and defined the prescribed value or a related one.
- Ask students to create scenarios of how the identified value or value complex might apply in other situations. This could initially be done hypothetically ('Can you think of other examples of how such a value might be demonstrated in a person's actions?'), and then personally ('Can you think of ways you might behave if you had this (or more of this) value?).
- Conclude with a values clarifying strategy to be undertaken individually or by the group. For example, this may involve providing brief scenarios of the value in question that students have to rate or rank.

Variations to the procedure may involve:

- Students being placed in small cooperative groups to formulate answers to the final three steps, and to present their work to the class for full-class discussion.
- Students operating in snowball or 2-4-8 groups to formulate a response to the step of identifying and refining. A snowball group involves a pair working to identify and define for a specified time (6-8 minutes) before joining another pair to refine a common position. Each foursome then joins another foursome to repeat the process of developing a common position.
- Maturer students engaging in 'the last word' (Garmston, 2004).

Each group member selects a sentence from the biography that had a particular impact, and one student is chosen to state his/her sentence. The next clockwise student is allowed one minute (or a prescribed time) to react to that sentence or statement. No other group member can comment or interject. Each group member is allowed the one minute in turn before the member who initially identified the sentence or statement has 'the last word' (and the benefit of the scaffolding the others have provided). The process continues with the other group members relating their significant statement or sentence. Such a strategy is only effective if the biography deals with the description of thoughts and feelings that prompted action, and possible lessons learned by the character. It has negligible application for a biography that is a bald chronology of events.

Conclusion
One reason for the poor regard for moral biography as a strategy in values education in Australian schools, apart from the lack of empirical research evidence, is a legacy of superficial and over-prescriptive teaching. The early expressions of practice involved biographies outlining the lives of usually long-dead characters from a range of foreign cultures, typically through a chronology of dates and events, and with often-limited discussion and simple deduction. It is not surprising that students had difficulty in identifying with the characters.

Perhaps the main reason for the decline of the approach, is that in teaching values, it is regarded as prescriptive, and therefore raises alarming questions as to what values are being prescribed and by whom. The prescriptive teaching of values is regarded by many as being consistent with a superseded transmission model of teaching whereby the teacher passes on knowledge to students. But perceptions of teaching and learning are changing. Brady (2006) traces an evolution in broad approaches to learning and teaching from traditional to progressive to collaborative, and defines a model of contemporary learning and teaching that is based on social constructivism, and that is expressed by Bruner's (1996) claim that learning should be participative (students being engaged in their learning), proactive (students taking initiative for their learning), and collaborative (students working with each other and their teacher to promote their learning). Such an active view of the learner, coupled with an equally dynamic role for the teacher as co-constructors of knowledge, has had the effect of shifting values education to the values-relative approaches (particularly values clarification and role play) that are regarded as more consistent with collaborative models.

So moral biography has been unfairly judged by history. Values *are*

prescribed by the DEST framework (2005), but the method of teaching them is not. This open-ended approach, suggesting that schools are free to develop their own methods, implies that the values are not regarded as absolutes, but rather qualities that can be discussed and co-constructed by teacher and students. Such an open-ended approach with resources like those provided by Rowan et a1., (2007) in providing extracts written by the characters themselves, and that present their thoughts and feelings, allowing students to formulate a personally meaningful stance, offers a solution for those strongly opposed to the perils of prescription.

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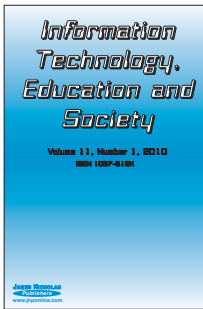
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External Accountability Systems, Teacher Perception of Professional Autonomy, Self-Efficacy and Job Satisfaction: The Israeli Case

Haim Gaziel
Bar Ilan University

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to explore the impact of accountability systems on teachers' perception of professional autonomy, self-efficacy and teachers' job satisfaction. We tested whether performance pressure from high stakes accountability systems affected teachers' reported influence over curriculum policy in their schools, their classroom practice or school policy, and whether it also contributed to some decrease of their professional autonomy. In addition, we investigated whether such policies impacted on the overall teacher work satisfaction in schools.

Keywords: accountability, curriculum policy, teachers' autonomy, teachers' self-efficacy, Israel

Introduction

Accountability systems have become the centerpiece of the education policy agenda intended to raise standards of content and performance which would lead to the improvement in student learning by clarifying expectations and motivating greater effort on the part of students and teachers, using student achievement as a primary mechanism of accountability (Ingvarson, 2001). The "new accountability" systems that emerged in the Western industrial countries during the last decades emphasized student and teacher responsibilities to improve effort, and administrators and policy makers to provide support in the form of instructional resources and professional development, and for students and teachers to meet the goals set by accountability systems (Helsbey, 1999; Porter & Chester, 2001). These new accountability systems made the use of student outcomes a means of evaluating school performance and the linking of these outcomes. Although teachers are generally not direct targets of policy, contrary to the old accountability systems, the

theory of performance-based accountability posits that performance targets coupled with sanctions and rewards compel teachers in schools to focus on meeting performance targets (Siskin, 2004). Estimates of individual teacher contributions to student gains in test scores are not publicly reported but instead are reported to individual teachers for formative evaluation purposes.

