Global Perspectives on Adolescence and Education 1

Devin G. Thornburg *Editor*

Global Views of Adolescence

Exploring Relationship-Building, Curriculum Innovation, and School Reform Through Educator Narratives

Springer

Global Perspectives on Adolescence and Education

Volume 1

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Foreword

The book to which I am privileged to write the foreword is about *trust*. Dr. Devin Thornburg presents here an extensive collection of narratives from around the world—13 different countries to be exact—that lead us down a path of understanding adolescence in 2020 through the eyes of teachers who believed that:

> Trust emerges and becomes manifested in learning within educational contexts in different ways [making it clear] that the development of adolescence… signaled different types of learning and relationships in schools that was worth thinking, talking, and writing about (Thornburg, 2020, p. 3).

The noteworthy idea behind these teachers' narratives is how much the common view of "adolescence" has truly changed—and that this view, indeed, is a cross-cultural concern/understanding—shatters the historically held construct of the Western, male model of adolescence which dictates that (primarily) male youth (and later, male youth of color) are a breed apart from the rest of us, causing great strife and violence in both our schools and our communities. (See Faludi, S. 1999 *Stifed: The betrayal of the Amerian Man* & Garbarino, J. 1999, *Lost boys: Why our sons turn violent and how we can save them.*)

Indeed, the onset of adolescence *is* a critical period of biological and psychological change for every child, involving dramatic transitions in one's physical as well as social environment. These transitions have become more difficult in recent years as a combination of socioeconomic and cultural factors (think: war, migration movements, and massive refugee resettlements) has led to an erosion of traditional social-support networks (families, schools, community, nation) upon which adolescents so desperately depend. Little, if any, work since the 1980s has taken into account the dramatic effects that this erosion has had on adolescence, nor has it examined these intersections within the context of such a rapidly changing, and increasingly violent, world.

And yet, schools for the adolescent population (particularly in the United States), tasked first as "junior high" schools and subsequently as "middle schools," are created by design to separate our youth from the rest of the school population (and

society at large), declaring that they as societal institutions are in the *sole* unique position to ensure that these transitions occurred as smoothly as possible.

Thankfully, through extensive theoretical and practice-based cross-cultural research refreshingly presented through the teachers' eloquently written narratives, Dr. Thornburg and his colleagues stand this idea on its head by showing how, in actuality, *the lives of adolescents should be guiding what schools do*, not the other way around, emphasizing that the *specific knowledge* adolescents must learn in a global society is much less important than the *ways* in which they learn, highlighting for us that the:

> attention paid to the specific knowledge that adolescents acquired was less urgent …[and that adolescents') learning itself should be broadened in school settings to emphasize the social, emotional, aesthetic, physical and sexual aspects of adolescents' lives (p. 3).

And, perhaps most importantly, Dr. Thornburg underscores for the reader—us—that this "broadened," more student-focused learning is trending toward a *universal* finding across cultures and across the world. Crucially, in today's global society, increasingly populist governments intertwine with (and support and/or survive among) war-torn countries, propelling huge migrations of (primarily male) adolescent youth toward borders unseen, languages and cultures unknown, and schooling interrupted, only to "allow" these adolescents to be subject to a scourge of racism and violence. These youth, the very adolescents who will shape our world's future, whose "temporal proximity to entry into society as an adult" *should not be understated nor ignored*, who will undoubtedly become the adults and leaders of tomorrow, would be better in their quest for a different world order, to learn:

> The importance of encouraging certain forms of thinking and behavior such as independent judgment and decision-making, reflection, and self-regulation, working effectively with diverse people, and collaborating for purposes of production (p. 185).

In this important and timely edited volume, Dr. Thornburg has complied an impressive list of contributors who, through their own powerful narratives, talk of trust and transition as they reflect upon a wider, more diverse view of understanding adolescence. For anyone who is interested in cross-cultural collaboration, the power of teacher narratives (See Blake, R.W., Jr. & Blake, B.E., 2012, *Becoming a teacher: Using narrative as reflective practice*), schooling, and/or notions of what it means to be an adolescent in today's global society, *Global Visions of Adolescence* is a must-read—indeed I find it to be an indispensable book in a world that so desperately needs to (in the indelible prose of Freire in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1968) "read the word" as it "reads the world."

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Chapter 1
Introduction: Global Visions of Adolescence

Devin G. Thornburg

> "No one leaves his or her world without being transfixed by its roots, or with a vacuum for a soul. We carry with us the memory of many fabrics, a self soaked in our history, our culture; a memory, sometimes scattered, sometimes sharp and clear, of the streets of our childhood, of our adolescence; the reminiscence of something distant that suddenly stands out before us, in us, a shy gesture, an open hand, a smile lost in time and misunderstanding, a sentence, a simple sentence, possibly now forgotten by the one who said it." (Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of Hope, 1994, p. 24)

The collected narratives included in this book represent Freire's eloquent words as they are from educators in many countries who are describing their work with adolescents, offering their reflections based on the fabric of memory, history and culture of their experience. What they have learned as students and teachers themselves over the years is offered generously to the reader, who can gain insight into their professional lives, their cultures and their hopes for their students.

The context of their work as educators matters in how they understand their students, their needs and how to respond to them. So too do their beliefs or theories about learning and development. By way of introducing their words and works, an outline of recent works on adolescent learning and development from a global perspective is offered. This is not intended to be an overview of theoretical views of adolescence so much as an approach to highlight how cross-cultural understandings have challenged the predominant European-U.S. narrative about adolescent development.

In recent decades (since the 1980s) there has been a slow convergence of developmental psychology and cultural anthropology on cross-cultural perspectives of adolescence (Gielen 2016). What was somewhat of a footnote in developmental theories of the relevance to non-Western societies became increasingly contextual, based on the multiple but scattered studies that demonstrated the relative lack of universal themes (Grove and Lancy 2016). Part of this evolution was the result of an increasing focus on multiculturalism and globalism in the 1980s and 1990s that led

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to studies of development of adolescents of color, immigrants and finally, non-Western societies (Gielen 2016).

Given the tremendous individual variability across gender, race and culture in the literature, even the concept of "adolescence" itself is worth addressing. Dating back to the late fifteenth century, adolescence was viewed as a period between childhood and adulthood from ages 14 to 25 for males and 12 to 21 for females (Murray et al. 1989). Over the centuries—and depending on the source—the chronology of adolescence has ranged from 10 to 24 with three substages in what is most typically described a "transitional" period of life: early adolescence, late adolescence and young adulthood (Curtis 2015). Many writers on development have substantiated adolescence as a separate period based on research findings of biological changes, brought on by puberty at an average age of 11 (varying dramatically in onset based on a variety of factors; Steinberg 2014) with accompanying changes in the brain, resulting in greater plasticity, sensitivity and fluctuations in connections among neural systems that influence reasoning, emotional states and impulses (Geidd 2015).

Theoretical understanding of adolescent development can be thought about as emanating from fairly distinct philosophical traditions, intertwined with the physiological changes that are part of that phase of life. There are various conceptualizations, including one recently published by Curtis (2015), that distinguish among the biosocial, the organismic and the contextual views of development. The biosocial view (including that of G. Stanley Hall 1904) takes its cues from Darwinian notions of evolution and "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny," based on genetically-based physiological changes. The organismic philosophy involves a set of predetermined stages ("epigenesis") with recognition of contextual forces influencing the process of growth. Most of the well-known Western (and predominantly male-generated) theories of development of the last century can be grouped with this philosophy: Freud, Erikson, Piaget and Kohlberg. Contextual theories of development address the influence of social and cultural factors on learning and the interplay of the individual and the environment. Mead, Bronfenbrenner, Lerner and Vygotsky all represent this tradition. Adolescence is positioned with contextual theories as a social and historical construction as much as a biological imperative.

Yet there do seem to be some common trends across both Western and non-Western cultures pertaining to what adolescence is considered to be: (1) the age at first marriage has increased; (2) age at birth of the first child has increased; (3) formal education is increasing; (4) gender differences in education are decreasing; and (5) the period prior to taking on adult roles and responsibilities has lengthened (Curtis 2015; National Bureau of Economic Research 2015; Steinberg 2014). What is striking about these trends is how little they have to do with the psychobiological or organismic imperatives that have been established, but instead reflect the social and cultural factors that are part of the contextualized perspective of the life cycle.

Similarly, a growing number of contemporary theories emphasize contextually situated continuity and plasticity in adolescent development rather than the stage theories as an endpoint for explanation. This book was developed to capture the "mini-theories" of adolescence through educators' experience, with some of the writers citing more comprehensive models of development. In doing so, their work

can illuminate and "validate differences in subjectivity, gender and sexuality, race and class, and temporal and spatial locations" (Curtis 2015, p. 5).

The postmodern perspectives are most aligned with the framework used in this book, drawn from the traditions of Habermas, Lyotard, Derrida, Foucault and, more recently, Teo (2014). These views of adolescence assume that knowledge is constructed with a political basis of power rather than discovered in any kind of empirical method construed as neutral. The postmodern construction is uncertain and chaotic and, in fact, encouraged in contrast to a modernist view of causal, linear thought about predictability. A postmodern view is in alignment with a globalized perspective that diminishes the university as the sole producer of knowledge and turns to local, cultural and contextual understanding as more meaningful (Tierney 2001). The adolescent here is listened to and valued for her or his own sake rather than as a way to understand the adult condition which marks most biosocial or even organismic theories. The researcher (and here, the educator) seeks to know and help with a full understanding of the social and historical context.

Throughout the twentieth century, adolescence was written about by Western researchers in the biosocial and organismic traditions as a form of "rebirth" (Hall 1904) and/or reorganization of thinking, feeling, behavior and social relationships. Adolescence is a transition from childhood to adulthood (*Journal of Adolescence* 2018) and, while we might criticize the concept as an unnecessary "invention" of modern culture (Epstein 2010), it is supported by extensive cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural research. What may be lacking is an integrated approach that includes a number of contextual frames. Curtis (2015) described it as the basis of "risk, resiliency and opportunity" (p. 2) as a result, and how those developmental changes are understood very much depended on cultural, social and historical contexts. She offered the example of "autonomy" that is considered by many as a normative task for adolescents, and referenced writers who argue that this task of autonomy might be considered differently in collectivist or individualist cultures. The result is a comparison of other cultures to our own, resulting in the construction of dichotomies: individualistic, independent, Western vs. collectivist, interdependent non-Western.

The risk in such thinking is twofold: (1) that a comparative approach (rather than a contextualized one) is used to understand cultural influences, continuing a "we" vs. "them" approach to understanding and (2) the failure to acknowledge that collectivism or individualism coexist to an extent in all cultures (Thornburg 2004). When other cultures enter into our own, the adolescent/social conflict takes on ethnic, linguistic or racial meanings that become more challenging: how can the same lens be used to understand adolescent lives when each community has its own understanding of adolescence? But we continue to do so. We construct the "Other" and keep adolescents' communities and their voices silent, out of our gaze. And constructions of the "Other" become part of our pedagogy. From a postmodern view, the questions that should be raised are those having to do with the "voices" involved in this activity (the teacher's, author's, and the students') as well as whose voice is being "heard."

This book is a collective effort, written with great collaboration and generous spirit, by educators from 13 countries. They are all considering the ways in which adolescents from their historical and cultural context would best flourish within schools that are themselves the product of centuries-old beliefs and values about knowledge, learning and teaching. Its creation was sparked by a year-long journey exploring trust in learning in many of these same countries, analyzing multiple narratives about the students' dynamic relationships with teachers, with themselves, and to knowledge. One of the findings from that effort was that trust emerges and becomes manifested in learning within educational contexts in different ways, and it became clear to many of us that the development of adolescence as well signaled different types of learning and relationships in schools that was worth thinking, talking and writing about.

What also became evident was that there were some shared perspectives about adolescents across countries that educators found challenging to respond to within school structures, programs, and practices that had become entrenched. All felt that the lives of adolescents should be guiding what schools do, but the question was how best to accomplish that. All also felt that attention paid to the specific knowledge that adolescents acquired was less urgent—for many reasons—than the ways in which they learned, and that learning itself should be broadened in school settings to emphasize the social, emotional, aesthetic, physical and sexual aspects of adolescents' lives.

1.1 Organization of the Book

Schooling in each country is summarized with a short history at the beginning of each chapter, hopefully of value to readers to situate the views of the educators involved in a larger historical and cultural context. While these contextual overviews are not exhaustive, they help to explain or lend insight into some of the emphases given in the narratives that follow each. The unique responses of each educator—or team of educators, in some cases—were important to capture in this volume, and the approach we ended up choosing was to compile their narratives into three somewhat overlapping themes: (1) "re-centering" schools (through both philosophy and pedagogy) to focus more carefully on adolescents' growth and needs; (2) redesigning curriculum to reflect more intentionally their growth and needs; and (3) re-envisioning schools at multiple levels and in relationship to communities to better respond to their growth and needs. In the pages that follow, each of these themes is developed through narratives from a number of countries. Each narrative is framed in terms of reflective practice and inquiry, sometimes in a more scholarly fashion, but always with the adolescent as the center of the process.

The first theme of re-centering is illuminated by the words of Meg Johnsen Ducom, a teacher of languages in Bordeaux, France. She thoughtfully outlines a pedagogy of English-language instruction within a social-emotional perspective of her students, a theme picked up by Alia Shalaby and Kate Montgomery in their

work with teachers in Cairo, Egypt. Both chapters reflect the challenges educators must face if they are to "listen" more closely to the adolescents' needs in their classrooms. Koen Schaap, an educator and university supervisor of teaching in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, addresses these challenges through the importance of choice, of personal freedom and responsibility and the meaningful preparation of students for a "messy world." In Morocco, Ismail Madani Alaoui and Mostafa Aboutayeb –a university professor and a secondary school teacher–emphasize the connections of pedagogy and adolescent students' motivation, offering an overview of innovative practices in response to their developmental needs. Ngulinzi Ntigwiyahuligwa and Kate Montgomery explore how the practices of support rather than corporal punishment as discipline can begin to create better conditions for student learning—and the ways to help educators to understand that shift.

Curriculum redesign is often a part of any book on educational practice, but here it is undertaken as a way toward the liberation of adolescents through study and learning in the arts, through interdisciplinary study, and through better understanding of their own health and sexual behavior. Professor José Gustavo Sampaio Garcia of São Paulo, Brazil, provides portraits of three of his students in their artistic works that revolve around their own personal and social identities, a perspective picked up by a team of educators in an innovative school in Sevilla, Spain—Miguel Rosa Castejon, David Muñoz Villaraviz, and Fernanda Duran Romero—where the identities of diverse students are explored and celebrated through interdisciplinary projects emphasizing, for example, the arts and technology. Marie-Anne Cazenave of Bordeaux, France, reflects on a project approach in her work with adolescents in such areas as theater, seeking to understand the motivation and growth of her students within that approach to learning and teaching. A large team of educators from Madagascar—Hantanirina Rasamimanana, Tolotra Randrianirina, Lovatiana Ramanantsoa, Tia Rabemanantsoa, Mihaja Raelison, Saotra Rakotonomenjanahary and Njaratiana Rahariniraiiny—offer their insights from the study of Malagasy adolescents' knowledge and needs about their social, emotional and sexual lives and how schools can be responsive to them through approaches to the curriculum.

The final theme is explored in depth through school reforms and visions of what could be, seeking to move beyond the ongoing contradictions between educational institutions and the human condition. Seth Walker and Devin Thornburg highlight how schools in the U.S. undermine the learning and power of both the individual and the community, speculating as to how schools might respond to a different paradigm of the mind. Graciela Isabel Ostrowski describes how her innovative school in Buenos Aires, Argentina, sought reform based on a holistic view of adolescents through a wide range of initiatives that engaged both students and the community. Rukhsana Ayyub writes about multiple efforts by colleagues through CARE to provide a more holistic approach to the educating of adolescents—particularly underserved females—in two provinces in Pakistan. And Andrea Avendano sensitively portrays her work with the Mapuche, an indigenous people in Chile, to affirm their relationship with nature and their own culture through processes of artistic expression.

Each of these portraits of adolescents through the work of educators offers a perspective on a country and culture that is part of the book's importance—and power. Because they are addressing how schools might support adolescents' learning and growth, they are primarily focused on the context of that support by teachers, the curriculum and the community. There is a great sense of urgency about the next generation's welfare that underlies much of what these educators have to offer. Hopefully the reader will gain a deeper perspective on education on an international scale and come to see how many people are making such impressive efforts to make a difference in adolescents' lives.

One of the challenges of the book has been to consider a postmodern critique of "othering" of adolescents who were *written about* rather than listening to their voices and involving them in the conversation. Unfortunately, the discourse of postmodernism does not escape its own critique. The postmodernist continues to write to us about "them," continuing to make them the object of study. In this volume, the writers were asked to reflectively and reflexively consider themselves the object of study as well.

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Part I
“Re-Centering” Schools

Chapter 2
Encouraging Emotional and Social Development Among a Diverse Student Body in a Secondary School in Southwest France

Meg Johnsen Ducom

2.1 France and Education: An Overview

Although an education system has existed in France since the sixteenth century with some schools founded and run by nonsectarian groups, until the French Revolution in the eighteenth century most education was in the hands of Catholic clergy (primarily Jesuits) and competing religious groups (primarily Protestant) for the purposes of teaching literacy and the Humanities. The Ministry of Public Instruction created in 1792 was the first attempt by the newly formed Republic to offer secular education opportunities to all male citizens, but this was limited to early education. France would have to wait until the arrival of Napoléon in the early nineteenth century for the creation of secondary schools and a more centralized institution that oversaw teacher appointments, curriculum and budget. This unified educational system was open to all and students were to be judged on merit alone.

Beginning in the late 1950s, enrollment in school became obligatory until the age of 16 and public schools were, and remain to this day, organized on three levels: preschool (ages 3–5) and elementary schools (ages 6–11), middle schools (in French: *collèges*, four years of schooling in language, math, history, sciences, foreign languages, physical education and the arts), and high schools (in French: *lycées*, three years' preparation for the *baccalauréat*). The *baccalauréat* is, in turn, of three types: *général* (geared toward students who intend to study in university settings for at least three years), *technologique* (more vocationally oriented programs), and *professionnel* (designed to prepare students to enter the job market as artisans or skilled workers). Students thus stay in school longer, and their choice of secondary school diploma is contingent on prior academic records as well as personal preference. While the French tradition of including Humanities in their national curriculum has endured over time (even now students in vocational

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programs are required to take philosophy in their final year), it is more often than not the students' performance in mathematics and science that determine their ability to pursue the most prestigious levels of schooling (Chapoulie 2017).

Teachers at the secondary level specialize in one subject, such as sciences, French, or History, which they teach in one-hour blocks (teachers preparing students for the *baccalauréat professionnel* may teach two disciplines, such as French and History). They are considered content specialists and are not required to take coursework in psychology or exceptionality but must include technology in their classrooms. Students with special needs have only become visible in the past decade, and although the teachers receive no particular training in the area, they are now expected to adapt their lessons and assessment practices to an increasingly heterogeneous population. Inclusion of special needs students is still virtually nonexistent and co-teaching in such inclusive settings is rare.

2.2 Introduction

Bordeaux has received recent attention as its extensive and successful urban renewal programs have led to increased levels of commercial investment and tourism, so much so that *Lonely Planet* designated Bordeaux No. 1 travel destination in 2017. My three-year public secondary school is located only a few kilometers from Bordeaux's famous reflecting pool and the iconic Place de la Bourse, and a stone's throw from a historic maritime neighborhood crisscrossed by cobblestone streets lined with antique shops and small outdoor cafés. However, tourists visiting the city would most likely never pass near our secondary school, as it sits among the high-rise buildings of a mid-twentieth-century public-housing project zone. Statistics from the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) reveal that in 2018 the majority of households (53%) in this area are "low income" (INSEE 2018) and that the vast majority of the residents are as a result lodged in affordable housing structures (Aurba 2017). Despite recent renovations to the housing projects, an efficient tram service and efforts to create more inviting public areas, this neighborhood and its secondary schools are given a wide berth by more affluent families. They fear that their children will be academically hindered by the presence of less-affluent, less-talented students and potentially destructive classroom experiences. As a result, our school rarely functions at full capacity and we often accept young people who have been refused enrollment in schools more recognized for academic success.

It is true that our school does not benefit from the highest standardized test scores in the final year of secondary school—the *baccalauréat*—that determine high school graduation rates. (Note that the centralized National Education system is currently undergoing reform. Although the French *baccalauréat* will continue to exist, beginning in 2021 the revised conditions for graduation will include fewer final exams and require passing grades on a larger number of exams taken during

the final two years of secondary school.) While some schools in the city boast graduation rates near or at 100%, our school has consistently performed at rates between 80 and 86% over the past six years, 3–10% below national levels. The school also faces a higher than average degree of absenteeism and disciplinary issues. Yet our institution includes a rich level of diversity absent from many of the surrounding high schools, thanks in part to the multicultural nature of the neighborhood (many students are first-generation French citizens) and in part to the fact that our school offers not only the traditional *baccalauréat général* classes in humanities and sciences, but also the *baccalauréat technologique*, a curriculum that includes classes in business management, accounting and human resources and is designed for students who intend to enroll in programs outside the university or research setting. Our school also offers the equivalent of honors or accelerated classes, and many of our graduates do attend university and other selective programs to study sciences, law and political science. In short, our student population is an authentic example of what the French would term *mixité sociale*: the presence of young people from a variety of socio-professional and cultural backgrounds associating and interacting in the same space.

The students here are nonetheless well aware of the stigma attached to their school and their neighborhood. Like all teenagers, they face pressure from family and peers, but many face additional pressures from modest income and insufficient shared living quarters. In comparison with other high school students in our city, those entering tenth grade (ages 15–16) often seem less self-confident, less autonomous in their work and less prepared to face the academic demands of the centralized institution of *l'éducation nationale*. To a greater extent than other high schools in the city, our school as a result tends to shoulder responsibilities far beyond the transmission of knowledge, namely, insuring the social and emotional development of our students. As a teacher of language, literature and culture of English-speaking countries, finding a way to bridge the gap between the various backgrounds of our students and encourage both social and emotional development have often proved to be a challenge. My twenty years of experience here has allowed me to experiment with various methods in meeting those challenges. This chapter will present a few of the techniques I have found effective (specifically, teaching English in English), but will also discuss the importance of institutional support in the social and emotional development of our students before addressing the challenges and limits that accompany this pedagogical approach.