Accountability policies of this kind leave teachers in schools with a considerable amount of discretion in determining how to meet performance targets (Hannaway, 1996). However, research on the response to accountability in schools challenges the assumption that teachers maintain this discretion, suggesting that the pressure to meet performance targets on state tests constrains teachers' control over what they teach (Massell, et al., 2004). Other research further suggests that that constraining teachers' discretion, or at least their perception of discretion, by controlling content and pedagogy, could have implications for teachers' level of satisfaction, and the level of turnover seen in schools (Hargreaves, 2000). Teachers with higher perceived levels of influence over their work are more satisfied with their jobs and less likely to leave their positions than their colleagues who feel very constrained by, and in their positions.

Accountability Systems: A Conceptual Framework

The development and implementation of performance based accountability systems has been major component of education reform efforts in Western industrial countries for more than a decade. Although accountability systems vary across countries, they share primary components: standards, assessments, performance targets, rewards and sanctions (Goertz & Duffy, 2001). Accountability systems typically consist of assessment systems intended to capture the proficiency of students on state designated standards. Most countries assess students annually in reading, mathematics and writing. However, some countries have begun to assess students' proficiency on standards in science and social studies, especially at the high school level. Some countries accompany these assessment systems with specified performance goals, and link these goals to a set of rewards and sanctions (Lawn, 1996). The achievement goals are often characterized in terms of mean school scores but some countries also include some measure of improvement for schools to target. The improvement scores offer incentives to low performing schools that show regular improvement toward the state's overall goal. Rewards can include monetary incentives given to the school or to the school teachers, positive recognition, or exemptions from certain district state mandates. Sanctions that are more rigorous in nature often attach severe consequences for student performance such as graduation requirements, tests in different grades,

allowing students to transfer to other schools, required improvement assistance or state takeover. Less rigorous systems may not have consequences for students or schools but count on the public reporting of test scores to motivate schools and their staff (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002).

In addition to school based accountability that focuses on school wide performance and rewards and sanctions, several countries have incorporated student-based accountability into their overall accountability policy (Power, 1994). Student-based accountability matriculates students through the educational system based on students' performance on standardized assessments. Because student accountability systems have somewhat different consequences for schools than school accountability systems, it is often conceptually relevant to consider the impact of these two forms accountability separately.

The literature suggests three accountability systems models: (a) the successive group model, is looking for the changes in the performance of successive group of students (e.g , percent of grade 5 students scoring proficiently in 2006 minus the corresponding percent for grade 5 in 2005, (b) the longitudinal model – gains in performance from one grade to next for students who were tested in both years. (e.g., the mean test score for students in a school in grade 5 in year 2006 minus the mean test score for those same students in grade 4 in 2005, (c) the quasi-longitudinal model – gains in mean performance for all tested students from grade to the next (e.g. the mean test score for all grade 5 students in the school year 2006 minus the mean for all grade 4 students in 2005. Besides student achievement, some countries include in their computing indices used for school accountability subset indicators such as attendance rates of students and/or teachers, dropout rates, and rates of retention in grade.

How Accountability Can Impact Teacher Professional Autonomy in Schools

The fundamental question for this work is whether high stakes accountability might be expected to impact teachers' perception of influence. Critics argue local control – an important tradition and functional management principle – is threatened. Teacher empowerment proponents contend that central regulation undermines the professional autonomy of teachers and damages morale. Empowerment proponents also worry about the negative effects of central curriculum control on pedagogical effectiveness (Brooks, 1991; Archbald & Porter, 1994). Contrary to these concerns, the theory of accountability by design leaves the details of how to meet the performance targets to the local schools and teachers. Furthermore, there is even a question whether accountability can actually reach teachers, given the loosely-coupled system

of the school structure, where responsibility rests with the individual educator rather than with the collective staff, making schools impervious to the influence of the accountability systems (O'Day, 2004). O'Day (2004: 34) argues that accountability systems actually 'draw attention to both instructional practice and teachers' collective responsibility for student learning'. Gross and Goertz (2005) challenge the assumption that teachers will maintain authority over instruction as they attempt to meet their state's performance targets. Ingersoll (2003) raise concern over the impact that a loss of influence or control may have broadly on the teaching profession. If accountability policies inadvertently reduce the level of control teachers have over their work situation (detailed curriculum guides, adoption of one textbook, course-based testing), the policy may end up having detrimental effects on the strength of the teacher supply.

Assuming that there is an influence of accountability on teachers, there remains a question of how the policy affects teachers. March (1994) suggests that organizations that fall below rigid targets often respond by tightening the reins around a small set of practice that seem to have predictable outcomes. Under these contexts, organizational strategies tend to implement very familiar strategies and frown upon innovative practices because their outcomes cannot be predicted. Given this understanding, innovative improvement strategies and opportunities to innovate and pursue goals other than what can be measured on the performance targets would not be expected from schools and teachers that fall below the state's accountability targets. Though restricting practice was not intended by the policy, the natural response to narrow efforts around a few practices effectively constraints what teachers feel comfortable doing.

In addition to this natural response by organizations, schools falling below accountability targets also find themselves under the scrutiny of their communities. Communities more and more take more directive roles in schools failing to meet their accountability requirements even though the policy was intended to leave work in the hands of schools. Thus it is conceivable that teachers' work could be affected vis a vis districts and school administrators.

Accountability Systems, Teachers' Experiences (Self-efficacy and Job Satisfaction): Previous Research.

The research on accountability, though ample, has focused mainly on the relationship between accountability and student achievement (Haney, 2000; Carnoy & Loeb, 2002), or between testing and instructional practice (Lane et al., 2000). To date, there has been little research on the impact of accountability systems on teachers self-efficacy

and satisfaction. One exception is a study that examined the influence of curriculum control policies such as curriculum guides, text adoption and testing policies on teacher autonomy and job satisfaction (Archbald & Porter, 1994). The researchers found that despite curriculum policy constraints placed upon them, all teachers reported relatively high degrees of control over content and pedagogy. Similarly, these policy constraints did not adversely affect job satisfaction or efficacy. However a study carried out by Massell et al., (2004) found that teachers often felt their state's standards, coupled with a rigorous testing regime considerably reduced their autonomy over their classroom instruction and curriculum and as a result, their job satisfaction.

The description of accountability and the response of schools and teachers to the pressure given above suggest that teachers do in fact feel that their states' accountability policies have reduced their influence on curriculum planning and instruction. Smith (1991) and Duncan (1999) found that external accountability systems as such as testing, create feelings of anxiety and pressures upon teachers. Even teachers whose pupils score above grade level are not immune from pressure. They suffer anxiety because they feel they cannot control directly what their pupils will do on the tests and also because of the new accountability systems ignore the affective dimension of teaching. Many feel that the test scores are not necessarily related to good or bad teaching. They express frustration, feel off balance and out of control over local curriculum and their work lives. Furthermore, testing programs reduce the time available for instruction. The reduction caused by external testing means a loss of three to four weeks of the school year. Teachers react to these pressures in two ways: either to accommodate to district expectations about the need to focus instruction so as to raise test scores and keep them high or to resist and to pay the price for that (Van den Berg, 2002).

A recent study (McNess, Broadfoot & Osborn, 2003), which investigated the impact of accountability policy on school teachers in England France and Denmark found that it deeply affected their commitment to the affective aspects of teaching and learning. Their sense of personal identity was also involved. Their roles became more instrumental and their professional autonomy was constrained, while their worth was judged principally on their success in complying with central agendas. Similar changes have been reported in Finland (Rinne, Kivirauma & Simola (2002) and Sweden (Lundahl, 2002).

Mintrop (2003) reported on a study of 11 schools that were labeled as low performing by the State accountability systems of Maryland and Kentucky, known for complex performance-based assessments. The

study showed that schools struggled with severe problems of teacher commitment and satisfaction, which meant that accountability system had a negative effect upon job commitment and satisfaction.

Contrary to those findings Yeh (2006) found that teachers in his study reported positive attitudes toward accountability systems. They argued that the assessments provided a common point for discussion and increased collaboration among teachers to improve instruction and resolve instructional problems. Because of the few studies done in that direction we formulated the following research questions:

1.   How can accountability systems impact teacher influence in schools?
2.   How do accountability systems affect teachers self-efficacy and job satisfaction?
3.   What are the associations between accountability systems, teacher attitudes and context variables?

Accountability Systems in Israel

The Israeli educational system is well known for its high degree of centralization (Gaziel, 2003). However from the early eighties change occurred in the system toward giving more autonomy to schools in content and pedagogy. However, the final decision remained at inspector level, where approval of curriculum school choice and textbooks was given. In regard to the national exam systems, since the creation of the state and until the early seventies student national testing performance was carried out at two time points: at the last year of the primary schools, called the "Seker test" which was a comprehensive testing of knowledge and understanding in Mathematics, Hebrew language, Science and History. Success in this exam was the key to entering a secondary school. At the end of the secondary school the matriculation exam (which is still held in the present day), included a battery of tests in the six disciplines (such a Mathematics, Hebrew and English). Success in this exam allows the student to continues his/her studies in higher education.

Quality assurance by means of teacher assessment and evaluation was usually carried out at the primary and secondary schools by the school inspectors and this system continues to the present. Due to criticism of the "Seker" as a mean of segregating between higher SES students and lower SES students, the Israeli Ministry of Education decided to eliminate it at the early seventies. However the matriculation exams held at the end of of high school still continue. However nothing was suggested to replace the "Seker" until the early nineties. The school effectiveness movements and the globalization trends pushed the Ministry of Education to create the National Authority for

Assessment and Evaluation in Education known as "RAMA", which is the parallel of the British OFSTEAD.

In its official documents (MEN, 2005) RAMA stresses that its main purpose is to improve the Israeli educational systems by: 1) the development of assessment and evaluation tools for permanent checking of the performance of the educational system; 2) instructing and monitoring particular staff specializing in evaluation and assessment in education and 3) providing data needed to improve decision making regarding the performance and promotion of the schools to educational policy makers.