2.3 Building Emotional and Social Development Through English, Exclusively in English

Until approximately ten years ago, language teaching in France tended to center on writing skills only, and beginning in the sixth grade (ages 11–12) students learning English as a foreign language were held to a standard of near-perfection in order to

receive above-average grades. The national standardized final exams required for high school graduation were exclusively based on written comprehension and written expression. Oral participation in class was very rarely if ever included in calculating quarterly or annual averages, and many French adults today remember being consistently interrupted in their attempts to communicate if their pronunciation or grammar were inaccurate. Social interaction through oral work in the language was, as a result, anything but spontaneous, and limited to structured artificial exercises that had little to do with the real world. Generations of French students therefore grew up understanding written English but with a collective lack of self-confidence when it came to speaking it. As borders have literally and figuratively blurred thanks to the expansion of the European Union, mobility programs such as Erasmus+ (according to their website, "Erasmus+ is the EU's program to support education, training, youth and sport in Europe. Its budget …provide[s] opportunities for more than 4 million Europeans to study, train, and gain experience abroad.") and near-universal access to English through internet and social media, the French *Éducation nationale*, using the Common European Framework of References for Languages (CEFRL) as a guide, has adjusted its final exams to include oral comprehension and oral expression assessments. Reforms in 2012 marked a first important institutional step in recognizing the role of language as a social phenomenon (as opposed to a simple object of study), and thus encouraged educators to include more classroom activities centered around listening and speaking.

The reforms of 2012 gave a formal framework to a practice with which I had been experimenting for years, namely conducting English classes solely in English. This practice may be widespread in other countries but is not systematic in France, and most of my tenth grade students, due perhaps to their backgrounds, have never traveled to an English-speaking country nor encountered a native English speaker—and, moreover, have never had an English teacher who spoke to them exclusively in English. From the first day of class, I now insist on an English-only context for all communication between myself and students and feign confusion when students speak French, not only during language exercises and activities but for all administrative work and casual interaction. Regardless of the students' level or previous exposure to addressing these issues in a foreign language, they are required to use their language skills in practical circumstances that have concrete objectives. Examples of these situations include negotiating entrance to class, receiving credit for homework done or avoiding sanctions for work not handed in, and requesting assistance. For the stronger students this approach is novel and motivating. When polled in 2019, one student summarized, "It's enriching and is a change from the routine of other classes." For weaker students, having to communicate about down-to-earth issues in English may seem daunting at first, but the teacher and stronger students in the class provide necessary vocabulary and grammar to help their classmates acquire the automatic responses necessary for smooth functioning. It is important to note that during these causal exchanges, some set expressions are expected and taught if necessary, for example, "I apologize for being late" or "Could I please have the worksheet since I was absent last time?" However, the object of this approach is to develop autonomy and self-confidence in English, not linguistic

accuracy, so grammatical and phonetic errors remain uncorrected unless understanding is impeded.

The academic advantages of this approach are no doubt significant, but what I wish to describe is the positive effects on the emotional and social development of the students. Personal observations in addition to student reflections suggest that one of the most immediate and lasting effects of this method, for most students, is empowerment and increased self-confidence. Indeed, the initial belief that their level in English is superior to the teacher's level in French encourages students, even the weakest, to take risks in communicating. The English-only approach also requires intensified concentration and increased intellectual flexibility as students recognize and manage their emotions, notably anxiety and frustration, then explore the options of how to communicate in view of their limitations. When asked via informal anonymous questionnaires given at the end of the 2018 and 2019 academic years, one tenth grade student stated, "Speaking 100 percent English helps me stay concentrated in learning English." Another student admitted experiencing difficulty but explained, "Speaking 100 percent English in class bothers me at times but it's a better way to learn." Another noted, "It is difficult at first but you adapt." This immersion-type approach subsequently allows for a successful transition to more complex language activities during the lesson. In the same questionnaire, many students' observations about the all-English method indicate that it better familiarizes them with the language and, in the words of one student, "helps us to improve." The satisfaction of succeeding in a task that they may have otherwise avoided in turn leads to increased levels of self-confidence and the creation of an environment conducive to taking other risks. Over time (usually 2–3 months), as they inevitably assimilate listening and speaking skills, students experience the satisfaction that perseverance and delayed gratification bring. One student reported in June 2018, thinking back to September, that when faced with a class conducted entirely in English, "I thought I would never make it, that I would understand nothing," (but nine months later), "it doesn't bother me at all." Another remarked that at the start of the year, "I wondered how I was going to understand and if I was going to drop out of the class," (but today), "I am more concentrated, I understand more and I'm more comfortable [in the class]." More generally, out of twenty-eight tenth grade students polled in 2019, twenty-seven felt they had made progress in understanding and speaking English. One eleventh grade student even commented in 2018: "It forces me to try to speak. Today, if the teacher spoke to me in French it would be too easy!"

The consistent use of classroom English may encourage more than just emotional development on an individual scale. It is quite possibly an effective technique in encouraging social development between peers as well. Despite the artificial context of a foreign-language class and the discomfort adolescents naturally feel when practicing a foreign language with their peers, students in my classes are strongly encouraged to speak exclusively in English among themselves as well as with the teacher. On a practical level, the temptation to achieve instantaneous comprehension and expression in the native language is at times too strong to resist, but the teacher's gentle reminders and insistence are usually effective in establishing an English-only environment. The institutional framework, in legitimizing the

assessment of oral communication skills, supports this approach and I systematically include oral grades in quarterly progress reports. This said, while I do occasionally evaluate linguistic and phonetic accuracy in students' productions through reading or speaking assignments, my participation grades are once again based solely on the student's resolve to communicate, not on the quality of their spoken response. I also include an oral assessment based on auto-evaluation. For this, students use a form to record all their communication in English during the lesson, allowing them to receive credit for casual interaction with peers as well as for more formal class discussion.

One of the positive effects of these methods, once again, would seem to be increased self-confidence. Students appear less apprehensive about speaking with their peers, and even the weakest students engage more readily in conversation. At the end of the 2019 academic year, almost three-fourths of my tenth graders reported feeling "comfortable" in English class, and agreed entirely with the statement, "I feel I can participate without worrying what my classmates think." Insisting on peer interaction in the foreign language would also seem to encourage general communication and relationship-management skills. I systematically use seating charts based on communication objectives, so my students are obliged to interact with their classmates regardless of skill level, affinity with friends or socioeconomic background. In their attempts to bridge the gaps and create a positive atmosphere for communication, students, perhaps unconsciously, rely on the use of initiative, collaboration and adaptability, all essential elements of relationship management. The rewards of delayed gratification, this time in small-group settings, are evident in one student's observation in 2018: "Now I feel comfortable speaking [in English]. I know that I don't have to be afraid to participate even with people I am not close to." Another student's comment goes even farther: "I feel comfortable speaking English with [my classmates], and sometimes we even speak in English outside class." Finally, faced with the obligation of recording their own work, it would seem that students benefit from an increased sense of responsibility and satisfaction knowing that the teacher trusts their truthfulness. Contrary to what one might assume, they actually tend to underestimate the frequency and quality of their oral productions, and my observations suggest that false reporting of participation is almost nonexistent.

2.4 Beyond the Foreign Language: Contributing Factors

The effectiveness and success of the classroom activities described above, and the successful promotion of emotional and social development among teens in a secondary school setting in general, are in my experience contingent upon several factors. I am convinced that if language teachers—and all educators, irrespective of the discipline taught—are to convince students to delay gratification and engage in potentially uncomfortable communication situations, they must first establish a trusting, respectful relationship between themselves and students, and then

encourage this same relationship between the students themselves. Consequently, the ability of an educator to gain students' trust and respect would seem to be at least as important as their training in a specific discipline. In my experience, adolescent students seem to trust those adults whose sincerity and enthusiasm is accompanied by a firm, fair, but not inflexible approach to expectations. In the case of language, as the CEFRL scale outlines, the quest for bilingual perfection has no place in successful communication among non-natives, and teachers are more likely to create positive communication environments if they adhere to practices based on this principle that can be simply, clearly and logically explained. It is telling that among the tenth grade students quoted above who were enthusiastic about the 100% English method, all the students save three agreed completely with the statements "I have the right to not understand," "I can ask the teacher for help," and "It's OK to ask the teacher to repeat or to reformulate." My observations suggest that teachers are met with more success when their evaluation and disciplinary systems favor positive reinforcement over punitive measures, a particular challenge for French schools. Demonstrating leadership and social skills no doubt also encourages development of these same skills among teens themselves, since students may be better able to mirror positive, constructive behavior when confronted with a model. One would hope, therefore, that teachers would consistently show sensitivity, courtesy and optimism. Finally, knowing that emotional and social development is a gradual process, educators do well to arm themselves with conviction and tenacity, meaning that they must be able to practice the same delayed gratification and emotional competencies they expect from their students.

No matter how committed the educators, building emotional and social intelligence among secondary school students seems to work best when accompanied by additional resources that are truly "human." These include administrators, guidance counselors and support staff who share the values of commitment to young people and to what the French *Éducation nationale* terms "equality in opportunity" (*l'égalité des chances*). In their attempt to level the playing field, administrators (principals and vice-principals) have some leeway in adapting national directives to a school's specific needs in terms of schedules, hours and class sizes. Examples of this include favoring smaller groups (fewer than 25 students) in programs where students routinely encounter more academic, social and emotional difficulties, or allotting hours to accelerated or honors English classes. These measures have enabled our secondary school to adapt to our students' various ability levels, allowing the weaker students to benefit from more individualized learning conditions and permitting more ambitious students to be intellectually challenged by elective classes. As an institution whose academic results are frequently inferior to national and regional averages, our school has also benefitted for more than ten years from the presence of three "pedagogical assistants" (*assistants pédagogiques*), primarily college graduates in their twenties who are available full time to assist students with their homework, explain lessons and help prepare young people for national exams. For those students who aspire to competitive university programs in political science, our school receives special funding for teachers to prepare students outside classroom hours in writing skills, general culture and exam strategy. Public schools

in France also benefit from specific institutional support regarding foreign-language instruction. Like many European countries, every year France welcomes hundreds of foreign-language assistants, most often young adults who are completing or who have just completed their undergraduate degree. They work with small groups of students (ideally between 4 and 10) from October through April of the school year, providing an authentic example of language and culture and encouraging oral communication in their native language.

While relatively small by French standards (we enroll approximately 500 students from the tenth to twelfth grades), our school also benefits from two guidance counselors, a full-time school nurse and a part-time social worker in addition to six "counseling office aides" (*assistants d'éducation*), all of whom contribute to what the French call "school life" (*vie scolaire*). These additional actors, whose presence is also entirely financed by the French centralized education system, tackle a variety of disciplinary and health-related issues. Counseling office aides record tardiness and absences, which are posted online and reported directly to parents within the hour by telephone, and verify written excuses regarding missed classes. These office aides are typically university students closer in age and cultural references to the high-school students. They are often the most common liaison between the adolescents, their teachers and their parents, and are excellent sources of insight into young people's behavior. Students whose needs exceed the minor administrative or disciplinary issue are quickly directed to more qualified personnel such as the school nurse, guidance counselor or social worker, all of whom are trained to address physical and mental health issues and to accompany students and families in their search for solutions.

2.5 Challenges and Limits

The presence and dedication of so many adults in the development of adolescents provides students with a variety of sources for modeling and assistance. It is my experience that investing in these types of human resources is just as important as supplying schools with elaborate technical, electronic or pedagogical resources, as students have a wide range of adults to whom they can turn for both academic as well as social and emotional support. Given these essential roles, one might be dismayed, even distressed, to learn how fragile these resources actually are in France, and how the uncertainly of their continued existence affects every area of secondary education. In a country where the highest national budget expenditure is education (according to their website, the budget for the Ministry of National Education in France—*Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale*—for 2018 exceeded 50 billion euros, 70 billion if contributions for pensions are taken into account), the institutional support described above, without fail, is challenged every year and at every level as the State and its civil servants seek to reduce costs. The teaching profession itself is the first to suffer. With high standards for teacher qualification (a national competitive exam and the equivalent of a Master's degree is required for certification) and

relatively poor pay (gross salaries for beginning teachers do not exceed the median European salary according to official French and European sources), the centralized system has over the past several years not managed to recruit sufficient teachers to fill available positions. With a tradition of recruiting and training first-year teachers according to their specialization in a certain discipline, France does not include initial instruction for teachers in the areas of adolescent psychology and development or in classroom management. Secondary school teachers therefore receive no training or continuing education in the emotional and social competencies mentioned above. Moreover, with limited resources at their disposal, school administrators continually question whether it is really necessary to offer accelerated classes and reduce class size. The number and even the continued existence of our school's pedagogical assistants and counseling-office aides has been questioned by the regional governing bodies (the administrative body known as the *Rectorat* and the pedagogical body known as the *Académie*), as has the allotment of funding for additional hours and special programs in our school. Our school has enjoyed the presence of a full-time nurse only for the past two years; previously the school nurse "commuted" between two different schools.

Language teaching itself also suffers from limited resources and bureaucratic complexities. Attribution of language assistants requires teachers to complete lengthy and complex application and assessment processes, an administrative task that many find too burdensome to execute since this undertaking does not guarantee that an assistant will be assigned as requested. Even if a school is fortunate enough to welcome a language assistant, some teachers in the school may choose not to work with them for fear of not completing curriculum demands in time. This position is understandable when one considers that in the final two years of secondary school, foreign-language instruction does not exceed two hours a week (formal language instruction in France begins only in the sixth grade, and does not exceed three hours a week). For educators, the constant pressure of preparing their students for the *baccalauréat* in such a limited time period does not leave much space for considerations other than exam preparation. As mentioned above, the continued existence of accelerated English classes is also at risk. In our school, enrolling in "accelerated English" simply means attending one additional hour of class a week taught by a different English teacher. It goes without saying that one hour a week is clearly insufficient to create the proper conditions for encouraging emotional and social development through foreign language, and yet the existence of this single hour is not even guaranteed from one year to the next. If I myself have been able to observe students' development in this context, it is only because over the past fifteen years I have been fortunate enough to teach all three levels of the accelerated English class, enabling me to work with the same students over three years. Consequences of these limited resources in language instruction have for decades negatively affected France's performance in foreign language as compared to other European nations. Their possible effects on the social and emotional development of students have yet to be explored.

Finally, even the most engaged and engaging teachers who use the most effective methods and who benefit from full institutional support may be unsuccessful in

promoting social and emotional development in their students. Specifically, the method discussed above—that is, teaching English in English—seems possible only with students who possess some basic linguistic skills in the foreign language and, more importantly, who already demonstrate the foundations of age-appropriate emotional and social intelligence. It is my experience that students who have not yet reached the A2 level on the CEFRL scale (basic communication of English on the Common European Frame of Reference normally achieved in the eighth or ninth grade in France) experience such linguistic difficulty that communicating on practical topics requires a disproportionate amount of energy and class time. Students who seem to suffer from emotional immaturity, and those who experience secondary school as intellectual and social duress, seem simply impervious to the benefits of the method. Many of our students, for a variety of reasons that this chapter does not explore, seem arrested in their development, unable to either recognize or manage their emotions. They lack the required concentration needed to accomplish simple tasks, do not acknowledge or respect class rules and resist new methods of learning. They demonstrate great difficulty in overcoming frustration and as a result rarely experience the satisfaction of delayed gratification; rather, students of this profile seek immediate reward and are resentful of educators and indeed of all authoritative figures who challenge their behavior. This distrust of adults in addition to the limited number of class hours in English (two per week on average) hamper the building of trusting relationships with teachers. These students also tend to ignore the feelings of others and refuse any interaction with peers that they themselves do not choose. Both individual participation and interaction suffer as a result. Unfortunately, students demonstrating these types of behavior tend to be disproportionally assigned to technical or vocationally oriented programs in France, and teachers often face an excessive number of students with educational and behavioral difficulties in their classes, but with no additional resources for students with special needs and no specific training for handling them. It is important to note, however, that with regard to foreign language, these students not only jeopardize their own academic progress, they also compromise that of their more academically minded, emotionally secure peers who would benefit from the English-only method.

During the 2018–2019 academic year I was assigned one such class (preparing the *baccalauréat technologique*) at the eleventh grade level and initially attempted to apply the English-only approach with the 25 students under my instruction. My conviction and tenacity lasted approximately 4 weeks. The majority of my students lacked the basic linguistic skills and emotional maturity, as well as the necessary trust in me as an educator, to guarantee the effectiveness of the approach, and insistence on it only reinforced a vicious cycle of aggression, reduced self-confidence and lack of motivation among the students. I realized that these individuals had first to acquire acceptable classroom-behavior patterns—arriving with a minimum of classroom tools (pen and paper), sitting in a chair for the duration of the lesson, using respectful listening skills and abstaining from use of explicit or hostile language, avoiding flagrant use of fraud during assessments—before tackling foreign-language instruction *per se*. I consequently began to use French during my lessons, although I did continue an English-only approach with the few (five of the

twenty-five) students who were open to the method. My use of French included explanations of language issues as well as expectations for attitude and behavior, and my use of English was limited to structured exercises and short activities. Despite this method, at the end of the 2019 academic year almost half the students reported on the same questionnaire mentioned above that the teacher still spoke too much English and that they would have preferred more communication in French. Not surprisingly, compared to students in other classes, far fewer students in this class self-reported considerable progress or a positive impression of their linguistic skills. Nevertheless, and despite some issues regarding the reliability of their answers (a small but not insignificant portion of the students, 15–20%, recorded contradictory answers when the same idea was reformulated) by the end of the year some students seemed to have matured enough to recognize the potential value of an English-only method. When asked to report at the beginning of the year on how comfortable they felt in a class that was conducted exclusively in English, more than half reported feeling "not at all" or "not really" comfortable. At the end of the year, however, the majority of the students claimed to feel "more or less comfortable" or "comfortable" with the idea.

2.6 Conclusion

The reasons behind my students' perception of linguistic progress, as well as the explanations for observed progress in emotional and social development, are no doubt exceedingly complex and include influences well beyond the exclusive use of English during lesson hours. The relationship and possible interaction between external factors controlling or mediating the impact of the teaching methods, and the role of the instructional formats themselves in positively affecting the students' perception remain undetermined. A complete discussion of causality would require more than the informal questionnaires and testimony offered here, and would include a much larger sample of students and more highly controlled metric data that would then be field-tested and cross-validated in a variety of school settings. However, after twenty years of teaching in this small urban secondary school with its pronounced blend of socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds, I have consistently found that teaching foreign-language classes in the target language would seem to hold benefits for students, although the benefits may be contingent upon their initial linguistic level, emotional maturity and social self-control. Using English to teach English classes would seem to contribute to the development students' emotional intelligence by increasing awareness of self, building self-confidence and encouraging the use of delayed gratification as a motivating force. It would seem to promote social development in requiring interaction between students of different backgrounds and linguistic levels, encouraging the use of listening skills and cooperation in learning activities, and rewarding initiative and adaptability. The developmental benefits of this practice seem most effective if students are supported by educators on every level who are themselves emotionally and socially competent

and who demonstrate resolve, fairness and sincere interest in the students. Although determining clear causality is again beyond the scope of this report, it is my professional conviction that the resources the French state has made available to institutions such as ours, particularly the presence of adults in a variety of roles within the educational community, complement the implementation of these pedagogical methods and contribute to the social and emotional development of students. The pedagogical practices discussed above would no doubt be even more effective if the centralized education system guaranteed the continued existence of these resources and considered the complexity of student populations such as ours in the attribution of funds. Finally, solid training and continuing education in adolescent psychology for all employees and classroom-management techniques for teachers would better ensure that all resources were used to their fullest potential.

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Chapter 3
Bringing SEL to Life: First Steps in Cairo Schools

Alia Shalaby and Kate Montgomery

3.1 Egypt and Education: An Overview

As with other countries colonized by European powers in the nineteenth century, Egypt had a dual education system: elite schooling vs. education for those subsisting economically. At the time of the country's independence in 1922, only one in twenty Egyptians was literate. The dual system remained with British influence for several decades after independence. Across three governments and over decades (Gamal Nasser, Anwar Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak), plans to support massive school enrollment and completion of higher education for the job market were revived. In 1971, the Constitution declared literacy as a national responsibility and right of every citizen, guaranteed by the State. It was seen as necessary for national security and became the focus of education reform (Stopikowska and El-Deabes 2012). Yet educational growth was slowed and disrupted over the years by Arab nationalism, religious wars, and a fluctuating economy (including a global recession, drops in oil prices, and increases in the national population with diminishing resources).

The educational policies for the governments between 1954 and 2011 involved common interests in supporting universal education and the introduction of technological skills into society through the educational system. Higher education was increasingly flooded by enrollments in the country during that same period—along with training programs and the overall number of schools--while unemployment among graduates was 30% or more. Al-Azhar University and Mosque in Cairo is among the highest-ranking and influential in the Islamic World. Faculty began to seek out positions in other Arab countries, as well (Stopikowska and El-Deabes 2012).

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Mubarak's government was in power from 1981 until 2011 when the Egyptian Popular Revolution occurred; efforts to strengthen the educational system and literacy among its people were diminished as a result of the political upheaval. Economic growth had been quite high since the 1990s but the overthrow of the government caused inflation and a decline in an international economy. Throughout this period, however, the poverty rate remained at more than 20% and was increasing. This was somewhat related to the high unemployment rate—particularly among youth (roughly a quarter of that part of the country's population). This has diminished significantly over the 8 years since the Revolution. Illiteracy, despite of continuous efforts of the state and multilateral international institutions, is still at a relatively high level; about 29% of the adults are illiterate.

Compulsory education in Egypt covers ages 6 through 15, covering six years at the primary level and three years of preparation for either further schooling or vocational training. Preschool education covers four years before this, both nursery and kindergarten. Secondary education covers three years of schooling (general, middle-level technical, and vocational) or five years for higher-level technical education. Due to capacity constraints in Egypt's public schooling system, many schools operate in double shifts, especially in densely populated urban areas. Thirty seven percent of students in Egypt attend multiple shift schools which last for 4.5 h, in contrast to full day schools which operate for 7 h, making school time insufficient to cover curriculum.

Secondary school graduates holding certificates or diplomas and high scores are allowed to apply to universities or they can join post-secondary but non-tertiary educational institutions. University studies are typically four to six years with graduate work for two to five years more. (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics 2018). Private schools have an important role in Egypt, run by religious, secular and/or individual owners. All must be certified by the Ministry for their graduates to enroll in governmentally-based universities. The Minister and Ministry of Education are responsible for nearly the whole system of education, except for higher education. Challenges that educational institutions now face include strains on the infrastructure, space constraints in urban areas, poor quality teaching, over-centralized control, a focus on rote learning, negative attitudes towards vocational training, continued social inequalities and variable university access with related funding and research (Nour et al. 2018).

> *"I found myself in a sea in which the waves of joy and sorrow were clashing against each other."* —Naguib Mahfouz

3.2 Introduction

Social-emotional learning (SEL) for adolescents is not making headlines across the field of education in Cairo; it is not at the tip of every high school teacher's tongue. It is not the subject of professional development in schools or of faculty meetings across the city, nor is it anywhere to be found in the most common curriculum packages in schools. One would have reason to say that very little formal social-emotional

education for adolescents exists at all in the city. What does exist, what is slowly coming to the forefront of school community awareness, are the SEL needs of teens in Cairo. Furthermore—whether these needs are growing or the awareness of them is growing—teachers there are saying that addressing those needs is more urgent than ever before in their dozens of years of school experience.

Teachers with whom we spoke from across Cairo all stated that in their own schools they have seen an uptick in the number of harmful or risky behaviors from their students. And, while there is as yet no nationwide policy, no district or city-wide mandates or guidelines for educators in supporting SEL in teens, teachers there are feeling great pressure to address these increasingly fraught, increasingly risky, highly complex social and emotional issues. Yet, the teachers explain, they have little or no support in doing so. While that support may be coming eventually, in the meantime pain and conflict grow: mistakes can become habits, concerns can give way to panic, troubles can become tragedies. Without funds, without training, without previous experience, what are teachers to do? What is safe, what is helpful, what can work? Yet, as it true the world over, individuals and small groups of teachers are finding ways and inventing means to support and lead the students in their care in SEL as best they can.

This chapter is meant to offer a beginning point for teachers in that situation, anywhere they might be. It is meant to focus a lens from the field on the challenge; to notice and name what teachers across Cairo have seen in the social- and emotional-learning lives of teens in their schools; to offer their hypotheses and to explain how they have taken first steps, supporting and teaching students as best they can, trying first to do no harm. In these cases, teachers are inventing responses to complex situations based on their own experiences, and they are sharing knowledge and practices with each other in a from-the-ground-up form of teaching activism. This chapter is intended to support that activism by sharing a few patterns in the work these teachers have tried with teens, including tentative insights and lessons they have been willing to share thus far from their schools. We hope and intend that what these teachers have seen and tried can spark a larger conversation about this topic, inspiring and informing others to support social-emotional learning of teens in their own schools and communities—not just in Cairo but wherever in the world this chapter may find them.

The educators we interviewed, representing more than 16 schools across Cairo, took steps in SEL that fell into these three categories, arranged according to scope and ambitiousness of approach:

- Listening, Even When It's Difficult: An SEL First Step
- Making Space and Time in Class for *Real* Talk: Formalizing SEL
- Supporting Community-Service Projects: Bringing SEL to Life

3.3 Listening, Even When It's Difficult: An SEL First Step

So why not just continue on with the status quo? Why, we asked the teachers, would one not continue to focus exclusively on academics as a teacher when the workload—for teachers and for students—is already quite heavy? Without training or

mandates or guidelines or resources, why not leave learning about social and emotional skills and development to life outside of schools, leave it to the families?

The educators we spoke with said that leaving SEL out of schools for parents to address is not a wise choice and, in some cases, it is not a humane, ethical choice. Teachers explained that incidents of student behavior with ever-increasing degrees of risk are happening in schools, not at home, and some students have revealed that these behaviors are in part caused or worsened by conditions at home. They have named in particular a lack of attention.

Whether it is due to economic necessities—many Egyptians find the need to take multiple jobs in order to make ends meet, leaving them little time at home—or due to habituated divisions or to taboo topics in families—talking about feelings or failures or troubles can be unusual or even frowned upon in families in Egypt (as well as around the world); the teachers we interviewed reported that their students increasingly need more attention than they are getting. This lack of attention, they believe, has led some students to take increasingly extreme measures to find it.

In what she explained is an all-too-common example of this new kind of incident, Maha, a principal in Cairo (who draws on her experience working in five different schools) tells of a seventh-grade girl who proclaimed to the school community that she and a boy had had a sexual encounter in an empty classroom. Her peers started talking about her, calling her names and bullying her. Her father too, gave her extra attention—negative attention—and began to withdraw her from the school. However, with security-camera footage, school officials determined that the event had never occurred, and the girl eventually confessed to lying in order to get attention, attention from her father above all.

Maha offered another example: a student who brought razor blades to school and encouraged his peers to commit suicide. In this case, too, when eventually discussing his behavior with teachers, he named "attention" as his motive. "It's not all this extreme," Maha explains, "But I see a lot of acting out, more and more, that is motivated by attention-seeking from my students."

Another teacher, Dina, described what she considered to be a classic example of the attention-seeking behavior she sees in her own school. "For example, there was an A-student all of a sudden dropping very low in grades, sleeping in class, skipping class, even his favorite class. We discovered—eventually he told us—it was all to get his father's attention, to get attention of someone in his family. And that happens a lot, in different ways. Students behave badly to get the attention of someone because no one is caring about them at home."

Another teacher, Laila, explains that it is not always drastic behavior that points to a need for attention. "Some students have self-confidence issues because their parents are not there talking to them. So many of the students are so distracted in school—many of them, but especially the girls. They act so sad. Sometimes I see when the mom is not at home, the girl is not confident. She will be behind other girls. She will be academically way behind the other kids. She may need a woman to talk with," she continues.

Compounding students' stress when they feel a lack of attention, teachers told us, parents—in Cairo as in many other places—sometimes place unrealistic

academic expectations on their children or blame them for things that are out of their hands. Laila explains, "The students are under so much stress. So many parents blame the students for the trouble [the family] faces. For example, one student's mother said her sickness was her daughter's fault—the daughter was making her mother ill because she was worried the daughter wouldn't get married." While they demand that their children get the best grades, parents in her school community, she explained, are rarely there for the children when it comes to offering the attention or coaching they need to deal with pressure. This absence of social and emotional support from parents often leaves adolescents with low self-confidence, with trouble concentrating, and—she and her colleagues have concluded—drives students many times to risky, attention-seeking behavior.

All in all, these behaviors and the students' explanations that they needed more attention led some teachers to decide that a change was needed. They decided on a first step, one that is both small and also radical: offering focused attention through listening. These teachers explained that this listening was not counseling and it was not conversation. It was not offering advice or solutions. Teacher after teacher explained that this listening was, above all, a way of "seeing" students. A way of letting them hear themselves think so that, by expression and through attention, they would be able to build on their social-emotional intelligence and skills through use.

Most of the teachers we spoke with had not spoken with one another, nor did they know one another. However, each planned the same first step toward addressing SEL in their schools: a version of an "open-door policy," inviting their students to talk at any time. One teacher, Laila, explains, "I didn't know what to do, so after about a month, I offered some of the girls one-on-one meetings with me, after school, not on official time. I actively listen…and listen…and listen until they finish all they have…. The girls come for this private listening time a lot…. There is never enough time. First they talk and talk, then they cry…. You can feel they aren't listened to enough. You can really feel it. You can even feel how relieved they are after they let it all out and talk it through. You can see they are better. They sit up, they look up." This listening, Laila explains, can be a first step in the girls' social-emotional development, learning the power of sharing, of putting to words your situation.

Dina, an English teacher who has worked in five schools across Cairo over the years, agrees. She says that in recent years, she has kept her door open after hours and reminds students that they can come and talk any time if they are struggling with something. "I build relationships from the beginning of the year, showing them that they can trust me. I do what I say, and I don't report on them to anyone. I always tell my students that they can come and talk whenever they want. And they do it," she says.

Ahmed, the founder of Emmkan, an educational organization that offers SEL for youth in Egypt, reports the same approach, also with good results. "When we did our focus groups with the students, they really appreciated that we listened to their stories, we just listened…. We listen to students and accept their language. Once they feel accepted, they start opening up, and so we are able to listen to them."

The teachers agreed that not any kind of listening would support students. In fact, they explained, students had not and would not engage with some kinds of adults who professed to be listeners. Listening to support students' SEL had to be listening with trust, and in most cases, it had to be listening without judgement. However, they also explained that while that may sound simple, it is not at all a simple act to perform. Teachers explained that cultural norms in Cairo—as in many places around the world—can make it quite problematic to listen without adding judgement, especially when students talk about events and behaviors viewed by many in society as inappropriate, wrong or even sinful. One teacher aptly described listening this way as a "very hectic" situation. Salma explains, "We try to listen above all, but that's not always safe, because to listen without saying something is wrong is also wrong, or some people would say it is wrong. They would say you *must* be judgemental. Nothing is clear. It's always tip-toeing, and it's so hard."

Laila explained that although it was awkward for her she felt she had to convey to students that she would never judge them. "I never judge them, even if it's not my culture, not my values. Already they are getting blamed by their parents—in their mind, if not out loud. So, I listen without judgement. I never give advice unless they directly ask, and most of them don't ask. I listen and give them room to decide. I ask what they need." Several of the teachers we spoke to had chosen this path of not offering any advice, only listening without judgement.

"When they knew I won't judge them, they started to become more comfortable talking and they come more frequently, with even less serious problems, only in-between-level problems, which is improvement," Laila explained.

Dina handles this tightrope walk a bit differently, saying, "I state it clearly that I might disagree with their decisions. But I tell them even if they do it, I *won't* leave them. But, I still say, 'no, this is not right because one, two, three.' But I tell them I won't contact their parents even if something they did is wrong, unless I feel that something you tell me is going to really hurt you, and then I won't hesitate. But normally I don't contact their parents." In her school, that promise has been enough for students to trust her, to begin to spell out their social and emotional challenges and learn from doing so rather than act out because of them.

Other teachers found other ways to listen and yet not imperil themselves or alienate the students on the sensitive ground of morality and judgement. "If you do listen without judgement, you have to be careful. One thing is: you can be practical without being judgmental," Salma told us, giving us an example. A student came to her in great distress—the young woman had had a sexual encounter with her boyfriend who secretly filmed it and shared it. "Listening without judgement was very hard here," Salma explained. "She was being bullied terribly and she was very ashamed. I was torn between wanting to comfort her—but also I felt it was important to tell her that what she did was not right. The act itself is not acceptable socially or religiously for her. It was a very hard situation. So what I did in that situation was give her practical advice about consent. I told her that since she did not consent, what he did was wrong. It was not all on her." This means of listening and then offering practical—nearly procedural—information about socially and morally agreed-upon parts of the situation that the students may not have known is yet another means of

supporting students' SEL, invented on the ground by teachers on this complex terrain.

As teachers explained, although it is helpful, listening to students to promote SEL is quite challenging for other reasons as well. They repeatedly posed the question: How can we as teachers handle such critical issues with little or no background about SEL, especially when there are no guidelines from schools and when parents are not willing to collaborate or get involved? Thus they pointed us toward a next step they advocate that would advance SEL in schools.

The teachers all stated the need for school-wide guidelines about SEL conversations involving teachers and students. With teachers having little or no background about SEL, many of them expressed hesitance to hold conversations with students in trouble at all or they expressed feeling worried as they were holding the conversations, because they aren't sure what is "ok" according to the school and according to the parents. They don't want to break rules, break laws, break trusts, and yet they don't want to leave a clearly upset student with no support, no means to gain the skills he or she might need to navigate through tough situations. One teacher, Salma, expressed it clearly: "You have no guidelines, no borderlines on your job…. I don't know if what I'm doing is right or wrong, I'm just doing my best, but some other teacher is doing something different. We don't know what to do…. We need some policy guidelines or training from the school so we know what we can do or what to do." In fact, all the teachers agreed with Salma's statement, "Some teachers don't [listen to students] because they fear they can't, but many teachers do it, most of them do it only if they only listen about very minor things."

In addition, teachers explained, schools have rarely communicated with parents about SEL at all, let alone any policies related to SEL. Parents often react with offense when schools reach out about social or emotional topics or challenges related to their children and, teachers told us, the parents often refuse to acknowledge the communication or refuse to cooperate with the school, which usually makes the situation worse. A majority of our interviewees suggested that schools' SEL would improve if school leaders would host a workshop each year for parents and guardians. "There should be a meeting at the beginning of the year for general understandings, and then when individual problems come up we can handle these individually," suggests Dina. Before any problems arise, she explains, teachers and parents could sit together and set a few clear guidelines about communication on these topics so that parents understand that the school may be reaching out to them from time to time for information and cooperation about their students' SEL and development.

Salma made a similar recommendation: "Schools should have a policy for talking with parents. Something like a contract or agreement. It should be clear to the parents that the school will sometimes have to refer to them if there is a problem, and that it's normal and parents don't need to react badly," says Salma. "Sometimes because we haven't had these conversations, the school will overreact to a bad situation just to make it end, to avoid talking about it at all, but if we had a conversation, we could reach a less drastic solution." She gives an example of a student who was summarily removed from a class at the first sign of trouble-making but likely could

have stayed in class with a serious conversation about his behavior and how to address it. Because social-emotional topics are complex, schools sometimes avoid those situations entirely when they don't need to, making it worse for everyone, she stresses.

Salma also suggests that her school could hold more conversations internally with the whole staff on these topics and explains that these conversations have begun already on some level, not just in her school, but likely in staff rooms across the city. "Sometimes we teachers sit in the lounge informally and discuss those issues. We do it anyway, already. I think it would be good to start having this in a more formal way. It's more important than anything else, even if it's only half an hour a week. You're investing in your resources: students," she said.

While teachers all agreed that "seeing," listening to, their students has been a crucial first step for social-emotional development and learning, these teachers followed a handful of different approaches to listening safely and responsibly. These approaches are as follows:

- Active listening without offering advice or comment
- Active listening, only offering advice or comment when students ask
- Active listening, naming what could be considered immoral or wrong behavior in the student's explanation, but assuring the student that the mistakes would not end the teacher's support or undermine the teacher-student relationship
- Active listening, offering practical advice without values or morality—for example, about what consent is, about how to file a complaint, about how to make decisions

Teachers all agreed that their ability to support students' social-emotional health and learning informally has been and is hindered by a lack of shared understanding about what the school and community agrees is allowable in these conversations. While everyone wants the best for students, it is risky for teachers to support them when the school or the community might deem that support to be encouraging student's immoral behavior. Some school or even community-wide conversations—if not formal guidelines—about what is sensible and acceptable in these situations would support parent and teacher cooperation about students, would allow teachers to be more effective and would make more teachers able to be present for students without risk to themselves.

3.4 Making Space and Time in Class for *Real* Talk: Formalizing SEL

As teachers listen to individual students talk about their lives, these teachers have been gaining deeper and broader understandings of students' individual and collective development, strengths and challenges in their social and emotional experiences—and this has led some of them to try out responses not only informally with

outside-of-school-time conversations, but also formally, within the school framework. These teachers described to us their schools' initial forays into formalizing SEL during school hours.

As teachers listened to their students, they explained, they began to see some common problems and general trends emerging. A few of the teachers had opportunities to explain what they had been learning about trends to either a school counselor when the school had one, or to a trusted school administrator. These teachers named common hot-spot issues that would surprise no one who works with adolescents anywhere in the world. Teenagers in their care were experiencing social-emotional issues, and seemed to need particular skill development related to:

- Conflicts—primarily with parents
- Coping with stresses—academic and sports and other performance pressures
- Navigation of relationships—friendships and romantic interests
- Managing emotions—feelings of insecurity, loneliness, anger

The teachers explained that, of course, teenagers dealing with these issues is no particular cause for alarm; these issues are part of growing into adulthood, and grappling with them is quite common. However, what did cause alarm to the teachers was that, as far as they could see, their students had very few skills, very little knowledge and no apparent tools or approaches for *handling* those issues and conflicts. Teachers were witness to these commonplace issues escalating and compounding, oftentimes leading to severe problems. Small challenges clung to students, and large ones seemed grow and began to overshadow students' lives, overshadowing the culture of the school, even. Teachers asked each other and school leadership: Is this happening because emotional expression is not encouraged by parents or teachers? Is it because there is nowhere for students to talk through these issues and learn ways that people can deal with them? Could school be a place where students can learn about, practice and develop social-emotional skills they will need in order to live their lives?

Teachers in a few schools reported being able to go above and beyond the open-door policy so many of them had tried. Based on the informal listening to students and the positive effects those times were apparently having on student well-being and SEL and development, some teachers proposed to school leadership that they build on those informal structures. They proposed establishing a time and place—and offering a teacher as facilitator—for whole-class conversations about SEL topics during school hours. And administrators agreed.

One interviewee, a principal, decided with her team of teachers to devote one lesson every week to open discussion about issues related to students' lives. "Students were so excited about it, it was just a chance for them to be seen as individuals, be heard, and be able to express anything about their interests and lives," she explained. Although the staff agreed about some general topics to discuss with the students, they decided to make those conversations informal, letting students lead the direction of the talks based on their interests rather than following a predetermined curriculum. Only a very general outline of discussion topics was provided to all the teachers. Across the course of the year, topics were the following:

- Me (emotions, purpose for them, how to identify and deal with them)
- Other (differences and how to work together)
- Me and the other (conflict management, bullying, healthy relationships)

Beyond this, the teachers in the schools had no curriculum or set structure, instead allowing students to set the agenda.

In another school, by contrast, while teachers and administrators came to the same conclusion, deciding that a weekly time for SEL discussions was needed, that group chose a free SEL curriculum they found online and stuck to that progression, with teachers lecturing on set topics to students, one lesson per week.

In some cases, offering this class time and a facilitator for SEL conversations was extremely successful. In the case of the very loose SEL curricular structure, teachers saw tremendous enthusiasm from the students for these conversations, and teachers could see the results in the improved dispositions of students and a reduction in disruptive behaviors. As Maha told us, "This was very, very, very successful in our school. One teacher was so hesitant to do this at the beginning of the year, but by the end of the year asked to do it for double as much time! We are looking at a few ways to expand on this with more grades of students, more time and more curriculum topics because there was so much enthusiasm for it from teachers and students." She explained that based on the success of the initial conversations, she and the teachers are working on integrating those SEL topics within some literature classes, so that students would be able to make more connections between what they learn about humans' social and emotional skills and behaviors and the world around them. They are also planning to meet as a staff to discuss what other topics students have raised to them. As one teacher put it, "I think many of [the students] never had a chance to talk about any of this before. I could see it doesn't always have to be a teacher they talk to, it can be each other, they can learn from each other."

Another teacher in a similar program, Laila, explained, "The students had a hunger and a thirst to understand body language, to understand each other and why people behave the way they do. When students understood how to support one another, they do it." In fact, she went on to explain, one aspect of the SEL conversations that she found to be essential was the practicing, the role playing. "If it's only talk, not trying it out and being active, then it would not have worked," she said.

Not all the introductions of SEL curriculum were highly successful, according to the teachers. In one school, in fact, this step to formalize SEL in the classroom was not productive. In the school where teachers found an online SEL curriculum to use, teachers reported no perceivable success. One teacher, Rana, tried first to teach her high schoolers topics like self-awareness, conflict resolution, and self-development by devoting one hour per week to such topics. After spending one semester doing these sessions, she reported complete disengagement from the students. She describes this experience saying: "The theoretical part wasn't interesting for the kids, they didn't take it seriously. I started wondering whether that was because they were not in the mood … or because it wasn't graded. Or was it because it did not seem to them to be connected to their lives?" She explained that since most schools focus heavily on academics and scores, students usually tend to pay more attention

to graded classes, and the SEL classes in her school were not. Moreover, when the curriculum (or the teachers) doesn't allow much space for adolescents to express themselves as part of the learning, it seemed to her that the students lost interest in the subject.

Ahmed, the founder of Emmkan educational organization, said something similar based on their experiences of instituting stand-alone classes on SEL based on a set curriculum: "One of the things that we didn't pay attention to at first is that we weren't really looking at the whole context. We were just doing our own thing in isolation from the whole school context, coming in for less than an hour a week and expecting to 'solve' the students' problems. Students sometimes didn't take it seriously, given all the academic load they already had and the time gap between sessions." He added, "We think that schools need to adopt SEL as a culture, not just include it as a separate lesson, because for instance bullying happens during breaks, some other incidents take place in the hallways, and so on."

All teachers agreed that while holding explicit conversations about SEL topics gave students the chance to learn about their own emotions and express them well while dealing with others, they also agreed that holding those discussions only in isolation was a limitation. They suggested that such conversations would likely be more effective if they were also integrated into other subjects and into students' lives. Teachers also unanimously agreed that to be effective, the SEL topics needed to arise and be led by the students—either by direct request or based on what the school community was currently experiencing—rather than following a packaged curriculum. While several of the teachers had expressed hesitancy about this approach, not feeling trained or equipped to lead these classes personally, they reported that the experience was positive. They explained that having many teachers take on these topics with students, rather than just one trained counselor or psychologist doing so, had good effects in building a healthy SEL culture and relationships between teachers and students across a school rather than between one adult and many students.

3.5 Supporting Community Service Projects: Bringing SEL to Life

As explained above, in one case, holding explicit conversations led by explicit curriculum about SEL was not immediately successful in the setting where teachers and school leaders introduced it. After one semester of this, in order to recalibrate her approach, Rana reflected on what she had seen that led her to determine that a different approach of SEL instruction was urgently needed.

She explained in particular, "I noticed that my students were preoccupied with their own problems." After one semester, it was clear to Rana that offering the curriculum she had found about SEL wasn't addressing that preoccupation and wasn't engaging students, and yet she still saw signs that they were greatly in need of

social-emotional development. “I saw such a lack of confidence. A constant indecisiveness. ‘Is what I’m doing right or wrong?’ Even when they had all the evidence that it was right or wrong, they didn’t have the self-confidence, the self-esteem to feel confident in decisions. I saw a lack of experience in taking charge of themselves or of anything. I saw them overwhelmed with very focused worries about grades, about earning their parents’ approval and attention, about trying to act according to a certain way. They all seemed so lonely.” Teachers for whom the structured conversations were not working were not ready to give up. Instead, those teachers decided to use a different approach that they thought would be more meaningful and successful.

The teachers decided that rather than turning inward to promote SEL, another way would be to turn outward, to volunteering in the community. “When people feel they’re contributing to the community, they feel more valued,” says Laila.