Its main activities were to include: helping the school level departments at the ministry of education to develop standards in the different disciplines and to build validated and reliability tests in the main different disciplines studied at schools. In addition its brief was to instruct schools how to conduct formative evaluation tests and how to read and understand data. Finally it was to assess and control schools via national exams which known as METZAV tests conducted once every two years, and also to instruct schools in ways of approaching international exams such PISA and TIMSS.

How does this system work in practice? Standards were prepared by special committees comprised of specialists, including teachers and school principals, for the following domains: literacy, English, Science and Mathematics. Standards-based initiatives promoted an ambitious agenda, in the sense that they aimed to reach into individual schools, changing the culture and the learning climate, and into individual classrooms, changing the nature of instruction, with the ultimate goal of improving student learning. Standards-based reform possesses a process-driven conception of educational that explicitly links schooling input and policy drivers to student outcomes through early defined mechanisms. These include the provision of curricular materials and other school resources, professional development to ensure that teachers have the requisite content knowledge and instructional abilities, and assessment and accountability systems to monitor and to stimulate progress in student learning and achievement.

Schools had to work according to those standards, meaning that each school has clear goals, shared by teachers. Teachers have to understand what skills and knowledge the student are required to possess, and whether these skills and knowledge are provided to students according to appropriate teaching strategies. They also have to evaluate test results and what they need to do in order to improve the results of underachievers.

The Metzav tests are prepared by the National Authority for Assessment and Evaluation in Education (RAMA). It includes a battery of achievement tests in the following disciplines: literacy, mathematics, English and science. In addition, each school is evaluated according to its educational programs, its educational resources, such as the number of hours allocated for each discipline, teaching strategies and their appropriateness to student needs and capacities, and the school climate (student violence, student and teacher satisfactions, and the extent of teacher burnout. Each school was assessed according to the national mean standard. The performance results of each school were issued to the school principal who communicates it to school teachers, to parent delegates, to the school inspectors, the district inspector and to other higher officers in the educational systems. Schools were expected to improve their performance according to these results, and to report to school inspector about the changes implemented. Schools which failed to meet targets were put under strict control by sanctions usually conducted by parents refusing to send their children to unsuccessful schools.

Study Design

In order to test teachers' perceptions of professional autonomy under the new accountability systems and its correlation to self-efficacy and job satisfaction, 480 teachers from 60 (eight teachers from each school) primary schools from the four of the six educational districts in Israel (12 schools from the Arab sector, 48 schools from the Jewish sector, 24 from the religious stream and 24 from the non-religious one) were required to fill the following questionnaires (70% answered). In addition each teacher had to add his/her degree, years of seniority in the job, the number of students at school, school orientation (religious, non-religious); ethnicity (Jewish or. Arab); Metzav results (under national scores vs. international scores)

Accountability systems were tested by the external control scales adapted from Archbald and Porter (1994), while teachers professional autonomy was tested by teachers' control over classroom content and pedagogy adapted from Gross, Ingersol and Perda (2005). Teacher self-efficacy and job satisfaction was tested using the teachers' attitude scale (four items of teacher self efficacy scale adapted from Gibson (1984), and six items adapted from Lester (1984).

External control scales

Teachers were asked to rate how great an influence each factor below had in determining the content (information, concepts, skills) of their subject courses (1= no influence; 5= major influence):state curriculum guides; the main course textbook; district tests; state tests (Metzav);

setting performance standards; their own beliefs about what topics are important; and what their students needed for future study and work.

Teachers control over classroom content and pedagogy

Teachers were asked to rate how much control they felt they had in their classrooms in each of the following areas in their teaching: 1= no any control; 5=complete control.

   Selecting textbooks and other instructional materials,

   Selecting content, topics, and skills to be taught,

   Selecting teaching techniques,

   Evaluating and grading students,

   Determining the amount of homework to be assigned.

   Involvement in course content decisions

Teacher attitudes scale: self efficacy and satisfaction

Teachers were asked to use the scale provided to rate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the following statement associated with their attitudes toward the new accountability systems: 1= strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree.

   My success or failure in teaching students is due primarily to factors beyond my control rather than to my own effort and ability.

   Teachers are not powerful influence on student achievement when all factors are considered.

   Teachers are stressed by the push by principals for high performance standards.

   I don't feel satisfied in my job at the last years.

   I don't feel that I have the professional autonomy that I need to do my job.

   The new control systems affect negatively my self-efficacy.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 (for all tables see appendix) shows means and standard deviations according to factor and item for the whole sample (N=336). Table 1 indicates that external control as perceived by teachers is seen to be strong. Mean scores are beyond 3.0 and the standard deviations are low.

The closed control is clearly indicated in national tests (m=3.74), by performance standards (M= 3.58), by state curriculum guides (M= 3.40), and by defining students needs (M= 3.36). While less control is felt about textbook choice (M=1.98) in terms of teacher control over content and pedagogy, the mean score findings indicate greater perceived control by teachers, and less state control as indicated by the

following mean scores: selecting teachers techniques; M= 3.94; SD=0.07; evaluating student M= 3.84; SD=0.08; in course content; M=3.55; SD= 0.13; selecting contents M=3.02; SD=0.32 and state interfere in selecting textbook and materials; M= 2.82; SD=0.15.