Rana came to the same conclusion in her own school. She decided to move beyond the classroom walls by teaching her students the meaning of empathy and social responsibility through authentic and practical projects to help others. She explained, “I decided to give my students the opportunity to initiate a student-led activity with the goal of supporting other people in need, locally,” she says. She divided her class into groups and asked each group to choose among places like orphanages, homes for the elderly and under-resourced primary schools. Each group was asked to plan a project where they would help people in the chosen place. Among the projects that the students planned were spending a day with orphans, cooking meals and spending a day with the elderly talking and bonding over lunch, as well as redecorating under-resourced primary schools. Together, students worked through logistics of various ideas, on their own, with great enthusiasm. In those discussions, Rana reported, they relied on each other, managed conflicts, made decisions and shouldered responsibility. In the end, she explained, the students managed completely on their own to lead and organize these highly successful projects.

Rana described the major shift in her students’ attitudes after introducing this project. “They were very happy and excited.” With her initial judgement about her students’ attitudes, Rana said she was a bit worried at first that some of them might offend the old people with their words. She described how they surprised her and were instead very caring and responsible, “The kids were punctual, they were attentive to details. They even purchased all the materials themselves, and they brought it in two or three days ahead—and thought of everything!” The photos of the orphanage visit that Rana shared with us show how much her students were excited and devoted to making those kids happy. They spent some time before the visit to buy clothes and toys for the kids and spent the day playing games and taking photos with them.

Rana considers these two projects among the most successful learning ventures she’s experienced throughout her teaching career. “These projects gave my students more confidence. When they were given the chance they were really responsible. It even helped me change my judgement about certain kids whom I used to think of before as irresponsible or self-absorbed,” she says, explaining that the projects

cultivated social-emotional skills and healthy conversations and relationships far, *far* more than her SEL lectures of the previous semester.

Laila, a teacher at the same school, echoed these points from her own vantage point. "I was surprised with their attitude. I thought many of them wouldn't be supportive or wouldn't pay much attention to helping or supporting others. I believe kids just need the chance to feel they're adding something to the community. When they show their better colors and they get such chance, they feel more valued," she explained.

The teachers who were able to take this step all agreed on the effectiveness—and joy!—of the authentic, practical approach to SEL, for example, group projects designed by students to benefit the community. Teachers reported from their experience that letting students do and try and lead was significantly more powerful than expecting them to learn social-emotional skills by just listening to lectures. Projects in the community that involve interacting with others build social responsibility and empathy, they agreed, and giving students the chance to help others makes them feel more valued and more confident in their abilities.

3.6 Concluding Thoughts

Teachers across Cairo, without funds, without systemic support, have seen a need: SEL. In response, they have done their best to support students in developing the social-emotional skills they will rely on to navigate the challenges and complexities of adolescence and adulthood. These pioneering teachers have offered us their stories and insights in order that other teachers who find themselves in similar situations might feel the spark of inspiration or the assurance of companionship as they too forge new ways to support their students, no matter their level of resources and experience.

If there were to be a theme to these interviews it might be similar to the line from Egyptian writer Nawal El Saadawi: "There is a proverb that says, 'Talk so that I may know who you are.' But I say, 'Show me your eyes and I will know who you are.'" These interviews suggest that the heart of strong social-emotional learning is looking students fully in the eyes, seeing them not just as students but as *people*—then building our schools and teaching, our curriculum and projects, from there.

Teachers have tried many ways to build into their classrooms and schools more opportunities for students to develop fully, including developing their social-emotional skills. The teachers we have interviewed have opened their doors to students for private conversations, offering attention, offering time for students to be "seen" while withholding their judgement as much as possible. They have made space in the curriculum for separate, explicit SEL discussions based on students' needs and concerns. For some few who have managed it, they have invited students to lead community-based projects, learning and developing social-emotional skills as they do so. Teachers explained that these practical, authentic projects where students had autonomy and choice were extremely successful in boosting student

confidence, making them feel valued, as well as offering them the opportunity to practice empathy and social responsibility.

Yet the teachers also warned that working alone in SEL is not easy, and they called for more cooperation. Collaboration—even training—involving school administrators, parents, students, and teachers, would likely allow teachers to handle more situations and address more topics and skills related to students' well-being and growth than teachers can now address. They warn, too, that there will be inflexion points where work of developing a strong SEL culture in the school is so complex and fraught with conflicting values and overshadowing priorities that it is challenged, or perhaps even dropped. As is true for so many teachers around the world, the teachers in this study worked hard to seek new ways to support their students when one way faltered—and they recommended that any readers of their experiences do the same. As the Egyptian poet Iman Mersal writes, "The thread of the story fell to the ground, so I went down on my hands and knees to hunt for it." And so to, must teachers, for the sake of our young people.

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Chapter 4
"Preparing for a Messy World" How the Ability to Make the Right Choices and Learn from Them Will Help Adolescents Prepare for a Meaningful Life

Koen Schaap

4.1 The Netherlands and Education: An Overview

The history of the Dutch school system is one of religious and class conflict and emancipation, dating back several hundred years. In the Netherlands through the 1960s, Protestants and Catholics each comprised about one-third of the population. In practice, the religious schools were very similar to public schools in their curricula. Compulsory enrollment in school was instituted in the 1920s, and since then the Protestant-Catholic division in schooling has broken down with secularization. This involved catering to the needs of each group: adding a new school type each time a new social group emancipated itself and demanded admission rather than changing the curriculum of those that existed. There is a statutory right for any group to found its own schools, which are fully state-financed as long as they conform to certain criteria of quality and number of students. Most schools still have Catholic or Protestant backgrounds, with the state providing "public" schools as a third "pillar" in the system.

The comparative freedom of schools and the ease of founding state-financed schools (even if they are not religious in character) have also created space for the initiatives of the Progressive Education movement in the Netherlands. In the beginning of the twentieth century, sometimes inspired by internationally recognized efforts like those of Montessori (who lived in the Netherlands for some time) and Steiner, these initiatives were sustained by educational freedoms in the country—even with limited funding. Currently the number of Montessori, Jenaplan and Steiner schools is still growing (at last count there were 16 Montessori secondary schools in the country) and "progressive" ideas have had a distinct impact on the pedagogy of "normal" schools. Emphasizing independent learning and responsibility,

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it appears that the influence on curriculum of these movements is much greater than that of the religious affiliation of schools.

The Dutch orientation toward commerce and industry, coupled with a dominant liberalism, has resulted in a curricular approach that emphasizes factual, empirical and measurable study (Lenders 1992) in which knowledge and abilities are valued—in many schools—more than personal development, which is seen as the responsibility of family and religious institutions. In addition, the dependence of the country on foreign trade has led to a focus on foreign languages, while nationalist tendencies both in the curriculum is less marked than in most other countries (Wardekker et al. 2013).

Some major changes in the curriculum have been more recently imposed by changing the content of the examinations. In addition, the national curricula and goals are nationally evaluated, instrumental in an educational policy toward accountability. Still, the space for curriculum change initiated in the schools themselves is much greater than in countries with a more centralized curriculum. Given the uncoordinated nature of such efforts, coupled with the rather conservative policies of publishers, this may have resulted in a rather slow rate of change. According to those interviewed, two more recent events have resulted in acceleration of change: (1) the mass influx of immigrants from Muslim-dominated countries and (2) the explicit debate about the political nature of curriculum—particularly in urban areas of the Netherlands. The country is undergoing a similar struggle around standards (they call them "aims") as the United States, and it affects the public education system in terms of curriculum (for example, pushing for integration of subject areas). Those interviewed noted "levels" in high school, where students are "tracked" into vocations, technical schools or university. While almost all students go to a higher level with sufficient grades, about 10% of the students choose to go on, but the majority are reported to be happy with their level of peers. A merit-based system is in place, although there is a 50–50 split between vocational and theoretical schools that begins at ages 12–13.

Immigrants from many other cultures have settled in the Netherlands for centuries, making up about one-fifth of the population. Many are from former Dutch colonies, including Indonesia, Molucca and Suriname. More recently there have been immigrants from Turkey and Morocco and as of this writing, an influx of Syrian refugees. The Dutch have always considered themselves tolerant of others settling in their country, but there appear to be increasing tensions over religious differences and challenges of equity over resources, particularly with those of a different racial or ethnic background. There appears to be increasingly less impact on school performance.

The Netherlands have become invested in ways to provide professional development to teachers, who now must have a Masters (this is new) in order to teach. There are some high-need subjects that will hire Bachelors-level people. And unlike in the U.S., a lot of teachers work part-time and remain at that level, doing quite well in the Dutch economy (supplementing income in other ways as needed). There are, relatively speaking, fewer powerful teacher unions in the Netherlands, but there has been significant outreach among teachers to one another in recent years to strengthen their solidarity and professional status.

4.2 Sharon's Predicament

Sharon was a fifteen-year-old girl in the social studies class I taught in 2003. She did not like social studies, she did not like the way I taught, she did not like her classmates and they did not like her (they thought of her as "too different"). Frankly, she did not like anything, except for drawing class and hanging out with friends. Just a typical adolescent, nothing I had not seen before. Her grades were below average and certainly below her potential. Whenever I told her to work on a specific task, she refused to do it. Whenever I left her alone, she would be drawing.

I tried to motivate her by giving her alternative tasks and encouragement or by painting the picture of a grandiose horizon (*"Just think of all the fun things you will be able to do once you graduate!"*). All to no avail. And as I was working harder and harder to get her moving, she seemed to be doing less and less. My frustration grew and came to a point where I resorted to forcing her to do her assignments, keeping her at school until she finished whatever she was supposed to do.

So on this particular Thursday afternoon, it was just the two of us in the classroom, annoyed with each other. In awkward silence. Sometimes she asked if she could leave and I said she could when she was done. But she was not done writing her essay on climate change and would not be in the near future. The whole thing turned into a power game I was determined not to lose. Suddenly she cried out: "*What do you want from me?*" It struck me that her tone was not aggressive, it sounded desperate. "*I just want you to do what all the others do, because in the end it's in your best interest.*" She teared up. "*Why? Why can't you just let me be me?"* For the first time, I felt she was trying to reach out to me, to make a real connection. "*Let me put it this way,*" I responded, "*Why don't you tell me what you need from me for you to be you and still get some work done?*" This question seemed to take her aback and she needed a moment to think about it. "*I need for you to like me, to trust me, to set the boundaries and to help me figure it out myself.*"

And there it was. In just one crucial sentence Sharon had reset the rules of the game. She was right, of course she was right. Not only did she eloquently express what she needed, she gave directions as to what my role was in guiding her to perform. Or guiding all adolescents, for that matter. Sharon asked for recognition as a person, instead of as a student. She asked for autonomy instead of suppression, the right to make her own choices in her process of learning. We decided to take the rest of the semester to figure out a way this could work for her as well as for me. Five days later, she handed in her essay on climate change. She had decided to turn it into a graphic novel. Reluctantly, but still.

In retrospect, I think that the encounter I had with Sharon has helped me make the transformation from teacher to educator—a transformation that has made me a better professional and a better person.

A lot of teachers start their career just like me, by taking on the behavioristic "brain surgery" perspective: they try to change the minds of their "patients" by augmenting, cutting and fixing their brains in order to improve their body of knowledge and therefore preparing them to get ahead in the real world. And by consistently

improving their teaching skills, these teachers can grow into successful “surgeons” and everyone will benefit.

It is my deep conviction that this perspective is flawed in two significant ways: teachers take up teaching the wrong way and they tend to teach students the wrong things. Teaching is not the equivalent of learning. Teaching is all about what an instructor does, and learning is all about what students do with the knowledge provided to them. Learning is the process of actively shaping a body of knowledge, and is therefore a two-way street. A surgeon is capable of changing the brain, but is incapable of changing the mind. Teaching is a necessary prerequisite to help a student to learn, but it is not sufficient in itself. The student has to do most of the work.

Besides this, acquiring a body of knowledge is only meaningful as long as it helps a student become an amicable grown-up human being. Providing factual knowledge simply is not enough to motivate him or her to prepare for what is to come. The world into which they are born is not a stable, transparent place; it is actually quite messy. In this era of rapid social, political and even factual change, it is far more important for students to be autonomous learners, to know how to glean meaningful information and cope in this messy world, than it is for them to memorize and be docile. So instead of mainly transferring knowledge, a teacher needs to assist a student in acquiring skills that will help them get ahead in life, help them become this amiable, self-aware human being. Rather than simply being a teacher, he needs to be an educator.

I spend most of my adult working life trying to provide this assistance to my adolescent pupils. Especially with children ranging from 12 to 18 this is no easy task; teens tend to be preoccupied with developing their individual and social identity and therefore pay more attention to peers than to teachers. They’re part child, part adult. They want to be autonomous, but crave guidance. They like going to school but dislike lessons (and getting lectured). A lot is happening in their lives and the chances of getting lost are high. Hormones do not help, either.

Still, this is a phase in life in which the quest for autonomy is paramount and an educator can really make a difference. The big question is how and when to do just that. In this essay, before I elaborate on the application in my own practical, day-to-day classroom setting, I will attempt to tackle this question by addressing the importance of autonomy in learning and strategies on learning how to be autonomous. My point of view is a didactic one, as this is where I have gained some experience and have done most of my research. Still, didactics and pedagogy coincide, so the distinction between the two is somewhat artificial.

4.3 Autonomy in Learning

Autonomy is the quality or state of being self-governing. It is the freedom to determine one’s own actions and behavior. Autonomous children have the ability to self-regulate and become self-directed. It is the freedom of self-construction. It is the freedom of choice and the ability to act on those choices.

In the 1930s, the renowned Italian educational philosopher Maria Montessori was one of the first scientists to claim a right for every child to be an autonomous learner. She observed an intrinsic desire in children to learn by doing things themselves and an intrinsic tendency in teachers to frustrate that very desire (which is often still the case, alas). Instead of viewing children as empty vessels to be filled by teachers, she emphasized the inherent eagerness children express when confronted with a learning task. In Montessori's view, all teachers need to do is to provide an environment in which this desire would come to its full fruition and have a profound trust in the eagerness of children to develop themselves. *"Help me to do it myself"* (Montessori 1982) was the new credo. A focus on what children need in order to be able to learn rather than what teachers need students to do was quite revolutionary, since behaviorism was predominant in education worldwide. At the time, Dr. Montessori did not have full scientific proof for what she stated, but her vision has been quite influential ever since, and has opened the way for other scientists to embark upon the research of intrinsic learning motivation in children.

It took educators and researchers until the 1960s to gradually shift the focus in education from teaching to learning. Motivation research only really exploded after the 1980s. All kinds of research on student motivation emerged, arguing incessantly that motivation is crucial for learning (Ryan and Deci 2000; Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011) and that autonomy is a key component of motivation (Ryan and Deci 2000; Ross 1988; Ushioda 1996). On the subject of autonomy, four major findings are worth mentioning:

First, there is a strong correlation between autonomy and motivation to learn, even though we do not know for sure what that connection is. Some scientists think of autonomy as a component of motivation, some claim that autonomy has an influence on motivation, some state that being autonomous leads to being more motivated.

Second, the need for autonomy can be externally driven as well as internally; a sense of control over one's learning at times must be stimulated from without as well as from within. If educators fail to stimulate from without, a student can turn into a consumer of knowledge rather than a producer of one.

Third, it is not an objective presence of autonomy that proves to be crucial (as Montessori claimed), but rather a *subjective feeling of autonomy* that correlates with the motivation to learn. So educators must stay in tune with a student's feeling of self-control rather than the scope of that self-control.

And fourth, no scholar has proven the existence of a direct relationship between a sense of autonomy and basic test results. Although John Hattie concluded in his monumental overview of 800 meta-analyses (including 327 motivational studies) that motivation does matter, there is no scientific proof of the degree to which degree autonomy in and of itself has a positive impact on achievement, generally measured in basic test results (Hattie 2009). On the other hand, there is no proof that autonomy does not have an impact; we just do not know the extent of its impact or lack thereof. All in all, experience tells us that if an educator's aim is to enhance basic test results, stimulating autonomy probably is not the quickest or best way to do this. But, as I mentioned earlier, transferring knowledge in my view is not what education should be all about.

In summarizing these findings, one can say that it is scientifically proven that a sense of autonomy motivates students and will help boost learning, even though test results may show otherwise. But just as teaching and learning are two different things, so are learning and test results; In fact, deep, meaningful learning is kind of hard to test.

In 1956, Benjamin Bloom came up with a framework that defined thinking skills for deep learning; Deep learning is an active process to reflect and integrate information in order to understand the material being taught (Ohlsson 2011). Bloom outlined a classification of learning objectives that has come to be known as Bloom's taxonomy. This taxonomy distinguishes between simple, lower-order thinking skills, such as remembering, understanding and simple application and complex, higher order thinking skills such as analyzing, evaluating and creating (Bloom 1956). In 2002 David Krathwohl revised Bloom's taxonomy, adding a "knowledge dimension" (Krathwohl 2002). This dimension enables an educator to look at thinking skills from a factual, conceptual, procedural and metacognitive point of view (the former two concerning content knowledge, the latter two concerning learner knowledge).

Studies conducted with this taxonomy, and its revision, show that deep learning is mainly done through higher-order thinking skills on a procedural and metacognitive level. Testing, on the other hand, is more reliable when it deals with lower-order thinking skills at a factual and conceptual level. Reliably testing twenty-first century, higher-order, procedural and metacognitive testing is far more difficult to do, so teachers and researchers generally are inclined to measure achievement by grading lower thinking skills. This has led to a widespread misconception about valuable learning: we value what can be tested rather than testing what is valuable.

Valuable learning, in my view, helps children to be surgeons of their own minds. This requires developing higher-order thinking skills at a learner knowledge level to help them to have a sense of control over their lives and learn to cope with the messiness they are about to encounter when they enter adulthood. Learning how to learn is essential.

We have to start to realize that autonomy and autonomous thinking are not means to an end (good grades). Autonomy is the end and learning how to think autonomously is the mean. In this respect, educators *can* make a difference by acknowledging the autonomy of students and actively stimulating the development of their thinking skills. Which brings us back to the main question of how and when to do just that…

4.4 Learning to Be Autonomous: The Role of the Educator in Theory

Children need to have freedom within boundaries. Freedom, Dr. Montessori stresses, is not the liberty to do whatever you want; it is a freedom of mind, of being an autonomous person in reaching a goal. And boundaries should not be seen as rules and regulations alone; they extend to setting goals and expressing high expectations for students to reach them. In giving freedom within boundaries, a secondary school educator has to be aware of some relevant characteristics of the adolescent.

In the past hundred years, adolescence has universally come to be seen as a distinctive cognitive and socio-emotional stage in life, a stage Maria Montessori calls "the third plane" in which young people need to leave the city to work on farms and thus prepare for adult life. Educational psychologist Jean Piaget described adolescence as the "formal operational stage" in cognitive development, a stage marked by a sharp increase in the ability for executive functions such as planning and logical reasoning (Wadsworth 1996). Executive functions specifically refer to processes that enable goal-directed behaviors. The study of executive functions has a long history in psychology and has lately become prominent in child development as scientists have discovered that self-control or self-regulation is highly correlated with achievement, academic and otherwise, and is an extremely important predictor of life outcomes—more important than intelligence, and above and beyond other key influences such as parental income and education (Stoll-Lillard 2017; Hattie 2009) (this may seem contradictory to what I said before about there being no correlation between a sense of autonomy and test results. But having a sense of autonomy as a motivational factor is different from cognitive skills like self-control or self-regulation).

Lawrence Kohlberg adapted Piaget's stages of development by including stages of moral reasoning: adolescence is part of a stage in which a child grows out of an egocentric concept of justice (pre-conventional stage) to an acceptance of society's conventions concerning right and wrong (conventional stage, early adolescence) and eventually to building one's own set of moral criteria (post-conventional stage, late adolescence) (Duska 1975).

Recent neuroscientific studies have demonstrated what these psychologists (and philosophers, parents, teachers and educators, for that matter) have been observing for quite some time: adolescence is a phase in life in which a lot is going on, in which the brain is working overtime (Dahl and Spear 2004). Many neural changes take place, especially in the areas of impulse control, emotional stability and other executive functions. All these processes have a profound impact on the desire and ability of young adults for self-control and self-regulation.

Adolescence is centered around the development of the concept of "self." The "self" is redefined from being part of a common family identity (in the 6–12 age group) to being part of a common peer-group identity (in the 12–15 age group) to becoming an individual identity (the "unique" self in the 15–18 age group). Sharon, the fifteen-year-old girl I spoke of in the introduction, was clearly on the threshold

of developing an individual identity. She voiced a desire to "let me just be me" without knowing who the "me" was exactly. What she did know was that she didn't want to be like her classmates, but did feel part of a peer group of friends. She showed some emotional instability (changing from indifferent to angry to sad in a split second) and lacked tools for self-control and self-regulation (at the time I wasn't aware of all this, which explains why I treated her in an unconstructive way). Contrary to educating younger children, educators—because of the apparent desire for autonomy in their students—have to work *with* adolescents rather than working *for* them. While trying to suppress a basic, necessary need for development of the self (as I did with Sharon) may in the short term be in the best interests of the teacher, it is detrimental to the best interests of the adolescent student in the long run.

As an educator, one has to find a way to relate to all these characteristics, changes and individual differences, which is no mean feat. Although there is a lot to be said about this, I will restrict the discussion to helping adolescent students improve the executive functions of self-control and self-regulation in their learning process. Let me start by addressing the position educators have to take in an effective educator-student relationship.

In 1989, psychologist Diana Baumrind wrote an article on parenting styles that may give a sense of direction of an educator's attitude in how to position him or herself in a constructive relationship with the student (Baumrind 1991). Baumrind was not particularly interested in the specific actions parents undertook; she studied *the effect* of parenting styles on the well-being and mental growth on their children (this approach evidently coincides with the notion that subjective feelings matter more than objective behavior).

Baumrind distinguishes among four types of parenting along the lines of warmth and control. The first three tend to be harmful for the motivation and autonomous development of children, while the fourth is recommended. If a parent is low on warmth and high on control ("authoritarian") he or she sets strict boundaries and shows little interest in the individuality of his child. This lowers the level of independence (in girls) and enhances hostility (in boys). If a parent is low on warmth as well as on control ("neglecting"), he or she simply does not pay attention to the child (no boundaries, no love). Children of neglecting parents tend to be low on social responsibility and social assertiveness and often demonstrate antisocial behavior and suffer from psychological problems such as depression. If a parent is high on warmth but low on control ("permissive"), he or she gives a lot of love, but without any boundaries. As the child in question gets older, he or she tends to show little self-control and ambition. If a parent is high on warmth and high on control ("authoritative"), he or she sets clear boundaries, but is also willing to discuss them, reason with the child, and when it is judicious to do so, even alter them in response to the child's expressed views. Children of authoritative parents are high in achievement and self-control.