Table 2 indicates that teachers have a weak sense of self-efficacy as results show that the weighted mean scores of the four items of the Self Efficacy scale are 3.32, with a weighted standard deviations of 0.99. The teachers' perceived job satisfaction is low, indicated by the weighted mean score beneath the 3 point score, while the weighted standard deviation is 0.64.

Table 3 (table 3 is available from the author on request. *Ed*) presents a matrix of correlations among contextual variables, such as teachers' education, seniority on the job, school size, school orientation, teachers' ethnicity, perceived external control, teacher control, teachers' self efficacy, and teacher job satisfaction

Table 3 indicates that teacher education is significantly correlated to seniority (r=.24; p<.01); to teacher ethnicity (r=-.28; p<.01); to prior school failure at the Metzav national exam (r=-.30, p<.01); to teacher self-efficacy (TJE) (r=.32;p<.001) and to teacher job satisfaction (TJS) (r=.22,p<.05). Job seniority is significantly correlated to prior school failure (r=.18,p<.05), to teacher control (r=.19, p< .05), to TSE (r=.27; p<.01) and to TJS (r=-.25; p<.01). School size is significantly correlated to prior school failure in the Metzav national exam (r=.17;p<.05); to external control (r=.22;p<.05); to teacher control (r=.16; p<.05) and to teacher job satisfaction (r=.-18; p<.05). School orientation is significantly correlated to prior school failure at the national exam (r=-.34; p<.001). Teacher ethnicity is significantly correlated to prior school failure at the national exam (r=.44; p<.0001), to external control (r=.26; p<.01), to teacher control (r=-.23, p<.01), to Teacher self efficacy (r=-.28,p<.01), and to teacher job satisfaction (r=-.36, p<.001). Prior school failure in national exam is significantly correlated with external control (r=.39,p<.001); to teacher control (r=.42, p<.001), teacher self efficacy (r=.37, p<.001) and to teacher job satisfaction (r=.21, p<.05). External control is negatively and significantly correlated with teacher control (r=-.28,p<.01) to TSE (r=-.22,p<.05) and to TJS (r=. -34). Teacher control is significantly correlated with teacher self-efficacy (r= .36, p<.001) and to teacher job satisfaction (r=.46; p<.001). Teacher self-efficacy is significantly correlated with teacher job satisfaction (r=.30, p<.001).

Evaluation
The article was designed to explore the impact of accountability sys-

tems on teachers' perceptions of professional autonomy, self-efficacy and job satisfaction. We tested whether performance pressure from high stakes accountability systems affected teachers' reported influence over curriculum policy in their schools, their classroom practice and school policy. In addition, we investigated whether such policies impacted on teachers teachers' self-efficacy and job satisfaction. In terms of the impact of accountability systems on teachers' autonomy (the first research question), previous research was not clear-cut.

Some studies (Massell et al., 2004) found that the pressures upon teachers to meet performance targets on state tests constrained teacher control over their work situation (detailed curriculum guides, adoption of one textbook, course-based testing, which reduced their professional autonomy. O'Day (2004) and Hey (2006) contend that accountability systems leave enough room for teacher discretion to meet performance targets. Given the loosely-coupled system of school structure, responsibility rests with the individual teacher rather than with the collective staff, making schools impervious to the influence of the accountability systems; our findings support the first argument. Teachers reported that external control is tight. The closed control is well expressed in national tests and by the performance standards that negatively affect their professional autonomy. With regard to the second research question our findings corroborate what is found in previous research, the pressures upon teachers increase their anxiety and affect their feelings of self-efficacy and of job satisfaction (Van der Berg, 2002). In short, the high stakes accountability systems reduce the teachers' job satisfaction and their feelings of self-efficacy.

The additional findings regarding the relationships between the high stakes accountability systems reveal that these systems systems negatively affect more educated teachers, those with more years on the job, those teaching in Arab schools and in non-religious Jewish schools. These results could be explained logically: senior teachers and those with more years of formal studies have a higher professional image and expect to have more autonomy at the job as professionals. Arab teachers by comparison translate accountability systems as another means of control upon them as a minority in Israel. Teachers in religious schools are accustomed to having close control over their schools because of ideological reasons. Accountability systems are positively correlated with schools which experienced previous failures in national exams. Schools which experienced failure needed external and internal controls. Another interesting finding is the school size, which has a positive effect upon prior failure in national exams and upon external control and teacher control, while it had a negative impact upon teacher job satisfaction in previous studies.

Conclusion

The present study leads to the conclusion that the impact of accountability systems is not universal and is dependent upon a number of contextual variables such as: teachers' perception of whether the accountability systems constrains their autonomy and discretion in professional issues or not. While external control could affect self-efficacy and or job satisfaction, it also differentially affected teachers from different ethnicities, education level, job seniority, school size, school, orientation and so on. The vast diversity among schools and teachers reduced our ability therefore, to arrive to a general theoretical conclusion.To arrive at such a conclusion further research is required.