Clearly, in teaching an adolescent how to become an autonomous human being, an authoritative approach is required. Or, in Sharon's response to my "What do you need from me?" question: "I need for you to like me *(warmth)*, to trust me *(warmth)*, to set the boundaries *(control)* and to help me *(control)* figure it out myself

(autonomy)." The "it" in "figure it out myself" can be any given subject. What is relevant here is how to help students figure it out themselves and gain self-control and self-regulation skills during a phase of life with all kinds of distractions. And this is where science almost comes to a standstill.

Surprisingly, since research has shown the importance of investing in self-regulatory skills, very little research has been dedicated to the strategies educators may apply to enhance these executive functions. Out of a staggering 52,637 studies investigated, Hattie could only find three or four studies that directly addressed strategies concerning self-regulatory skills (this may be attributed to the fact that it is difficult to reliably measure the effectiveness of these strategies). Unsurprisingly, these strategies proved to correlate high on achievement (in the long run, not on basic test results). In fact, using Piagetian programs and self-report grades, they top the ranking (Hattie 2009). Even the follow-up of his study gives hardly any direction.

Susan Brookhart, a professor of education from Duquesne University, attempts to describe some strategies for assessing higher-order skills for formal reasoning. But even though she attempts to dispense practical advice, it never materializes into a useful blueprint. Her advice on assessing evaluation is exemplary for the restraint scholars display: "*To assess evaluation, you need items or tasks that can assess how students judge the value of materials and methods for their intended purposes. Students can appraise the material against criteria. (…) This kind of evaluation isn't a personal preference ("Chocolate is the best flavor of ice cream"), but reasoned evaluation that can be stated as a thesis or a conclusion and supported with evidence and logic. To assess how well students can do evaluation, give them some material and ask them to judge its value for some purpose*" (Brookhart 2010). No mention of strategy, no directions for acquiring self-regulatory skills.

From a distance, it seems that science set the goal and left practitioners to figure it out on their own (which in itself is consistent with the findings of scientists, but leaves educators in the dark). As a practitioner myself, I spent twenty-odd years trying to find out what works best. A lot of my strategies failed miserably, but I found out that one particular authoritative strategy seemed to be worthwhile. And this strategy boils down to two key concepts: choice and feedback—but not in a way one would expect.

4.5 Learning to Be Autonomous: The Role of the Educator in Practice

As stated earlier, freedom and autonomy are not the same. Sharon does not need freedom, she needs autonomy: freedom is doing whatever you want without taking any responsibility for your actions. Whenever Sharon gained freedom in class, the only thing she did was draw (I was being permissive, to the point of neglect). Autonomy, on the other hand, does not require total freedom, but *freedom of choice* and self-regulatory skills to effectively cope with that freedom of choice.

The strategy for helping students to acquire self-regulatory skills boils down to a seven-step cyclical program. I will discuss these steps in a chronological way, starting before the school bell rings. Bear in mind that this strategy is by no means definitive, it is simply one that seems to work for me and my students.

Step 1: Offer a prepared environment

It is my responsibility as an educator to construct a 'prepared environment', as Dr. Montessori used to call it. A prepared environment is an environment with enough interesting and challenging materials, assignments and room for them to work in peace. If this condition is not met, the choices offered are void, meaningless and social interaction will disturb a peaceful working atmosphere. The materials offered need to vary in cognitive difficulty, so students can pick whatever level they like to start (or end) with. There is no apparent need for them to begin at the easy level and, as experience has shown, hardly anybody does. And even when somebody chooses to do so, this is not a problem since choosing is essential, while the choice in itself is not.

If possible, situate the classroom tables and chairs to perform a variety of functions. I found that for lectures, two by two is adequate, and tables of four are recommended for group learning. And maybe two to three tables separately for students who want to work by themselves. The point I am trying to make here is that the table arrangement should be an extension of the choices you offer.

Step 2: Offer limited choices

The one thing students appreciate most in my social studies lessons is the freedom to choose. The freedom to decide what to do, how to do it and with whom. We start each lesson collectively and I present the general structure of the lesson. Within this structure I point out which parts are obligatory and which are not. In every lesson, there needs to be enough time for them to work in a non-classical setting (whether they choose to or not). They may, for instance, choose not to attend the part in which I lecture about a certain topic. This, however, does not mean my students are in a position to choose not to do any school work, because then there is no learning going on. They can choose to work alone, in pairs or in groups. They can choose to work on a particular assignment, to read a textbook or to engage in any other meaningful activity. And, if they have proven to be up to it, they can choose to study another subject like French or math.

Initially it is up to me to decide how many options my students get and what these options entail in terms of work and effect. If I give them too few options the level of control is too high and they might feel suppressed and will not take charge of their own learning. At best, they will resist (actively or passively) if the level of control is not suited to their learning needs. If I give them too many options, the level of control is too low and they may lack a sense of direction and resort to doing nothing. The amount of freedom of choice thus depends on what they are able to handle. And since during the first couple of weeks I don't know what degree freedom they can handle, I start out by giving them just a few (two or three) simple options, such as: Work on your assignment or attend the lecture. Work alone or in a

group. This applies especially to younger students and children who are not accustomed to the way I conduct my lessons.

Step 3: Step back, protect them from distractions and observe

When students initiate working independently, teachers normally go out of their way to help them. This has some major disadvantages, though. By immediately helping students, you deprive them of a chance to take on their own learning and making their own mistakes. They become dependent on your help or approval to continue and will not take charge. Moreover, by helping one student, you cannot monitor others. So whenever students choose or be told to work without strict teacher guidance, I step out of the focus of attention (literally) and ensure that a working climate is established within a minute or two. My only job in these minutes is to protect them from distractions such as mobile phones and other students. In practice, this can be challenging, because it is difficult to lecture some students while at the same time keeping others calm and orderly. But even though I acknowledge the need for adolescents to socially interact, no student may ever have the freedom to keep others from learning. This is a boundary no one is permitted to cross in my classroom. In this respect, I can be quite the authoritarian.

Once a working climate is established, I take ten to fifteen minutes just to let them be and observe their behavior (are they actively engaged or distracted? Who is working with whom and do they seem to be working together effectively? What is it exactly that they are doing?). Observing them gives me a lot of information I would have missed had I been "helping," information I can use later on.

Step 4: Discuss, do not judge, let them try

Now comes the hard part. In my observations, I have seen some things I like and some things I do not like. Some choices I support and some I do not. In any event, I have formed an opinion about what I have seen. In helping students to be self-regulatory, voicing this opinion is not helpful. First of all, what I have seen may not be exactly what happened, and ten to fifteen minutes is too short a time to draw conclusions about the effects of the choices made, so I can simply be wrong. And second, giving compliments or voicing disapproval immediately detracts from a feeling of self-control and enhances a feeling of teacher control, which I am trying to avoid. A more powerful way to communicate is to offer observations in a neutral way and ask the student if the observation is correct. This will give you a better entry into a discussion about why a student has chosen to do this or that.

I have experienced over and again that a neutral conversation about underlying motives opens a student up to thinking about him- or herself as an autonomous learner. And that student's answer in turn will give me valuable information about what stage of thought he or she is at (did he or she reach the formal operational, conventional stage yet?). Still, at this stage he or she probably has no clue as to whether his/her choices have been beneficial to him/her (and neither do I). Thinking about oneself can be a frightening, shameful, difficult thing to do, as Sharon clearly showed. As an educator, I have to take this into consideration. It is futile to try to force your way through, and one has to take care not to damage the working

relationship. Be that as it may, this does not give a student the permission not to try. In my book, succeeding or failing is okay, not trying is not.

Step 5: Organize feedback and help them analyze, evaluate and create an action plan

After a couple of weeks, the first results come in. Results can be seen in the form of grades, of course, but other kinds of results are relevant as well, such as: How many times did a certain choice result in more motivation to learn? Which collaboration proved to be helpful? How many times was a deadline met? Were the goals achieved? What does this tells you about your learning habits? These are all indications of self-regulatory abilities. Results are essential because without results a student can never assess the *effect* of the choices he or she makes. Students seldom come up with these questions and therefore are in need of some assistance. If ever an educator can make a difference in a student learning self-regulatory skills, this is the moment. This is the time for powerful feedback that helps them to really think things over; by "powerful" I mean higher-order, procedural or meta-cognitive-driven feedback.

In secondary education, grades tend to be of great influence on motivation (good or bad), so I use them as a tool to start a conversation about the effectiveness of one's thoughts and behavior. Before having these conversations, I let my students do three things.

1. At the bottom of every test I pose what I like to call the estimation question. I ask them to make an estimation of the grade they think they will get on the test (= a form of self-report). This information enables the student and teacher to assess the difference between the anticipated and the given grade. Their estimation is an indication of self-control on the higher-order level of *evaluation*.
2. After handing out the correct answers and letting my students check which of their answers were right or wrong, I let my students hand in a test-evaluation form (Appendix A). This form contains about fifty statements about classroom and home environment, the use of the textbook and performance on the test itself. This is an assessment of self-regulatory skills on the higher-order level of *analyzing*.
3. Based on what a student has written down in his analysis and evaluation, he/she has to come up with an plan of action to improve his/her learning skills (Appendix B). This is an assessment of self-regulatory skills on the higher-order level of *creating*.

This yields enough information to start helping them come up with a way they can improve their self-regulatory learning skills. As an educator it is my role to question them on their learning skills, not to judge the validity of their evaluation, analysis and plan of action. Of course it is important to give them the right feedback, based on experience and observations (Hattie and Timperley 2007), but it is essential in the learning process that *they* call the shots. To have these one-on-one discussions with 20–25 students can be time-consuming, which is why many teachers refrain from doing so. Normally, I spend a couple of weeks having these twenty-minute conversations with all of my students. As time goes by, students become

more self-aware of their studying habits and the number and duration of discussions decreases, up to the point where they don't need to have a conversation at all because they have figured out what works best for them.

The vital aim of this approach is that instead of me analyzing and evaluating the students' self-regulatory skills, I let them do the evaluating and analyzing. They give me feedback and "feedforward" rather than the other way around: *"When teachers seek, or at least are open to, feedback from students as to what students know, what they understand, where they make errors, when they have misconceptions, when they are not engaged—then teaching and learning con be synchronized and powerful. Feedback to teachers help make learning visible"* (Hattie 2009). Turning feedback around is pivotal in learning to be an autonomous learner (number 10 in Hattie's ranking).

Step 6: Differentiate

From this point on, it is easier to differentiate between students who have self-regulatory skills and self-control and those who do not. Differentiation is often seen as something a teacher should do, but in my view differentiation is made possible by offering students opportunities (choices) to learn commensurate with their capabilities and needs. Again, an educator should not differentiate, students should; those who experience self-control will be able to choose to work more independently, whereas students who do not will ask for more guidance. The educator simply needs to adjust the prepared environment to accommodate the various needs.

Step 7: Repeat to the point of being superfluous

Choosing wisely and learning how to be an autonomous learner is a process that has to be inspired, initiated and monitored in a continuing interaction between educator and student. This takes effort, discipline and endurance on both parts. So if needed, I repeat steps 1 through 7 over and over again. If a student fails, observe, address him or her, ask the necessary questions, demand that he/she gives you feedback and help him/her plan future actions (which he must stick to!). And remember: failure is an option, not trying is not.

4.6 Sharon Re-visited

Some ten years after our encounter, Sharon joined the alumni reunion. She had finished high school, spent some years working as a junior office clerk, got married, gave birth to a daughter, got divorced and finally pursued her passion and successfully graduated from a two-year Master of Fine Arts program. At times she sold some of her paintings, but earned her income primarily by illustrating children's books. She was doing all right.

She had no recollection of the emotional confrontation we had had that Thursday afternoon. What had meant so much to me had been of no significance to her. She remembered me lecturing, being an okay guy and an occasional pain in the butt. She recalled high school as a time during which she struggled with life in general and

school in particular. In the end, she felt she had worked things out all by herself. This was a little hurtful, I must admit.

A consequence of investing properly in self-regulatory skills and a sense of autonomy in students is that they will attribute their learning to themselves, not to their educators. And this is how it should be. Dr. Montessori already knew this when she postulated the ultimate goal for any educator: *"The greatest sign of success for a teacher is to be able to say, the children are now working as if I did not exist"* (Montessori 1949). My experience and research into autonomous learning has taught me to rephrase this: *"The greatest sign for an educator is to be able to say, the children are now learning as if I did not exist"*.

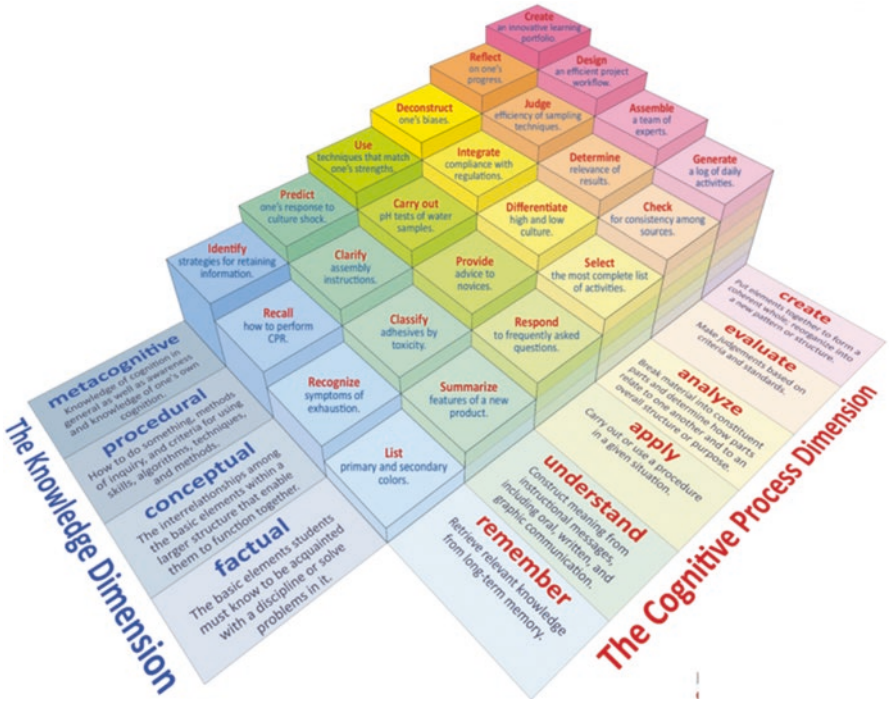
Learning how to become an autonomous learner is a nonlinear trial-and-error process. The 7-step program is an attempt to bring some structure to this process, by using all the necessary elements of higher order, formal, post-conventional thinking. It remains an adventure, though. But as long as educators and students try to stick with it, I am convinced they both will be all right.

Sharon stood at the door. *"Didn't I or school teach you anything?",* I asked her just as she was making her way out of the reunion. She smiled: "*School was messy, but so is life. So it prepared me well."*

Thank you, Sharon.

Appendices

Appendix A: Bloom’s (Revised) Taxonomy



Source: various sites on the Internet

Appendix B:Test Evaluation Form

Name: ……. Class: ……

Filling out this form can help you and your teacher determine what has gone right and what has gone wrong in preparing for this test. This will help you improve your learning skills and should help you to attain better grades next time.

My grade for this test:……	This grade I
	O expected
	O didn't expect but is better than I anticipated
	O didn't expect and is worse than I anticipated
The time needed to prepare for this test I	I found the test
O underestimated (I spent too little time preparing)	O easy
O estimated correctly	O just right
O overestimated (I spent too much time preparing)	O hard

	Check the column that applies to you	Yes	A little/sometimes	No
During class	I paid enough attention			
	I did enough work			
	I was able to concentrate			
	I had too little time to work independently			
	I had too much time to work independently			
	I was able to respond well to the freedom I am given			
	I thought the teacher was a good lecturer			
	I got enough attention from the teacher			
	I knew what was expected of me			
	I took the pre-test			
	I made a summary of the textbook			
	I read the textbook			
	I did the online assignments			
	I checked the outcomes of the assignments			
	I worked with the list of learning goals			

		Yes	A little/ some-times	No
At home	I prepared for this test as usual			
	I gave myself sufficient time to study for the test			
	My home environment enables me to study well			
	My parents/brother/sister are in a position to help me			
	My parents/brother/sister have/has helped me			
	I found it easy to study at home			
	I found it easy to concentrate at home			
	I used the textbook solely			
	I used the list of learning goals			
	In studying, I tried to memorize as much as I can			
	In studying, I tried to understand as much as I can			
	In studying, I tried to apply as much as I can (by answering question from the textbook or the pre-test)			
The textbook	The textbook has been quite easy to understand			
	The textbook questions helped me to remember the information given			
	The textbook questions helped me to understand the information given			
	The textbook questions helped me to apply the information given			
During the test	I had enough time to finish the test			
	I was able to concentrate during the test			
	The test was easier than the pre-test or equally difficult			
	I did well at questions that required memorizing			
	I did well at questions that required understanding			
	I did well at questions that required application			
	I understood every question			
	It was clear to me how I should answer the questions			
	Whenever two things were asked in one question, I answered them both			
	I scored well at multiple-choice questions			

Are there any other circumstances or influences that are worth mentioning?

O No

O Yes (elaborate) ……………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………
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Appendix C: Plan of Action for the Improvement of Learning

Name: **Class:**

Pick up to three reasons to explain why you got the grade you did and write down what you are going to do to improve your learning skills. Try to be as specific as possible (*see example*).

EXAMPLE
I got this grade because I
Tried to memorize too much
Therefore next time I will:
1. Make a summary of every paragraph
2. Attend lectures on subjects I find challenging
3. Take the pre-test (in time)
I will ask my teacher/fellow student(s)/parents to help me by
Letting me explain the subject matter and checking my summary
[A] I got this grade because I …… ……
Therefore next time I will:
1. …… ……
2. …… ……
3. …… ……
And I will ask my teacher/fellow student(s) /parents to help me by
…… ……
[B] I got this grade because I …… ……
Therefore next time I will:
1. …… ……
2. …… ……
3. …… ……
And I will ask my teacher/fellow student(s)/parents to help me by
…… ……
[C] I got this grade because I …… ……

Therefore next time I will:
1. …… ……
2. …… ……
3. …… ……
I will ask my teacher/fellow student(s)/parents to help me by
…… ……..…

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Chapter 5
Education of Adolescents with Difficulties

Ismail Madani Alaoui and Mostafa Aboutayeb

5.1 Morocco and Education: An Overview

The Moroccan education system is influenced by sociological, political and historical factors, with three different phases in its evolution. The first phase involves Moroccan education of religious content, rich like all Muslim societies. Children are taught the "Koran" and "Hadite" through memorization and recitation. Children can then attend primary school called "Msid" then they go into a "Madrasa" and later finish their educational curriculum at a prestigious school such as "Qaraouiyine" to Fez (the capital of knowledge) created in the ninth century.

The second phase began with the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912, resulting in a policy on education was strictly selective. Its major goal was to educate students to work between the Moroccan and French companies, unifying local knowledge and the Trusteeship of Morocco by France. Institutions were implemented aimed at social classes and the establishment of specific goals:

- Institutions of the French cultural mission, recruiting the dominant and favored class.
- European Schools, where the majority of students are European with a Moroccan minority.
- Religious schools, where students are taught materials "Hadith" and "Quran" in Arabic.
- Private Schools, to overcome the traditional Arab education with a new curriculum taught in Arabic in addition to a few hours of French.

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- Jewish schools, where many Moroccan Jewish children attended school.
- Professional Schools, targeting the disadvantaged class (especially in rural areas) and aimed at educating professionals in agriculture.

The third phase (the present state) began with the country's independence in 1956, educating executives and the reformulating curriculum. For this reason, several training centers and training colleges were created throughout Morocco, an approach that has enabled accelerated training of national cadres. In parallel to succeed this renovation project, the reform also affected the structure and content of the education system, for example: The generalization or democratization of education, the introduction of new technologies, the adoption of different methods and pedagogical approaches and the Arabization of different cycles of educational system and science subjects. However, despite these reforms and achieved success, vascillating policies inhibits the presence of a single strategy and a clear vision for the Moroccan education system. It is an education system halfway between the French education system and the actual Moroccan system.

In 2007, the King of Morocco noted his country's poor international performance and the High Council of Education created an Emergency Reform Plan in 2009 (Boutieri 2012). In a 2014 report by UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Morocco ranked in the thirtieth percentile for learning compared to other countries. The educational system is an improving one with public spending on education significantly rising. According to the OCP Policy Center, for example, government spending on education in 2014 was about 5.9% of GDP and 21.3% of total government spending. For the past fifteen years, payments have been increasing by more than 5% per year. Learning and knowledge are typically measured through literacy, essential to reaching higher levels of education and scoring well on national performance tests. Morocco's youth have made tremendous strides in increasing their literacy rates, from 81.5% to 95% literacy in seven years.

It is an important development that experts and policymakers have fully recognized the remaining barriers for education in the country in the 2015 "2030 Vision for Education" in Morocco. The plan has addressed previous failures by targeting four specific areas, including the priority for quality education. To successfully achieve these goals, the new project, called "New School for the citizen of tomorrow," puts an emphasis on several aspects of education, including mastering the Arabic language, a working knowledge of foreign languages, and integrating general education with vocational training. Morocco is now implementing longstanding policies about inclusion of special needs students.

Currently, all primary education (six years) is compulsory with middle-level education (three years) required and leading to a diploma. Secondary education is an option, offered in two tracks (general and vocational) leading to the *baccalauréat* for three years. Morocco also offers educational options beyond public schooling with higher-learning institutions.

There is a growing university population, but they are challenged by many of the talented students migrating to Europe and the Middle East. With so much educational innovation, hiring teachers has reached an urgent level. This will change as

the urgency diminishes, resulting in graduate-level programs in teacher education at some of the universities in the country (Llorent-Bedmar 2014). Unions are important in public education's teaching system, regularly calling for more protections.

As in other countries, challenges in equity mirror larger societal challenges. Men in Morocco currently dominate the gross enrollment ratio for primary, secondary and tertiary education systems. The UNESCO chart for secondary education shows that male enrollment exceeded female enrollment by 10.8% in 2012, with some diminishing gap in the ratio for primary and tertiary education within the years since. Because of its historical ties to the Middle East and Europe, Morocco has both competing and blending influences of Arabic and Western culture and language in many aspects of life. It is apparent in the urban centers of the country and its schools.

5.2 Introduction

Adolescence did not previously exist in traditional societies, even in Western ones; it is an invention of modern society, which has created and developed the idea. Formerly, the individual made the transition from the infant stage directly to the adult phase, without experiencing the intermediary phase. This intermediary phase, with all of the characteristics and aspects that make it a transitionary period, is a step during which independence and autonomy are developed, preparing the child for adulthood. This is a process that is impeded by socio-psychological, physiological, cultural, and above all, environmental difficulties, characterized by its perpetual changes. Let's consider, by way of example, the impact of information and communications technology (ICT) on adolescent development. This has an extraordinary impact on the adolescent's behavior and attitude toward learning, which remain unstable and bounded by their innovative technical and library media-related resources.

Adolescent education is in fact just one feature that encompasses all of the elements—among them knowledge, means, institutions, and human resources—that help young people to integrate into society, so that they can live in harmony with the perpetual changes undergone by their environment. It is society, in all of its actions and characteristics, that shapes the individual's education, by mapping out what the individual will be and how they are going to get there. Socio-economic and political issues, as well as other factors, have a decided effect on the educational process (Coulidiati-Kielem 2007). Using this premise, it appears evident that the development of adolescents does not come down to psycho-physiological or strictly educational factors, but takes on other dimensions that depend on the range of conditions in a given location and at a given time.

The evolution of adolescence is the result of an entire system that is both complex and coherent. This development varies from one society to another, according to the structures and tendencies of each. The demands that a society places on its youth are determined according to its status and level on an international scale. This

education of this societal stratum is an essential concern of every country. It is a collective investment, even the key component on which the future of a country depends. In order to succeed in meeting this challenge, researchers and specialists have proposed a plethora of theories and approaches that may be adapted according to the circumstances and specific features of the learners.

It is now our turn to deal with the following questions:

- What are the approaches and educational strategies that are most appropriate for effective adolescent learning for adolescents with difficulties?
- To what extent can motivation give meaning to the content being taught and hence enable a successful learning process?
- What is the role of new technologies in the educational process? And to what extent do they make adolescents active participants in their own learning?

Education requires a consensus of all of these constituent parts and the other factors that influence it. All these virtues work collectively to shape the adolescent and support them in the face of the various dangers that surround them, such as, for example, the flow of suspect information, risk-taking, and the risk of being prey to direct or indirect exploitation by private persons or legal entities (Le Breton 2002). These threats increase day by day; the adolescent has become an object that we seek to shape according to the desires of some people, or the visions of others. Strategies and means differ, but they all converge on the same goal. Because of this, it seems necessary to rethink our attitudes, to review our strategies, and to ask new questions. This will enable us to overcome the main challenge of education, which is represented by different goals in each country.

The adolescent, by definition, will have less developed intellectual skills and knowledge. In order to advance this capacity, the instructor must be accessible while remaining in his or her professional role. In the eyes of adolescents, the educator is possessed of an intellectual and moral authority that defines them as a teacher (Durkheim 1922). This concerns the ability to have an effect on and influence others, and to make others benefit from their minds' personal resources (Ferré 1949). Through these resources, they implicitly and explicitly adapt what they experience, while having an excellent asset with which to bolster their development.

This so-called democratic training aims to produce an autonomous, educated citizen, an active individual who adjusts to the changes that take place in society, and who contributes in a positive way on a daily basis. This involvement as a citizen will become a way of life that is founded on all the shared values (equality, freedom, justice, etc.). In short, this training is about helping the adolescent so that they can evolve in a pluralist society, in "a world to be built, to seek the universality which could define them less in terms of good or virtue than by the rules implemented for this construction" (Khan 2016).

In this respect, the educational system will play an essential role in the institutionalization and restructuring of the rights of people, with the aim of making them a reality and transposing them into real behaviors. That being said, continuous learning remains a cornerstone that supports the individual throughout their life; it

is one of the learning methods that goes beyond the ordinary organizational system (learning in class).

The education of the adolescent is everybody's concern: the educator, the leader of an educational institution, magistrates, psychiatrists, police officers and others. All these contributors, who wear many different hats, must unite their efforts and have a common commitment to act effectively with regard to this adolescent, and to protect them. It is necessary that we suggest what would be useful to them, allowing them to find a project that will allow them to create their place in society. This model of societal status will help them to find their freedom, their independence, and their identity, in order to become free, responsible citizens.

5.3 Differentiated Instruction

It is necessary to think about building communities within which adolescents will feel secure, earn their freedom, and develop their unique nature. Taking into consideration differences between adolescents is an essential part of their upbringing. Research has demonstrated that individuals differ and do not have the same characteristics: There are no two people who learn in the same way; each learns at their own pace and level.

Adopting such pedagogy does not mean differentiating the knowledge being taught; it is about proposing diversified methods, and several different approaches that are suited to the specific requirements of each adolescent. Successfully implementing this approach calls for work that is both individual and collective. Some adolescents, for instance, require older, more experienced advisers, and others may be more influenced by their classmates (interaction between peers) in a sort of cooperative learning, an approach that we can identify as a mutual assistance method, in which adolescents support each other (Johnson and Johnson 1999, 2000). With A. Bandura (1995) we are dealing with "social learning," a way of benefiting from one person's skills to improve those of others, a promising collective success strategy insofar as it is the adolescent who imparts knowledge to their classmates. This advantage of this method is twofold: for refreshing the memory and deepening understanding in the adolescent who is already ahead, and for making understanding easier for the one who is behind.

In almost the same way, several systems have opted for another type of education called "alternative education." They have created specialized groups for adolescents with specific needs, with the objective of compensating for their deficits by providing content tailored to them; yet this attempt runs the risk of stigmatizing them, given that they are less able than the majority of the ordinary classes. Another disadvantage might be a lack of motivation within a group of the same level (homogenous group/same difficulties).

5.4 Individualized Education

Recently another type of education has come into play: that of individualization (Perrenoud 1995), which takes the specific needs of each individual into consideration by offering them what they need in order to be able to learn well and progress on their educational journey. Many methods calibrated to the needs of a number of learners are used, with the aim of reintegrating them as soon as possible into the standard curriculum. These include removing the organizational structure and organizing the adolescents' activities by taking into account their individual cases; for this, each person will have a special program that enables them to develop at their own pace. This learning concept has a mandate to serve the specific pupil as they are, not as they should be, and to consider a process that reflects their reality.

The adoption of such a pedagogy, does not mean the differentiation of the knowledge taught. It is question of the proposal of diversified methods and multiple ways adapted to the specificity of each adolescent. Preventing failure requires taking multiple measures into account. These might include: creating a democratic atmosphere in which the learner feels free and independent; highlighting adolescents' progress and results; and implementing comprehensive knowledge that leads to clear and rational objectives.

In general, the strategy carried out within an individualized learning process has three major stages: the learner's integration phase, which is used to adapt the students to the methods being implemented; the phase of deepening and clarifying understanding; the final phase aims to arouse the learner's desire to pursue their own involvement via an individual project.

5.5 Motivation

An adolescent who is not motivated is a person who has never succeeded, and who fails most of the time, which is why it is necessary to find them a place to exchange views, an area in which they can succeed and gain confidence in themselves, so that they will once again be motivated to learn. Explaining to the adolescent *why* they are learning something is extremely important, as is specifying what use the knowledge will be to them, and giving meaning to the content offered. As educators we must make them aware of the everyday utility of what they are learning. Once this has been done, they will be excited by the material, and will enjoy learning and understanding things.

Knowledge and understanding are a precursor for all educational operations. This is why, in order to act, the learner must rally and have the enthusiasm to build their own understanding. In exchange, the accompanist's motivation must be clear and present, and serve as an essential component to educational success. That is to say that the relationship between the educator and learner, however well-defined and well-planned its structure, remains uncertain in the sense that this desire to

enroll in any particular situation is not within easy reach of each member of the target group of adolescents, just as engaging a learning activity does not guarantee a 100% success rate. The circumstances in which adolescent education takes place are constantly changing, which makes this focus on learning unstable. It is therefore necessary to devise a number of strategies that can arouse the sought-after desire. In the face of this motivational crisis we are going to suggest four approaches: spontaneous naturalism, interest-based education, functional utilitarianism, and desire-based education.

5.6 Spontaneous Naturalism

Adherents of this perspective advise letting learners learn freely, and letting desire emerge over time without putting pressure on students; in this way, the implicit and explicit objectives of the educational system try to create an independent citizen who is capable of setting themselves free, both personally and socially. This requires a rethinking of the relationship between boh parties in education, to determine the functions of each, highlighting the learner and their needs.

For Fourier (2001), education is not equal to the hopes and expectations of the individual, because it distorts true human nature, that which is based on humans' spontaneity, passions, and freedom. The individual has become a slave to the values and laws imposed by the institutions that defend the interest of the dominant class. It is necessary to standardize the different components of so-called "natural" education (Fourier 1808); the distinction between the means and the ends is not substantial. Subscribers of this school of thought insist that education should be closely linked with all elements of society, that is to say that some place value on adolescents' skills. For them, the educational environment is based on the freedom of the adolescents, who choose what they learn, and the educator may only intervene at their request. However, other researchers insist on the usefulness of the teacher's authority throughout the process; with this in mind, success relies upon their intervention.

5.7 Interest-Based Education

Adolescents have an instinctive ability to learn with ease, provided they are motivated; the degree of their commitment in activities reflects the level of interest they bring to them. However, we must make the necessary support and technical material available for their use, which corresponds with the target objectives. Adolescents enjoy understanding and take pleasure in discovering things in the activities in which they invest effort.

Linking what is in the adolescent's best interest with what interests them seems to form the cornerstone of every act of learning. The adolescent's desire is the real

catalyst of the educational process, and the accompanist has to create the demand for knowledge, and seeks to generate attention and to obtain the spontaneous interest (Leif and Rustin 1979) of these adolescents, who will take pleasure in learning.

As a consequence, the adolescent's motivation is a major psychological determinant for learning success, which is to say that the development of research in the area of adolescent psychology has further encouraged all of those in charge of education to prescribe motivation as a priority in learning activities. Interest-based learning targets a desire that is difficult to pin down in all the learners in a class; in addition, it may negatively influence the learning of specific individuals. According to (Claparède 1931), educational development in particular, as well as that of society in general, depends first of all on the psychology that makes up the true foundation of any educational act.

5.8 Functional Utilitarianism

This school of thought highlights the perspective of the meaning of education for adolescents and society alike. Its objective is to convince adolescents of the utilitarian (Bautier et al. 1992) nature of what they are learning in the various institutions. It aims to seamlessly link the constituent parts of the educational activity by favoring the individual/society relationship and the interest/enjoyment of the adolescent. Desire and enjoyment make up two aspects; the first, which is immediate, is established at the beginning of the activity; the second emerges at the end, once the adolescent becomes aware of the effectiveness of the skills learned.

The knowledge that counts, and that interests the adolescent, is that which is the most useful in real life, which open up other perspectives and makes adolescents powerful and active in their society. This knowledge increases when it becomes a way of solving problems (Freitag 1995) rather than just being a point of access to cultural or intellectual notions. Adolescents are interested in knowledge that enhances their well-being. From a pragmatic point of view, it is only interest that is necessary, and that guides the individual, since they are interested in knowledge that helps them succeed. If this motivation disappears, the learning plan will be useless and the entire system will be ruined.

Adam Smith (1776) introduces another extremely important factor, which in this case is aimed at the educator. Even before presenting themselves in a learning environment, the instructor must be motivated to impart what they are going to offer, and should communicate their desires implicitly and explicitly in front of the adolescents. While instructors and institutions have an abundance of competitive interest, and while this is not linked with the quality of their results, there will always be monotony and failure of the school.

The concern is arming an adolescent with tools that are adequate and able to be adapted to any real situation, in any productive area outside their establishment. This educational product should become established both at the adolescent's request, and at that of society (industrial, commercial, etc.). However, for Bentham

(1983), society must not dictate to us the profile of an exemplary citizen. The individual must free themselves from society's dictates and constitutional instructions.

5.9 Desire-Based Instruction

The desire to learn is produced by understanding, and this is where the adolescent's interest and motivation to perform, to obtain clear results and reach their planned (implicit or explicit) objectives, emerges. It is the methods of presenting knowledge that allow us to arouse the adolescents' interests and make them enjoy learning. At the start of a given situation, the adolescent feels adrift in ignorance, but when they progress through the activity, they see that things become illuminated and the various facts transform themselves to form a complete and understandable image. At this advanced stage, the adolescent finds pleasure in understanding, and the outside world takes on meaning for them.

The desire to know (Beillerot 1994) is just one step of many. Beillerot considers this desire as a given that allows the adolescent to move on to a stage where there is a desire to learn. At this stage they commit to it with their interests and intelligence, and become almost autonomous, with an intrinsic motivation; their interest surges when they come across knowledge that they deem useful for their success. Each individual possesses this interest; it is enough to choose the right means of stimulating it: the only true education comes from the stimulation of the abilities (Dewey 1995) of the adolescent in social situations that provide them with the opportunity to flourish. The instructor, who is seen as a facilitator, must provide them with the tools and assistance necessary to result in the expected goals.

In Dewey's pedagogy, effort and interest are a basic paradigm for the adolescent in a problematic situation that they have to manage; these two factors are inseparable if they are to be effective. However, he presents them as two opposite notions: learning through interest requires the adolescent to identify the object or the idea being studied, whereas learning by effort demands that the learner's conscience and the activity to be carried out remain disjointed. Nevertheless, when the adolescent becomes engaged, effort is always linked with interest; it is impossible to carry out an activity without the slightest interest. In reality, these interests come from outside, such as punishment or reward, but they do not last long. Education must therefore be based around the adolescent's interest in order to guarantee the continuity of the commitment, whether this appears as individualization or as a collective (the group of adolescents).

These pedagogic differences that have been used lead us to the idea of creating circumstances that are favorable to the adolescent's learning. According to (Meirieu 2009), the instructor must create a non-threatening space so that the adolescent may take risks without putting themselves in danger, dare to carry out the activities, and explore the unknown without fear of being punished by the instructor or being the subject of mockery by peers. They must feel themselves to be in an environment that is free from psychological or physiological danger; that being said, the learner

will find their enthusiasm in learning, as well as their involvement in self-development, but even so, it is necessary to make technical (books, fully equipped spaces, and media packages) and human resources (well-informed, experienced guides) available to them. This combination will make their task easier so that they can achieve the desired results.

The learning process must be practiced in accordance with a philosophy that puts the adolescent at the center of the many operations that have been planned; it is up to them to generate their understanding under their educator's supervision. From Rousseau (1951) we may understand that the educator must do nothing and everything; they are called upon on one hand to guarantee that the adolescent has an environment that is rich in resources and tools that allow the adolescent to become motivated and involved; and on the other hand it is the adolescent who must take action, discover, and conclude. It is useless for the instructor to learn in the adolescent's place: here we are moving toward an institutional contradiction in the field of education.

These guiding and non-guiding aspects belong to two processes; admittedly, they are different, but they are carried out simultaneously; that is to say that the two main actors in a learning situation are two different realities that are framed in a contract that ensures that one may act freely (the adolescent) and the other follows (the educator). For Angers and Bouchard (1993), the educator takes on the role of re-centering the student on the activity being taught, while marking out their path.

5.10 Educating the Adolescent in Citizenship

In general, the word "education" takes us back to the school domain, to the teacher/adolescent relationship. However, this term has a broader meaning, which includes those surrounding the adolescent, starting with their immediate family (parents and older brothers and sisters), then the extended family (grandparents, aunts, and uncles). Enlarging this circle, other parties become included: public or private non-profit institutions (collaborations) and the organizations that have a direct or indirect link with the adolescent's life. Put another way, society in its entirety is educational.

By underlining these different popular educational movements, which form a community network, we shall notice that they perform a determining role in the adolescent's education; they offer the adolescent a chance to express themselves freely, cooperate, and choose the experiences that they cannot gain elsewhere. For these reasons and others, they must evaluate the issues. Democracy, contributing to the common good, and saving our threatened planet necessitate new educational practices and a new place for reflection, for reading, and for debate.

We cannot talk about adolescent education within a restricted, homogeneous sphere; it is, and shall remain, linked with social, economic, and political issues, etc. The aims planned for education converge around the creation of a citizen who has all of the positive characteristics in order to blossom and positively integrate into

society. In agreeing with this meaning, we will be truly convinced that the adolescent is at the center of education, because the various influences that affect them have the aim of guiding them on the long journey that they will map out for themselves. This means a common task where each contributor accomplishes their task according to their specialty, each having a complementary effect on the other. This supposes a conjunction of the roles that corresponds with the subject's personality.

One other factor is now playing an essential educational role and taking on a wider area in relation with other educational factors. By this dominant tool we mean: media (computers, mobile phones, television, etc.). Adolescents spend great amounts of time in front of these informational materials, without limits; this is a new threat that eludes all instructors and manipulates users of all ages. One question comes to the fore: what is the future profile of the citizen under the influence of media?

The adolescent lives in a society that is built around a democratic project, as well as the propagation of social individualism. There is not one unified social truth that is shared by everyone, but individual projects that favor the individual's rights and obligations to the detriment of the common good. In this amalgam of values and principles, adolescent education is difficult, if not almost impossible; the divergence of the strategies that are implemented reinforces the unpredictable nature of learning.

Instructors are asked to accompany adolescents on a daily basis, to offer them more time to think, to anticipate and have the correct reflex about when they learn. Over this period, they become independent and form their own personalities; each adolescent will become unique, different from the others, because of their characteristics, which are valuable for the rest of the group to which they belong.

Communication between teacher and adolescent remains something that is both efficient and effective, because this communication space teaches the latter ways of thinking, and to accept others' differences. This evolutionary stage in individuals is marked by psychological changes, as well as by a construction of understanding and identity; it is more important than ever to maintain a healthy relationship. However, making yourself available to the adolescent does not mean making things easier for them in order to put them at ease; this would mean that the student was no longer learning. The educator must impose useful constraints on the adolescent, which push them to think and create their own intellectual path, and must also offer mechanisms that help them to produce their own knowledge and accomplish their goals.

The intentions of a citizen who embodies the meaning of education are not produced by chance, nor through obsolete means. Contents must be reformulated, and institutions and equipment must be renewed, adding the mentalities of those who manage the educational process. It is necessary to reconstitute the learning universe around the prescribed aims, and not just a similar reproduction of the same methods. The adolescent must feel themselves to be in a place that is worthy of learning, a place where they achieve and succeed.

The validity of the educational process is a burden that is both complicated and complex; its utility is ubiquitous. To verify the achievement of this criteria and ensure that all the agreed objectives are met, we must resort to assessment. This tool, with its different aspects, is strongly recommended insofar as it deals with

obtaining and analyzing the results, and also creates a link between the causes of the phenomena that are produced, and relies on establishing methods of regulation for the educational systems. L. Porcher emphasizes the considerable value of assessment at all levels, saying that whoever controls assessment controls the whole system (Porcher 1990).

However, the execution of this concept has a strong impact on the learning process. The true objective of assessment is not to reveal the adolescent's failings, and to punish or classify them afterwards, but to have the complete image of a situation that is made to rectify any detected shortfalls, and to find the relevant tips to support the learner and motivate them to succeed. As assessors, we must erase the negative perception of this tool, in order to give it the correct meaning and reposition it properly. The radical solution is to deeply study the assessment system in order to reformulate it on these three levels: micro, meso, and macro.

5.11 Integrating ICT into Adolescent Learning

The specificity of education shows itself in its predisposition to adapt itself to new circumstances, and to adopt new innovations that are capable of improving its qualitative and quantitative performance. Among the different resources adopted by this system, we can call upon ICT (Information and Communications Technology), which has taken on huge importance in the education sector, and which has become an unavoidable tool because of its immense impact and the role that it plays in the various sectors of this organization. It has become involved in improving the productivity of different actors: administration, educators, learners, partners, etc.

The integration of ICT in the context of active learning (Raby 2004) supposes a rational progress that is well suited to an innovative global structure. This process aims to develop old educational techniques, which affect, in one way or another, the roles attributed to teachers and adolescents by deeply changing their attitudes to learning. This use necessitates viewing the teacher/adolescent relationship from another angle that highlights the three centers of academic learning: teacher training, the adolescents' relationship with ICT, and the appropriate educational techniques.

When educating adolescents in technology, we must take into account the effect that it produces on their status as an active participant in their own learning; this new option opens up a dimension that is as wide as before, and the scope for freedom is larger and increases as they advance. The adolescent benefits from a status which is characterized by their independence and the possibility to shape themselves, amend their critical thinking, and become an informed citizen. We are talking about a major diversion that has shaken the entire educational world (its resources, its tools, its strategies and its aims).

Indeed, digital-media literacy serves to create the principles of autonomy in the adolescent, and accompany them on their learning journey: researching information, selecting data, analysis, and synthesis. The complexity of the virtual world and

the sophisticated appearance of the internet with all of its accessories make the task laborious for the educator and for the adolescent, in the sense that it requires a collaborative, even intelligent approach. The adolescent's integration into the world of ICT means their adhesion to an unlimited universe that includes virtual communities that are capable of creating hitherto unseen structures and difficult concepts. They will deal with a joint intelligence that works on the principal of collective effort.

Media literacy paves the way for a new order of human culture; the world that awaits the adolescent favors the individual who is comfortable in the digital era, in other words, a citizen shaped on the concept of "learning to learn." This notion of learning favors the use of learning strategies centered around the adolescent, who relies on thinking tools and collaborative actions that will help them to know themselves better. Learning through the use of new technologies contributes to the development of skills relating to independence and adaptation to scholarly and professional life; the adolescent will be in a position to manage their learning, and to select and evaluate methods. Autonomy in a multimedia context involves both freedom of action for the user and the responsibility of their own learning. Besides this, and in the middle of all of these constraints, the importance of metacognitive abilities increases (Rouet 2001) to the extent that the environment is favorable.