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Appendix
Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations on Scales: Total sample

N=336

External control	Mean	SD
State curriculum guides	3.40	0.51
Main course textbook	1.97	0.03
State(National) tests	3.74	0.04
District tests	3.22	0.64
Performance standards	3.56	0.12
Teachers beliefs about topics importance	2.88	0.23
Teachers perceptions about students needs	3.36	0.05
Teachers control over classroom		
Selecting textbooks and materials	2.82	0.15
Selecting contents	3.02	0.32
Selecting teaching techniques	3.94	0.07
Evaluating students	3.84	0.08
Involvement in course content decision	3.55	0.13

Table 2: Means and Standard Deviations: Self efficacy and job satisfaction.

	Mean	SD
Teachers success and failure beyond teachers control	3.97	0.90
Teachers are powerful upon students results.	2.08	0.81
School rules and policies hinder my doing the job .	3.84	1.15
When I really try I can get through to most difficult students.	3.00	1.10
Teaching provides me with an opportunity to advance professionally.	2.52	0.80.
I do not have the freedom to make my own decisions.	3.04	0.95
Teaching discourage originality.	2.03	0.54.
My immediate supervisor watches me closely.	2.90	0.78
Teachers are pushed for students high academic standards	3.47	0.34
Teachers feeling of professional autonomy	2.87	0.48

Book Reviews

David Turner (2009). *Theory and Practice of Education.* **London: Continuum. ISBN-13: 978 0 8264 4170 6 (paperback). 172 pp.**

David Turner, who is Professor of Education at the University of Glamorgan has been very active in comparative education research. In this book he examines the nexus between education research and classroom pedagogy. In his introduction he argues that policy-makers fail to engage with pedagogical theories, and researchers fail to offer theory-informed policy guidelines for authentic and sound policy-making. One gets the impression that the policy rhetoric continues to rule the domain of politics.

Turner has two goals. One is to present a case, demonstrating how research could be designed to address significant issues on pedagogy that are of prime importance to policy-makers globally (see also his *Theory of Education*, 2004). The other, equally ambitious is to present a new model of education, a synthesis of a 'complex system' touching ever sphere of human condition, society and culture.

His book is divided into three parts. In part 1 he presents his theoretical modelling of major paradigms and implications for pedagogy. In part 2 he discusses key issues in education practice, and in part 3 he creates his unique synthesis on 'theory into practice'. Here he discusses models from game theory and demonstrates how they be used in effective learning and teaching. His game-theory models in classroom pedagogy exhibit dimension of 'multicentredness' and 'partial autonomy' (p. 8). He uses the idea of multicentredness in classroom pedagogy, within the background of chaos or complexity theory. In general, Turner argues that education ought to be perceived as a 'traffic network' (here a game-theory/complexity model allows for diversity in choices), rather than a single ladder which one either climbs, to reach the top, or drops out.

In part 2, Turner focuses on the micro-educational settings of the classroom, the operation of the national systems and globalized structure of education. He begins by examining classroom management. The chapters that follow analyse individuals and their choices, while com-

peting with their peers in the academic curriculum, equality of opportunity, Lev Vygotsky and his social cognitive learning, where the individual takes control of their learning, and applications of quality assurance, and suggest a new approach to excellence and quality education. In his part 3, Turner offers his pedagogical synthesis, where he combines his research models with classroom pedagogy.

In his chapter on classroom management, Turner makes some insightful observations. He states that classroom management is based on 'tips and tricks' approach, ranging from behavioural to cognitive and humanistic, for controlling and managing students. As a student teacher, he still remembers four cardinal rules, or how to survive in the classroom, for new pedagogues given by seasoned classroom management lecturers: do not lose your cool, do not make threats that you do not intent to follow through, do not punish the whole class for a few problem students, and start off being very strict at the beginning (i.e., Do not smile on the first day). He confesses that like most novice teachers he did his best to ignore the advice. In his view what new teachers need is a pragmatic and reflective approach to classroom pedagogy. In the first place they need to have tools to analyse/evaluate what went wrong, if applicable. They need to know what to do next time. What teachers need, according to Turner, is a dynamic set of tools that allow them to manage the classroom in different ways to reflect their own professional development.

In his chapter on equality of opportunity, Turner, argues that the concept of 'in education is a 'slippery concept' to grasp (p. 97). It is a construct of the system, in this case, the state or educational organisation. It is not the property of the individual. Equality of opportunity implies a comparison of how different individuals succeed academically, in comparison with others from similar SES backgrounds. Also, the use of the term 'equality of opportunity' suggests that we are not looking at equality of outcomes, but that opportunity implies freedom to choose (democracy, and human rights). He argues that it would be difficult to address the issue of equality of opportunity without controlling and restricting individual freedom – as mandated by a dominant paradigm employed to justify compulsory schooling, vocationalism, credentialism, competitive examinations and elitist educational institutions. Turner critiques previous research on equality of opportunity in education for being too linear and too single-centeredness – the idea that there is one best route through the education system. All research seems to assume that differences in academic achievement must be attributed to personal histories, and that the causes can be clearly identified through newly funded research. Turner's multicentred approach offers a new approach to analysing equality of opportunity in a particular milieu (p. 111).