In general, adolescent experience with, and uses for, ICT happen on a daily basis for a number of reasons, and the different types of technology that are made available to the adolescent allow them easy access to their (social, educational, and cultural) environment. The various platforms that are perpetually evolving have become favored means of research for them. There are specific search engines that are most often used, for instance, to an educational end; however this educational activity is not particularly widespread among adolescents. Moreover, various studies carried out on this subject have shown that the majority of searches on the web made for information, or for education in itself, come under the category of school assignments.

Meanwhile, these methods of searching for information, and these differential media practices force us to think deeply how to reorient them to practices that are in the adolescent's best interest, which contribute to the achievement of their projects and promote interactivity between the actors concerned. The wealth of (interconnected) organizational mechanisms of the media in question stimulates the adolescent to manage their learning.

There are considerable consequences of ICT's success as a source of, and tool for, information in adolescents (in the number of users and participation methods). The results of investigations on the nature of research done on the Web reveal the media-friendly universe in which they develop. Through their visits, they integrate their know-how and, in other cases, they invent new technicalities and functionalities that offer an infinite amount of information, and generate experiences and virtual interactions.

In short, the domains most accessed by adolescents are divided into three categories: communication, various sorts of consumption, and information. The latter category, which interests us the most, is itself divided into four types of information:

- *Intellectual information*, which meets the adolescent's needs in an educational context. This is available on specific websites or through search engines using key words that enable them to find the appropriate resources.
- *Cultural information* allows access to art and culture, where ICT users integrate themselves into these worlds, which contain facilities (galleries, concerts, and museums) and activities that reflect model aesthetic or social behaviors.
- *Social information* contributes to forming the adolescent's social identity through the relationships that they can form by exchanging emails, visiting discussion forums or chat sites, or by sharing files with their peers.
- *Personal information* reflects the adolescent's identity through the entirety of the data that they share with their peers over the internet; social networks make up the preferred space for conveying one's identity.

The use of the internet by adolescents regularly increases; it covers a number of areas; some of which are in their best interest, and others may have an opposite effect. This trend demands an urgent intervention on the part of those responsible for these young users: teachers, parents, and public and private bodies. They must all collaborate to shelter the adolescents from the dangers of this universal phenomenon; it is evident that the best support to provide is ensuring that they are well educated, equipping them with a critical, analytic, and responsible mind. The lifestyles and consumption of this social category are profoundly influenced by the evolution of ICT; it has become an inseparable part of their identity and growth.

5.12 Conclusion

In conclusion, the education of adolescents is an extremely difficult challenge. Educational objectives require resources that are both complex and straightforward, with the goal of creating circumstances that guarantee an almost autonomous learning process for the future citizen, which is characterized by freedom and cooperation within the community, so that they can achieve their personal goals.

Societies open onto new unavoidable and unlimited perspectives, and the adolescent finds that they are to integrate themselves sooner or later, which is where the necessity to handle their learning process comes from, allowing them to create a unique identity based on principles and values, and become a positively active participant in a collective project. Successfully shaping an adolescent who will become a citizen who is worthy of the values and principles promoted by society involves joint, coherent work from the contributors in the education system; each person must assume their responsibilities and respect their role—in other words, working toward a plan that puts the adolescent at the center of all processes, by encouraging them to become the driver in their own learning. The adolescent needs psychological, intellectual and professional guidance that makes them able to absorb knowledge and apply it to new, real contexts. Finally, excellence of educational quality is a guarantee that the adolescent shall effectively confront the various mutations that

humanity undergoes, and create their own professional identity, which will progress significantly.

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Chapter 6
Away from Corporal Punishment in the Classroom: Practical Experience from the Field in Tanzania

Ngulinzi Ntigwiyahuligwa and Kate Montgomery

6.1 Tanzania and Education: An Overview

Tanzania has had, over the past century or more, an educational system that reflects both the aspirations of and the disparities among its people. Initially, education was the responsibility of community elders, it was informal, and focused on life skills. Language use was largely oral, with influences from Arabic languages and cultures. While Tanzania was colonized by Germany in the late nineteenth century and was governed by Great Britain after World War I, schooling at the primary level in the country, was locally controlled, yet it began to mirror that of European nations, including the study of European languages, mathematics, and sciences. After Tanzania gained independence in the 1960s, its leaders established a national language (Kiswahili) to be taught in public primary schools. Through a socialist agenda, people were to place their children in primary schools—to support self-reliance and an economy of agriculture—with very few youth going beyond that level of schooling. School fees were eradicated in the public sector and enrollment in primary schools ballooned. These fees were reinstated in the 1980s with a concomitant drop in number of children attending primary school. Fees were again dropped in 2015.

Progress in the education system has been made since independence; however, there are still areas that need improvement. Tanzania has a high enrollment rate at the primary school level but a huge number of students drop out before finishing their primary education. There is a national exam to move onto secondary school, and about 50% of students pass the exam and move on with another set of exams at the end of secondary school, in ten subjects (http://kisaproject.org). Eighteen

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percent of students pass to move into advanced levels of secondary schooling and, ultimately, college, typically in neighboring countries. In total, the enrollment for secondary education is 30.8% and for advanced secondary, only 1.9% (Fundi 2016; Mushi 2009). Students also have the option to seek vocational training or pay fees to attend private school (http://kisaproject.org).

Language issues in Tanzanian schools continue to be a challenge. In public secondary schools, Kiswahili is used as the language of instruction while the exams are in English. The language of primary education is mixed, with many poor and rural children having no exposure to English despite it being the language in which the exams are given. As a result, the education system serves best those who can speak English—primarily the wealthy—and the majority of students only attain primary education level. There is no tutoring for children who fall behind, and although English is taught as a subject in primary school, many teachers themselves are not fluent (M. Yahl 2015, www.nyu.edu). Students attending public primary and secondary schools in rural areas often lack resources and adequate facilities for learning in any langauge. Moreover, there are no professional development opportunities for teachers to build their content-knowledge in English or any subject, nor are there professional development opportunities for building skill in pedagogical methods, classroom management, or differentiation (Fundi 2016).

6.2 Introduction

In more than one third of the countries in the world, it is legal for teachers to discipline students by causing physical pain—this pain might be inflicted with blows from sticks, canes, belts or from the human hand (Gershoff 2017). In some places this use of beatings by those in power is not only permissible, it has become the central ethos in education. Public officials, school administrators, teachers, parents and even students themselves may well condone beatings as righteous or effective, or as a self-evident necessity in a well-functioning school.

It is easy to imagine that there may be teachers, many teachers, who find that this system runs counter to their experiences with excellent learning, counter to their instincts as to what people need in order to learn at their best, or counter to their values as people. It is easy to imagine, too, that there are teachers who know that research has shown that forms of discipline intended to instill pain and fear are not successful and, in fact, often interfere with learning, having negative effects outside the learning interaction as well. Yet if the education system has been built, has been passed down, with corporal punishment at its core, if physical discipline is often present and even expected as part and parcel of hierarchical interactions across a society, what is one teacher to do? Who, with no special budget or program, could work differently amid such a context without being dismissed, scorned or deemed ineffective?

The following letter is from Ntigwiyahuligwa Ngulinzi, a former teacher and now humanitarian aid officer for the Norwegian Refugee Council in Tanzania, who describes his successful journey of turning away from corporal punishment and toward trust. He writes:

Dear Kate,

It was so nice to receive your email, thank you! Following your question:
"You have helped teachers switch from making students fear them to helping students trust them—please can you tell me how?"

It has not been easy. Corporal punishment has a long history in African cultures and East Africa in particular. A stick is traditionally called a *akalelabana*, which literally means "a child caregiver," and there is a traditional proverb, *Mchelea mwana kulia, hulia yeye*, which means "He who doesn't want his child to cry will himself cry in the future."

These traditional beliefs pair with the fact that many of our governments had a system that one could not be employed without having attended military training for three to 6 months. Since this military training was one of the criteria for employment, teachers came to schools and colleges with military approaches to solve issues. That generation, whom I can call "military-like-teachers," is still present—they are now senior teachers, with senior leadership positions. In addition, many new teachers today have been taught by them. Unfortunately, a number of these new teachers now also use the same approach of managing students.

To influence change, I started by myself as a teacher not to use sticks. I went to the class without a stick, and after the lesson I thanked my students and told them that they have been cooperative, participatory and attentive to the lesson regardless that I had not gone with a stick. I did this for about 2 weeks and in the third week I went further. I would shake hands with them on Fridays (wishing them good weekend) and again on Monday (wishing them good luck in their studies). I also shook hands with them when they had a test, wishing them good luck in the outcome. After about two consecutive months, two to three students would wait for me at the door, and when they saw me coming, they would run to me, greet me, and carry all that I had in my hands (teaching materials and/or aids). I really became famous in and out of the school, and my class became famous too. I asked my students to act to other teachers the way they do to me, but some students would say, *wanatupiga*, "They beat us."

My fellow teachers asked me why my students relate to me like that. My answer was always the same: *Kwa sababu mimi ninachukia viboko*, "Because I hate sticks." Sometimes in the staff meetings I would be asked and be given a precaution that my classes would fail because I was ruining them, being too lenient, leading them astray. I tried to explain and ask all of the teachers to try my way, but very few see it positively. Good luck for me: in the final exam, the class led the whole region in the subject I was teaching, the first through sixth-best students in the subject were all from my class.

It impressed other teachers. The headmistress requested teachers to learn and to seek advice from me, and this is when I considered myself playing additional role: me, mentoring?

In 2 years, however, life at the school changed: about 97% of teachers were no longer using corporal punishment. Very few of them (3%) kept on saying they were more experienced and more senior than me and that they did not choose to change what they were doing.

I thought on how I could influence teachers from other schools to change. It became a little bit more easy because my students themselves had spread this during their vacation, parents also were talking the same story. Some teachers wished to have the relationship I had with students and some admired my success so came to ask. Some asked for even more contact, and we started chatting about teaching on WhatsApp.

When I joined the humanitarian agency, I found refugee teachers do not punish students with beatings, but not because they are conscious of the harms but because they have been instructed so by their employers (agencies). From my mere observation I found learners were not so close to their teachers. I once saw students who wanted to enter the staffroom; they stood near, by the door, every one wanted to be behind the other. I understood they were scared, but why? I asked one teacher how does he find managing students' behavior where corporal punishment is prohibited. He simply said *mbaya sana*, "very terrible." He said it is not working, and that he finds time to punish secretly when the supervisor is not there. He added that the little good discipline I could see was because of the little cases where teachers punish learners.

I thought to interact with teachers to use and possess the approach without corporal punishment. We started a youth center with some vocational trainings in late of October last year, and here is when I established interaction with teachers aiming at influencing the change. I formed a phrase, *Fimbo inaweza kufikia mfupa wa mtu lakini sio tabia yake*, or "A stick can reach one's bone but not one's behavior," which contradicts the traditional proverbs. I work for teachers to find a truth in it. With refugee teachers, I opened a WhatsApp group through which we chat; I can see we are moving well and our learners are happy. We have other projects, I anticipate using this opportunity to spread other approaches to our coming teachers and, when applicable, to those from our education partners.

Last week, almost 3 years since I left, I visited my friends at the school. I also got an opportunity to go to the staff room, and when I was there I heard something different. I heard a class saying, like singing, to a teacher after a lesson: *Asante madam, kwa somo lako zuri, karibu tena!* "Thank you, Madam, for your good lesson, welcome again!" I asked what was this kind and generous new tradition, I was told I am a part of this new spirit.

The school is doing very well, better than before, I know teachers are working harder to help students, but a good thing to me is that students are happy with their school, they are now subjected to less harm than before.

Regards,

Ntigwiyahuligwa Ngulinzi

Ngulinzi's letter, his description of moving away from corporal punishment toward building trust, is not to be read and quickly discarded—by giving it careful thought and attention, one can see there are actions he has taken, dispositions he has embodied, that teachers in any context can learn from, can try, in their own contexts. While he did not write the letter to proclaim or advocate for a particular scientifically proven path for all teachers toward reducing corporal punishment, any teacher wishing to make a change as he has made can find inspiration, insight and practical guidance in his account. Although there is much to draw on and learn from this letter, in this article we wish to highlight just five angles of approach that Ngulinzi has used that seem likely to have contributed to his success in reducing corporal punishment in his community. These five have perhaps the most potential to help educators in many widely varied schools, countries and contexts.

6.3 Consider the Big Picture

Ngulinzi frames the situation by first describing a wider context for the issue—a stance useful to teachers everywhere. Why might this be occurring, what has likely contributed to it happening this way? What may be the intention or the logic behind it, what is the assumption about it that is leading people to do it? In his particular school context, Ngulinzi names historical tradition of this area of the world as a reason that corporal punishment seems now to be the default choice of many teachers—it has been for many years common sense, the expected behavior. "It has not been easy [to change] because corporal punishment has a long history in African cultures and East Africa in particular," he writes.

Ngulinzi goes on to note a more particular context whereby strict discipline including physical punishment became the norm for many teachers: "Since [military training] was one of the criteria for employment, teachers came to schools and colleges with military approaches to solve issues." Ngulinzi adds that if new teachers are taught by that generation, influenced by military mores, they too may adopt that approach.

By naming some societal and systemic conditions, describing a bit of historical context that contribute to the use of corporal punishment, Ngulinzi depersonalizes the phenomenon without dehumanizing it—he makes it plain that through his frame, this challenge is *not* a matter of mean teachers doing bad things to children. Instead, he frames the situation in a respectful manner, of people acting in certain ways for logical reasons that come from their specific contexts. Yet he does not excuse or dismiss the behavior or detract from its seriousness by offering this context. This framing is not only an intellectual move, but is also likely a disposition that Ngulinzi carries with him as he works with teachers, students and others—a disposition that invites respectful engagement.

6.4 Be Humble

Another factor that may relate to Ngulinzi's success is that he chooses a disposition of humility. The humility in his approach to this situation, and perhaps to many areas of life, is clear from the outset of his depiction of it. He begins his response restating the question, to support all readers in starting to think about this topic together, on the same grounds, with the same question in mind. Later, when his endeavor to end caning has begun to be effective, and teachers ask about his successes, he again does not answer condescendingly, from a high ground, moral or otherwise.

> My fellow teachers asked me why my students relate to me like that. My answer was always the same: *Kwa sababu mimi ninachukia viboko*, "Because I hate sticks."

Without implying a claim to moral superiority, he answers in terms that show that his motivation is coming from his own internal sense of values, a motivation that does not impugn others, but merely states truthfully his personal convictions.

In fact, even when he begins to be met with success—students are maintaining an orderly classroom and also building a relationship with him—one of his first priorities is to offer the fruits of that success to other teachers. As he puts it, "I asked my students to act to other teachers the way they do to me, but some students would say, *Wanatupiga*, 'They beat us.'" So students tell him they will not act with other teachers the same way just for the asking, much as he has tried to expand the goodwill by extending the request.

Then too, when Ngulinzi describes his success, the exam results of the students in his classes, he humbly introduces it as his "good luck," seemingly extra cautious not to set himself and his ways above others, even in naming what are highly likely to be results based on his own changes to the system. Then, too, when the headmistress sends teachers to learn from him, he characterizes his new role humbly, adding a question mark: "me, mentoring?"

Many months later, even after his successes in ending corporal punishment in his own class and for many others at his school, he approaches the situation with humility. In a new setting, the refugee camp classrooms he visits, he again sees students fearing teachers, yet he does not describe lecturing teachers from his new role or from a place of certainty about the harms of that system of punishment. Instead, he asks honest questions. He asks one of the teachers how teaching is going under this new mandate of no corporal punishment. Because of this stance of humility, Ngulinzi learns that teachers are struggling and that matters have not changed behind the scenes; the mandates against corporal punishment are not, in this case, fully effective. This information will be helpful in making a plan for change that could be more effective.

6.5 Take One Step, Then Another

There is a saying in Kiswahili, *Haraka haraka haina baraka* or "Hurry brings no blessing."

Another factor that may have been important to his success is that Ngulinzi did not make a full switch to a new way of teaching all at once; instead, he took one step at a time toward the transformation he was imagining, allowing students time to adapt and to grow accustomed to each change for a week or so before he took the next step.

> "I went to the class without a stick, and after the lesson I thanked my students and told them that they have been cooperative, participatory and attentive to the lesson regardless that I had not gone with a stick. I did this for about two weeks and in the third week I went further...."

Not only does Ngulinzi gradually implement the change over several weeks, he is also explicit with his students about the change he is making. He explains to them immediately that he was not planning to threaten them with the stick, and offers them positive reinforcement for their appropriate behavior in the absence of that usual threat. By doing so, he outlines for them a scenario by which corporal punishment can be left behind without a backwards glance in favor of a new form of interaction and schooling.

6.6 Don't Only Tear Down, Also Build Up

What Ngulinzi makes clear in his letter of explanation is that he not only ends an old way of interacting—using the stick and beatings as a way of instilling fear and therefore discipline—he builds a new way of interacting. He creates discipline by building trust and goodwill between himself and his students. As he explains it, after telling his students that he will no longer use beatings, he takes things a step further.

> "...[T]he third week [after giving up the stick] I went further. I would shake hands with them on Fridays (wishing them good weekend) and again on Monday (wishing them good luck in their studies). I also shook hands with them when they had a test, wishing them good luck. After about two consecutive months, two to three students would wait for me at the door, and when they saw me coming they would run to me, greet me, and carry all that I had in my hands (teaching materials and/or aids). I really became famous in and out of the school, and my class became famous too."

The simple act of shaking hands with students with goodwill is key to the new dynamic Ngulinzi builds with his students. He initiates and consistently maintains this action, a positive, trusting, bonding action, in place of the beatings—the key instrument of the old dynamic of fear, coercion and pain. Students respond by offering bonding and trusting actions of their own: greeting him eagerly upon his arrival and kindly offering to help him carry his teaching materials.

Ngulinzi chose to change his situation not only with the action of shaking hands, but also by careful consideration and use of words. One way that the belief in corporal punishment was reinforced daily was through proverbs and, he explains, "there is a traditional proverb, *Mchelea mwana kulia, hulia yeye* which means 'He who doesn't want his child to cry will himself cry in the future.'" Ngulinzi decided to offer a counterpoint to this, explaining:

> "I formed a phrase, *Fimbo inaweza kufikia mfupa wa mtu lakini sio tabia yake,* or 'A stick can reach one's bone but not one's behavior,' which contradicts the traditional proverbs."

By adding this saying to the community parlance, he has provided a ready way of offering an alternative point of view about corporal punishment, and others can easily use this expression to communicate with each other, or even disagree with each other without lengthy diatribes or accusations. It may be that this expression too will become a proverb 1 day, being handed down generation after generation.

6.7 Start with Yourself, Then Build Community

Ngulinzi began by changing his own behavior. From that action, conversations began in the community. At first these conversations seemed futile. As he writes:

> Sometimes in the staff meetings I would be asked and be given a precaution that my classes would fail because I was ruining them, being too lenient, leading them astray. I tried to explain and ask all of the teachers to try my way, but very few see it positively.

Yet he did not give up his work, and he did not stop sharing stories of this work. After a time, and after some successes on exams from the students in his classes, Ngulinzi describes sharing his new method—teaching without corporal punishment—like this:

> It became a little bit more easy [to share and explain myself] because my students themselves had spread this during their vacation, parents also were talking the same story. Some teachers wished to have the relationship I had with students and some admired my success so came to ask. Some asked for even more contact and we started chatting about teaching on WhatsApp.

Because his students treat him so differently than they treat other teachers, running to greet him and assisting him in any way they can, people in the community became curious and stories, word started to spread. Ngulinzi writes, "I really became famous in and out of the school, and my class became famous too."

Ngulinzi uses this reputation and his newfound fame to build community. He offers to chat, forming WhatsApp groups of teachers who want to share expertise and join him in inventing new ways of teaching without corporal punishment. He writes:

> With refugee teachers, I opened a WhatsApp group through which we chat; I can see we are moving well and our learners are happy. We have other projects, I anticipate using this

> opportunity to spread other approaches to our coming teachers and, when applicable, to those from our education partners.

In the end, even after Ngulinzi has left his school far behind, his influence there, the changes he brought and the community he formed, remain. He describes it this way:

> Last week, almost three years since I left, I visited my friends at the school. I also got an opportunity to go to the staff room, and when I was there I heard something different. I heard a class saying, like singing, to a teacher after a lesson: *Asante madam, kwa somo lako zuri, karibu tena!,* 'Thank you madam, for your good lesson, welcome again!' I asked what was this kind and generous new tradition, I was told I am a part of this new spirit.

By creating community around his work and around his success, Ngulinzi has made it likely that the changes he introduced in schools where he has worked will live on, as they have.

6.8 Concluding Thoughts

It can be simple. Ngulinzi puts it as follows: "To influence change, I started by myself as a teacher not to use sticks." He did not wait for an agency mandate or international training. He did not wait for special materials or intensive new training. Any of these things could have helped, certainly, but they were not available to him. Instead, he began with his own best plan, one that he shares above:

- **Context**
  He framed the situation to himself and to others as one not just of individuals with bad intent, but instead as a system born of tradition, of historical conditions and forces making the behavior—corporal punishment—seem logical or essential to some. This brings with it some degree of understanding of, if not agreement with, those who differ.
- **Humility**
  He maintained a disposition of humility—projecting his position as one person working from his own heart to serve his students and himself well. He asked questions and shared experiences rather than seeming to "stand above" others.
- **Pacing**
  He took one step at a time in his classroom, offering explicit explanations to his students, step by step, giving them time to adjust and appraise the changes as he made them.
- **Building Trust**
  He made sure to replace the previous system of maintaining order with a new system of order, this one based on mutual trust.

- **Building Community**
  He made his work and his thinking public, sharing stories across his community. He invited and maintained contact with teachers who reached out to him with questions, forming groups and WhatsApp chats with those who were interested, allowing the work to grow beyond his own presence and influence so that it could continue in his wake.

While expansive programs to end corporal punishment are being developed and disseminated and proctored to teachers via agencies and consultants from across a spectrum of organizations, at the same time, teachers in classrooms around the world need not wait for those programs to arrive. Instead they can find success by building on what they know best about humans and by collaborating with one another to, as Ngulinzi describes it, "work harder for students, help students to be happy with their school and help them to be subjected to less harm than before." With this approach from the field, teachers anywhere can try to be part of this new spirit.

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Part II
Redesigning Curriculum

Chapter 7
The Social Construction of Identities and Knowledge in Art Education in Brazil

José Gustavo Sampaio Garcia

"I sow the wind on my city
Go to the streets and the tempest I drink."