By using a Vygotskian perspective, Turner argues that the student, through social cognitive constructivism, moves from being a learner to being a 'reflective and self monitoring professional agent'. Thus, through reflective learning the student becomes a member of the community of practice. By internalising certain knowledge, skills, standards, and judgement, the learner transcends the need for a teacher, 'in so far as it relates to the specific things that she has learned' (p. 118).

In his quality assurance chapter, Turner analyses the notion of total control of the system – that has taken hold globally. His good example of the unintended consequences of the myth of total control of excellence and quality in education is the rise of the use of league tables to position and market universities (also used to rank schools, scholarly journals, publication, and citations). He suggests that that are better ways of benchmarking than simplistic and crude league tables. Also we should never lose sight of 'whose achievements an assessment actually records' (p. 144). Turner implies that technocratic managerialism looks for simple answers to complex problems – in the name of efficiency and cost-saving measures (see Zajda, 2008). The only possible model of quality assurance, argues Turner, is based on 'the elements of reflection on action, and the motivation to improve all aspects of performance, is universally distributed' (p. 144).

In his final chapter, by way of conclusion, Turner argues that despite an explosion of interest in 'evidence-based policy', there is a problem of communication between researchers and policy-makers. He attributes this to one reason only – the failure of researchers to undertake policy-based research. I would add that educational researchers need to understand the politics of policies, and the policy rhetoric and generate research evidence grounded in policy-based research. Turner also warns us of 'jumping from a research result to a policy' that exist as linear and single-centred research (p. 163). He develops new multicentred research models to provide the much needed theoretical underpinnings for education policy. He concludes that no substantial multicentred research has been conducted in education policy to date.

David Turner is an original and innovative scholar and his view on research, policy and pedagogy are socially reconstructionist, if not pedagogically challenging. He opens a new door to thinking in a new way on the nexus between research, policy and classroom pedagogy. This is a must read for reflective, critical and transformationalist educators, researchers and policy makers.

David Turner (2010). *Using the Medical Model in Education.*
London: Continuum. ISBN-978 1 84706 117 1 (hardcover). 183 pp.

In his monograph *Using the Medical Model in Education*, David
Turner examines medical models in education, the biochemical basis
of intelligence, cognitive psychology of learning, and classroom learning
in general. His aim is to offer a new insight on understanding cogni-
tion, consciousness and the nature of learning itself. He argues that
'medical' models in education rest on the assumption that biomedical
composition of the brain is intimately linked to the mind. Hence, an
understanding of the cognitive functions of the brain explains the
working of the mind. Here we have a strange juxtaposition of medicine
and neuroscience in particular and a non-physical phenomenon of the
mind – a form of mental energy, that defies time and space. There is
an intellectual history, in the form of history of ideas, and the logic of
science, which attempts to explain ideas and intellectual development
in science and philosophy since the dawn of humanity. Medical science
suggests that it is natural to link the physical and the intellectual –
the brain and the mind (even though to some educators, they are to-
tally opposed entities, almost like matter and metaphysics). The belief
that neurological science will release the secrets of consciousness is
based, as Turner points out, on the notion that there exist an organic
nexus between physiology and thought. Thus, consciousness is essen-
tially biochemical, hence physical, rather than non-physical.

He then proceeds to analyse the basis of intelligence and learning
(chapter 2). He refers to Smith (2004) and the OECD (2007), which dis-
pel myths surrounding the interface of neurophysiology and education.
The popular fads include the 'left brain' and the 'right brain', differ-
ences between male and female brain, and the idea that we use only
10 percent of the brain. These myths are widespread, as Turner notes
correctly, and are founded on no reliable and valid evidence. Turner ob-
serves that the medical models of cognitive processes rests on a very
simplistic hypothesis that there exists a necessary relationship be-
tween physical processes of the brain (detailed in cognitive psychology)
and psychological operations of the mind.

In his chapter 3 'The Thinking Machine' Turner examines the
metaphor of the brain as a computer. Turner argues that the proposition
that the mind-matter, or 'thoughts' and 'neuronal impulses' are alterna-
tive description of the same thing is a pseudo-materialist position, which
the philosopher Karl Popper rejected as 'promissory materialism'.

Turner moves to consider the term intelligence itself (chapter 4) and
implication for learning and teaching. He examines the term IQ and

standardised intelligence tests, with reference to learning and teaching in the classroom, and finds them to be too contested and too problematic to draw any valid conclusions. I agree with the author. Here are the three examples of definitions of intelligence: Intelligence – *a uniform cognitive capacity people are born with*. According to Howard Gardner (1997), intelligence refers *to the human ability to solve problems or to make something that is valued in one or more cultures*. Within the domain of the heredity/environment nexus, intelligence has been defined as a 'general aptitude for learning or an ability to acquire and use knowledge and skills' (Slavin, 2010). The widely used intelligence tests include Stanford-Binet Intelligence Quotient, which measure four areas of abilities: verbal reasoning, abstract/visual reasoning, quantitative reasoning and short-term memory). The first modern measure of intelligence was that of the French psychologist Alfred Binet and his co-researcher Theodore Simon in 1904/5, who were engaged by the Education Department in Paris to identify bright and 'feeble-minded' child. In 1927 Charles Spearman developed the concept of 'g' – a model of intelligence. Spearman proposed his *two-factor theory* of intelligence (*general intelligence* factor, or 'g' and *specific ability* factors, or's' factors). Guilford (1967) developed a three-dimensional image of intelligence (known as the Guilford's cube). His 5 x 6 x 5 cube provides at least 150 possible abilities, with over 100 having been empirically verified.

As Turner suggests, high IQs in verbal reasoning, abstract/visual reasoning, and quantitative reasoning, do not necessarily mean highly intelligent individuals in various other spheres – communication, literature and music, too mention a few. Apart from problems in defining 'intelligence', there are numerous competing models of intelligence globally (e.g. psychometric views of intelligence, information processing theories, multiple intelligences, and social/cultural, to name a few).

In chapters that follow Turner examines different ways of thinking, attention deficit, hyperactivity disorder, different approaches to learning, discipline and respect, how education should be shaped, and his suggestions for a new approach to classroom learning and pedagogy. He makes numerous insightful suggestions concerning cognitive psychology nad its influence on our perceptions of learning and teaching. He refers to George Miller's (1956) notion that learners routinely use different techniques, in developing their own ways of 'chunking' or 'recording' knowledge, to overcome a limit to thinking. In debating attention deficit, Turner, considers the use of 'smart drugs' to enhance cognition – another application of the medical model of how the brain functions and shapes our thinking. He proposed an alternative approach, based on constructivist view of intelligence and thinking, derived from the theories of Vygotsky and Mead., where he focuses on

self-regulated learning and metacognition. He stresses that since human memory and understanding are not 'mechanical processes of the brain' but are processes of the mind, the assumption that smart drugs can bring about 'learning that is equivalent to that produced by study and application' demonstrates a lack of understanding of the difference between the brain and the mind.

In comparing the two major approaches to intelligence and learning, namely the medical and constructivists model, Turner argues that social contructivism is a better model. He is critical of the inflated expectations, due to self-esteem and self-confidence – brought about by social and cognitive psychology. His argument is, that self-esteem is superficial and inflates unrealistically learner's expectations concerning their true talents and abilities. Hence, students, with an over developed sense of 'self-esteem' (and not necessarily high achievers and talented) approach their teachers, demanding a higher mark for their efforts. His message is simple and direct – face the fact that learners can improve themselves through effort and through adopting relevant mental frameworks and schema that 'change the way they see the world and themselves' (p. 125).

With reference to 'discipline' and 'respect 'Turner cautions the reader not to accept them at their face values:

> Respect and discipline are important in all aspects of learning. . . what we often mean by respect and discipline is an unthinkable deference to arbitrary authority (p. 137).

Hence, he reminds us, it is more prudent to choose pedagogical models which allow space for individual difference and free will.

In his new approach to learning and classroom pedagogy, Turner, argues that above all, if education is about learners 'developing self-management, the most important first step is that learners should understand that to be the case' (p. 167). Turner stresses that if we wish to develop a better education, there is a need to address the central problem – policy makers and educational administrators do not really understand how it works:

> They believe that learning is a material process, when it is not. It is going to be hard work to persuade people that education is a process through which people acquire self-management . . . (p. 167).

Turner debunks many myths and 'sacred cows' concerning the intelligence and the nature of learning, and current models of teaching. As he argues the idea that 'we are calculating machines and that biology

is on the verge of providing us with the instruction manual dies very hard' (p. 169). Using a Vygotskian perspective, Turner explains that learning is constructivist:

> . . . involving first an interpersonal cycle, in which the individual can be helped and supported in a task, followed by an intrapersonal cycle in which the person has to decide for him or herself how to incorporate the learning of the first cycle into their personal frameworks for understanding (p. 171).

Thus, learning, as Turner, concludes, in a somewhat minimalistic sense, is 'a process of developing self-management through a sequence of personal experiences' (p. 177). His final message is very pragmatic and direct – learning involves a great deal of effort, self-regulation and self-management. Therefore, learners are complex, 'self-regulating systems with multiple feedback loops' (p. 177).

In his book, Turner offers many innovative and provocative ideas. Most important is the idea that a 'smart pill', be it biochemical or pedagogical, for improving the learner's performance in the classroom is a myth, and demonstrates how little we understood about how we really do learn. This is a book that should be read by all educationalist and empowering pedagogues working towards global pedagogies paradigm.

Joseph Zajda, *Australian Catholic University*

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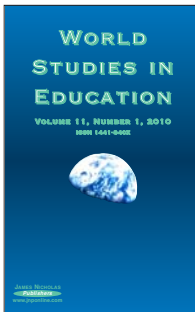
WORLD STUDIES IN EDUCATION
VOLUME 11, NUMBER 1, 2010
ISSN 1441-340X

World Studies in Education is a refereed journal providing a worldwide forum for international comparative education research and global studies.

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