Chico Buarque

7.1 Introduction

The reflections that will be made throughout this work start from the assumption that the school should be a space dedicated to the construction of personal and social identities as well as of knowledge and of new cultural patterns. This means that one seeks to move beyond a conception of school as a place for simply transmitting a fixed cultural inheritance to that of a place of transformation and creation of new knowledge that, although based on those inherited, should always be put under new critical debate.

The school in its current format is so present in all of our lives, so assimilated into the daily life that in its majority it presents itself as a "natural phenomenon." The education methods used in our schools are presented as "the only way" of teaching and not just one of the possible forms, developed according to choices and needs influenced by the historical circumstances in which said school is inserted. In Brazil in this context, art has not always been identified as a legitimate component of the school curriculum.

The "naturalization" of the school is an ideological factor that greatly hinders the very important work of transforming the conception and practice of education that is essential to accompany the changes our culture is going through in today's socio-historical context.

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It is necessary to rethink the concept of school in society. The pupil is no longer to be seen as a repeater or a product to be developed in a pre-established direction, but as a human being with their own cultural background, aspirations and desire to learn, as well as the capacity to create and to develop their learning beyond what is transmitted to them as cultural heritage.

"Perhaps instead of talking about identities, inherited or acquired, it would be more in keeping with the realities of the globalizing world to speak of identification, a never-ending, always incomplete, unfinished and open-ended activity in which we all, by necessity or by choice, are engaged" (Bauman 2001, p.129).

Art education is an especially powerful space in which the student may expand their contact with the universe of the arts and with their cultural and personal references and thus find a proper path of construction of their own artistic knowledge and, through that, may reflect more broadly on personal inclinations, cultural identifications and social context. For that reason, art should have a special place in a new pedagogy that strives to help the student in their own construction of knowledge and identity.

In order to reflect on these assumptions, a general context of the rising of a critical pedagogical approach for education in Brazil and of its influence on the emergence of an art-educational thinking and practice will be presented. Also, a discussion will be held on the policies established over the last two decades with the goal of bringing new actors from the lower classes to the sphere of higher education in Brazil. Finally, three cases of students in FPA's (Faculdade Paulista de Artes) art teaching program will be discussed to exemplify the role of art education in the construction of personal and cultural identity.

7.2 Brazil and Education: An Overview

Brazil's educational history dates back to the Jesuits in the sixteenth century who, for two centuries, governed the educational system in the country. Efforts in the late eighteenth century to reform the schools—and the subsequent fleeing of the Portuguese royal family from Napoleon in 1808—led to a more secularized system that included the teaching of the fine arts, medicine, biological sciences, and military science. With its independence in 1822, the huge disparities in the population—free vs. slave, racial and economic differences, regional differences in a very large and populous country—were reflected in inequalities in literacy rates (20% in the six decades since independence), in access to education and in the educational progress of its citizens. Both the Jesuit schools and the schools after Brazil's independence were only directed at the higher classes. There was practically no education system or political access for the lower classes, which helps to explain the 20% rate of literacy (Bittar and Ferreira 2016).

Since the post-World War era, the focus has been on strengthening higher (tertiary) education, remedying relative neglect of primary and secondary education

(now spending over three times as much on the upper levels of schooling), and evening out glaring differences in quality in education by region. More public funds are being used for education, and it is noteworthy that innovation also began to occur over the past several decades as well, including "citizen schools" intended to include all races and economic strata in a curriculum that emphasized curiosity and critical thought. Because of the push towards public education and the United Nations' goals for primary education and special education for all, the country has been challenged to move towards progress. Now, virtually all youth under 14 are enrolled and with compulsory education through age 17 as of 2009, adolescents in school is over 90% (de Moura Castro 2018).

The Ministry of Education is responsible for setting the framework and goals for education, including the National Education Plan (2014–2024). More local governmental authorities have responsibility for education within their jurisdictions with the federal government responsible for higher education. Financial incentives for families in poverty to send children to school became necessary rather than having youth working and over the past decade, these incentives have diminished dropouts. Teacher training, qualifications and pay have improved, as well. Literacy in the country has jumped to over 90%. However, progress of students through schools—even with a relatively rigorous series of assessments in elementary, secondary and higher education—continues to be variable based on region, economic conditions, and gender. Students repeating grades is still three times the international average, according to the Office of Economic Development (OECD 2015). The country has made significant strides in creating a system and curriculum that is reflective of its diverse population's needs and aspirations (OECD 2019). The situation began to reverse with the overthrow of the president in 2016 and the significant reduction in investments in education by subsequent governments.

7.3 The Persistence of Prejudice and Social Apartheid in Brazil

Brazilian society has always been sharply divided between a very wealthy class and a vastly lower class. This division has always had a clear racial component, although many Brazilians would like to think of themselves as not racist. It is a fact that the peoples of Brazil are highly ethnically mixed, and that this has again and again been presented as alleged proof of our lack of racism.

Historically speaking, the miscegenation of diverse ethnic groups happened due to the lack of Portuguese women brought to Brazil during the colonization process. The first settlers then would marry native women and have mixed sons and daughters, which started a miscegenation tradition and left many indigenous traces in our culture and population. After the enslavement of Africans, who were captured and brought to the colony to perform agricultural labor to replace the natives who were practically exterminated, the enslaved black women were forced many and many

times into coupling. This has enhanced even more the multiethnic characteristic of the Brazilian population. This is noticeable in the people and has always been the argument for those who claim Brazil is a country where racism is absent.

Nevertheless, the upper classes have always despised the lower classes and have associated them with the mixing of ethnic groups. When this mixing would happen in their milieu it would be disguised. Dark complexions on people from their class, for example, would be attributed to some old Latin or even Moorish heritage. In the nineteenth century intellectuals would write about the "taint" of the mixing and the need to "whiten" Brazilian people (Alonso 2015). This was even a strong alleged point in favor of bringing European workers to replace Africans when the end of slavery was becoming inevitable due to the pressure both from the abolition movement and from the international community. Brazil was one of the last countries in the world to abolish slavery, in 1888.

From that point on, efforts have been undertaken to hide this dreadful past. Documentation on the slave trade was destroyed; people would say that the slavery had not been violent and that slaves were well treated and loved their masters like fathers. At the same time, no social programs were developed to compensate the formerly enslaved people who were now free. Much to the contrary: compensation was actually given to the former slave owners.

In 1933, Gilberto Freyre published his outstanding book *Masters and Slaves* (Freyre 1946), in which he acknowledges the contribution of the three main cultural and ethnic groups that form Brazilian identity: the Indigenous, the European and the African. The book serves as a turning point for Brazilian anthropology and sociology as it praises the blending of cultures and ethnic groups instead of demonizing it. On the other hand, the book also initiates a tradition of viewing Brazilian society as a racial democracy, as opposed to the racist society it really was and still is. This tradition has only been contradicted when some exceptions appeared in the academic scenery, especially as few black people could reach a position in the academy that would make their voices audible.

Today, due to the government programs of the last two decades that brought more people from lower classes and even from Indigenous communities into the university, more and more voices tell us that our racial democracy is a lie and that racism is very strong in Brazil, although not always explicit. The same may be said for prejudice against all minorities such as LGBTQ+s communities and even towards women. Under a façade of tolerance and fellowship still hides a hard prejudice that directly affects social relations, economic and even educational opportunities.

In fact, a long-term observation has always astounded me: if you look at the students in a private school in any place in Brazil you will see that they are mostly comprised of white students, whereas if you go to a public school in wealthier neighborhoods you will see a slightly more diverse group of students, with darker skins present. Then, if you proceed to observe a public school in the low-income districts you will begin to notice increasingly darker complexions. Finally, when you reach the most miserable corners, you will see that almost all students are black. This observation correlates with data from a research study that points out that the poorest places in Brazil have a higher concentration of black people while the

richest cities and neighborhoods are the opposite; they present white preponderance (IBGE 2016).

Pelé, the famous soccer player, due to his color was prevented from entering the social club in his own city where he was a hero; a famous black actress and singer one day said that she was very well received everywhere except at her white boyfriend's home; women still earn much less than men in the same job and gay people are beaten on the streets. After the decrease in social differences and the small improvement in the situation of the lower classes in the beginning of this century, a famous high-society journalist would write that "going to NY had its joy, but now even the doorman of your building can go, so where is the fun in that?" (Leão *apud* Brasil247 2012).

Let these examples suffice for understanding the background in which our educational endeavors operate. Now, we should turn our attention to the development of a different proposal for education in Brazil and its consequences.

7.4 A New Education Rises in Brazil

Educational efforts had a late start in Brazil. Although we had Jesuit schools since the beginning of Portuguese colonization, the fact is that Portugal always outlawed any kind of printing, press, books or universities and other kinds of educational institutions in their colony. Our first universities date only from the 1920's and 1930's. At that time the first movement of educators and intellectuals asking for public and universal education also gained traction. Led by Anísio Teixeira (1900–1971) and inspired by Dewey's ideas, they fought for education as a means of bringing about less economic and cultural disparity in society, aiming to enable the establishment of a true democracy in Brazil.

Teixeira, as an important leader in expanding governmental policies in the area of education by the 1950's, was responsible for bringing two other educators into the official educational programs: Darcy Ribeiro (1922–1997) and Paulo Freire (1921–1997). Both would play an important role in the development of Brazilian education, and also in the emergence of a critical pedagogical thought that transformed the way we see education today, not only in Brazil, but around the world. The three of them were forced to leave the country when a military dictatorship was installed in 1964. Teixeira died of an unexplained accident after coming back to Brazil during the most violent period of authoritarianism (de Rocha 2019). The other two came back in the 1980's, when democracy was restored, after having worked for an extensive period on educational projects in other countries and on programs sponsored by the UN.

Back in Brazil both worked as secretaries of education in different states and different political parties. They were responsible for the best programs for public education up to that point in the country. Ribeiro, as a senator, was also responsible for the education law enacted in 1996, which allowed for the expansion of public education, universal care, and the emergence of a sequence of public policies that

tried to compensate for the enormous gap between the educational opportunities of upper and lower classes in the country.

In his ultimate book, *The Brazilian People* (2000), Ribeiro revisits the question of the contribution that the three main cultures, Indigenous, European and African. He praises the miscegenation even more than Gilberto Freyre and says that if Brazil learned to understand and take advantage of this rich cultural boiler it could become the "New Rome," for it would be the place where so many contributions would come together to create innovative solutions and an extremely rich culture. But he also warns that the Brazilian upper class is an obstacle to this hope of progress, since it remains stuck in old prejudices and desire for privilege that hinder the real growth of Brazil's potential. He would say that "the crisis in Brazilian education (…) is not a crisis but a project" (Ribeiro 1986).

For his part, Paulo Freire has become one of the most important figures of education around the world to this day. Through his work he left an important heritage that expresses itself in at least three directions: teaching methodology, educational philosophy and educational policies.

First, he started a research in the field of adult alphabetizing that spread to children literacy and then to all areas of learning. He first of all dismissed methodologies that would mechanically recite spelling books and that considered necessary for the student only to echo lessons endlessly so to memorize the meanings of letters and words.

He regarded the student, who was the learner, as someone that should be active and interested in what he was reading. In order to maintain the student active he would start with a research of themes, words and situations that were present and important in the lives of his apprentices. Then he would choose words of interest that would also be suited to generate the learning of sounds, letters and meanings. With these words he would start alphabetizing and also he would initiate discussions on themes that were relevant in the students' lives.

He stated from the beginning that people should learn not only to read words, but also to read the world (Freire 1970). This was a proposition that was obviously political in the broad sense. He would say that people should learn to understand why things were the way they were and to have a critical view on what they saw. This by itself would bring about an impulse to participate in decisions and in the construction of a new society.

Later on, Freire's methodology was expanded also to the learning of children. It spread throughout the country, and then to the world, in many forms and developments. It also spread from literacy to other fields such as mathematics, geography, history, natural science and arts.

Teachers started to look for new materials that were more in tune with the interests of their students and that would be useful to develop their capacity to read the world. They tried new approaches in their areas in order to allow a much more active attitude from the learner. These new experimentations in methodology transformed the way education would be perceived and executed in many places.

Still, Brazilian education in its majority would remain operating on traditional patterns, or on technical methodology inspired by Skinner's ideas, which were

brought to Brazil during the military dictatorship as a way of optimizing manpower, as the country was being industrialized, without bringing critical thinking to the people. Nevertheless, the research for new forms of teaching and learning was being spread to schools, to institutions of informal education and to pedagogy departments in universities. More and more teachers started trying to understand the way children learn.

The ideas of Jean Piaget (1896–1980) were revisited as a way of understanding the way children construct their own thinking. These ideas were combined with the proposals presented by Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934), as he states that this construction is not an isolated effort of each child but it's a product of their social environment. In other words, the human being only learns in a cultural setting and that cultural heritage is essential to the learning process. Finally, as educators were trying to understand the students as something more than just mind beings, but to look at them as whole human beings, the ideas of Henri Wallon (1879–1962) were also explored and contributed to the attention to affective and motor aspects of the growth and learning of children.

These theories are the basis for the proposals that compose the governmental National Curricular Parameters of Education (PCN) published in 1998 (MEC 1998). This tendency of educational thinking is frequently referred to as socio-constructivism or socio-interactionism and owes, at least in Brazil, an enormous debt to Freire's ideas. As a second effect, the work of Paulo Freire also brought about a new way of thinking about education, and from there a whole new philosophical point of view for it. He would say that we should abandon what he would call a "banking education" (Freire 1970), in which we make "deposits of culture" in the mind of students to be cashed out at exams, and should move to an approach in which teachers and students as partners on the learning process must seek to acquire, or even better, build new ways of viewing the world. Education is then, seen as a social construction of new views and awareness of reality, and also as an active approach to the world and its social problems. Educators, more than people with a huge amount of knowledge, full of erudition, should be even more skilled in research and capable to mediate the student's efforts to learn.

Madalena Freire, Paulo's daughter and also an educator, would say that we have to try to leave space for the other to learn by themselves since "the act of knowing is as vital as eating or sleeping, and I cannot eat or sleep for anyone" (1983, p. 15). This new attitude towards education means also that educational efforts should not be headed in the direction of answering problems but to problematizing what seems not questionable at first sight.

Finally, the multitude of projects and programs on the most diverse educational situations on which Freire worked throughout his life created a grand variety of different strategies to develop education. Although again we could say that education in Brazil remains conservative in its majority, many new programs and experiments on Freire's line of thought were put into practice in the last decades and have shown splendid results, thus allowing us to look forward with hope of great improvement in the future.

Among these programs are the new curriculum contemplated by the law on education installed in 1996 and the curriculum parameters published shortly after. On this new legislation many changes in the way education was viewed and practiced were introduced. One of these improvements, that applies to us in this context, is that art was finally considered a legitimate part of the curriculum, as an area of knowledge on the same level as Portuguese or mathematics, and should be taught in all schools on four different modalities: dance, music, theater and visual arts. Schools generally have a strong resistance to accepting the arts as part of their projects. By 2014, another law would make compulsory for schools to have a teacher specialized in each specific modality, preventing schools from hiring only visual arts teachers and requiring them to be responsible for the entire art curriculum, as was common in most schools.

For the last two decades in Brazil a series of government programs, also inspired by Freire's political views, started to change people's access to school and especially to higher education. Quotas for black and indigenous people as well as for students coming out of public schools, scholarships and education financing, opening of new public universities in cities and neighborhoods with less per capita income, were some of the measures adopted to change the way schooling was until then: a guarantee of division in society in which the rich would always have access to better education. Two measures that also helped change the way education had been inaccessible to a large part of the population were the establishment of an income for poor families that would take their children out from work and put them in schools, and also a minimum payment for families that were living in misery.

These programs – although not extreme, for they were all done through opening new vacancies and consequently maintaining the number of places that were usually destined for upper class students – brought about an extensive transformation to Brazilian college education as new voices, and new faces started to be heard and seen in the academy.

Unfortunately, in the last 5 years these achievements have been systematically demolished because of political changes that started with the overthrowing of the government in 2016.

7.5 The Emergence of Art Education in Brazil

As it has been said, art had never been considered a legitimate component of the school curriculum in Brazil. Therefore, the teaching of art was barely present in schools and was focused on in specialized academies, with the exception of music that had a singing program of its own that started in the 1930's, formulated and directed by the famous composer Villa-Lobos (1887–1959). The program was discontinued in the 1960's, after his death. In the 1970's, during the dictatorship, the first attempt to expand public education was made, in hopes of modernizing the country. The legislation passed in that decade included the teaching of art in schools, not in the curriculum, but as a minor activity which should be directed by

teachers graduated from a two-year training program for all modalities, so that one teacher would lead the children in activities focused on music, performing arts, plastic arts and technical design.

This inclusion of "artistic education," as it was called, was not supposed to bring any profound formation on art, let alone the arising of critical thought through arts (Barbosa 1990). But the implementation of artistic activities in schools had a side effect that was not expected. Even though the teacher of arts position was not generally well compensated, it still was a stable job and therefore many people entered the training programs and started to work in the area. As a result, a whole segment of art teachers appeared. These teachers started to gather in seminars and congresses, trying to figure out what "artistic education" was about. This led to the first broad theoretical formulations for art education in Brazil.

In the beginning of the 1980's, Ana Mae Barbosa (1936-), an art teacher that got her doctor's degree in art education in the USA, was first to be influenced by the ideas of Dewey and Freire, and then by the proposals of the Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) and the Critical Studies, from England, with which she had contact during her postgraduate program in the USA. She was a leader of this new movement for art education, which finally led to the inclusion of art as part of the curriculum in the 1996 law (Iavelberg 2003).

Barbosa was the creator of the Triangular Proposal which is now accepted as the basis for nearly all art education tendencies in Brazil. The Triangular Proposal states that all projects on art education should contemplate three dimensions: the doing (art creation), the contextualization, and the appreciation (reading of art). This was an attempt to get away from the old methods of repetition of academicism, and also to take a step further from the free expression that was practiced in Brazil after the influence of New School and Modernism ideas. For Barbosa, the simple repetition of models in the field of arts would be the same as the traditional education method criticized by Dewey and Freire. On the other hand the free expression, with its prohibition against influencing the way children produce their art, would impede the mediation of cultural influence on them and would lead to an empty repetition of themes learned from family or from more skilled colleagues. The famous and ubiquitous drawing of the house, with a tree, the sun and the clouds would be an example of this result.

By always including a space for the making, contextualizing and appreciation in the projects – these three aspects of the work should be present in different orders – there was a guarantee that mediation could be done in the student's learning of art. The appreciation would be responsible for developing their reading of art, and their reading of the world through art and would also support the development of aesthetics; the contextualization would allow the mediation with culture, history, psychology and sociology; and the making of art would bring the active engagement of the student, the formulation of their own way of understanding art and their own relation to it. From this first platform of work on art education, many lines of teaching evolved. Some discussed the connection between art and media, some focused on the cultural backgrounds of the students, others investigated art education out of

school in cultural institutions such as museums and galleries, and others yet were focused on understanding the way children develop their art thinking.

There were also attempts to develop the Triangular Proposal into a socio-constructivist program, which became the basis of the material evident in the national parameters for art in the document mentioned above, on account of Rosa Iavelberg, the coordinator of this material, having an affinity with this trend of art education. As a result, today in Brazil, we have a whole field of study for art education and it's expected that this is only the beginning of many new developments.

7.6 The FPA Art Teaching Program

FPA has passed through three different administrations throughout the years. The first FPA was founded by a music conductor, from a school of music to an "artistic education" college in the context of the law on education from the 1970s. When he died, in the 1980s, the school was integrated into another college of arts called Marcelo Tupinambá, also particularly dedicated to music. Then, in 1998, as the latter was closing down, it was passed to the present administration that chose to adopt the school's previous name and developed the artistic education into an art education program, modernizing it through the endorsement of new ideas developed during those years. It also was improved in the wake of the governmental programs of the last two decades for the institution is dedicated especially to students coming from lower classes, as it maintains a tradition of low prices and includes the governmental programs of scholarships and financial aid for education in its student admission policies.

An important characteristic of the institution is that it's exclusively dedicated to the area of arts, being currently the only institution in São Paulo that offers the four modalities of art teaching provided by law: dance, music, theater and visual arts. It deliberately remains a small institution where the interaction with the students is much more personal than it would be possible in a larger one. This allows for a teaching program adapted to individual growth as well as to communitarian experience.

The majority of other institutions dedicated to arts that appeared at the same time were absorbed by private universities and have programs oriented towards larger student bodies, which differs greatly from FPA's. FPA also contrasts with public universities which students from lower classes still struggle to get into, on account of having studied in public schools, less structured than the private ones where students from upper classes are capable of developing their learning on a more profound basis. For these reasons, FPA's program is quite peculiar, with the arising of many different new voices that usually come from the most distant and poor neighborhoods of the city.

7.7 New Voices Discovering and Building Their Personal and Cultural Identities Through Art

As an art teacher who graduated in the 1970's, my participation was in the formulation process of new proposals for art education in Brazil initiated at that time. I graduated first from FPA as a teacher of "artistic education" and later in drama from USP, the most important public university in Brazil. In addition to those, I also graduated in pedagogy. When I started teaching in the college program I took classes in the area of education and on fundamentals of art education such as philosophy of education, didactic and art education theory. But the place where I could better observe the birth of new voices and identities through art and art education was in guiding "graduation work" research. The "graduation work" in FPA is the moment students establish their autonomy choosing their own research theme and developing it by themselves, with a mere guidance from tutors. Through the years I have been watching as the same phenomenon reappears in my students' works.

Most of my students are the first in their families to have access to college. Many of their parents do not even know how to write or read. A lot of them come from poor communities, are black or mixed race, women, or LGBT. The time they spend studying in our institution, for many of them, becomes a time of discovery and formation of their own identity, preferences, as well as a deeper understanding of the strong social pressure that they felt against their will to improve and that, many times, had not been clear to them from where it came.

As they choose their themes for research, we have a variety of art techniques, styles and modalities, but also a multiplicity of themes ranging from ethnic issues to genre, sexuality, cultural diversity, social inclusion, environmental crisis, and all sorts of different topics. I supervised many works from female students who worried about the representativeness of women and who dealt with issues in making the work of female artists, some of them black female artists, visible.

One of my students had started his way to the artistic world through *capoeira* – a fight-dance originated by the African slaves – and described in his work how after having studied art education he was applying his learnings on a non-governmental organization dedicated to bringing children out of the streets through *capoeira*. Another student started his work saying that he was the only one of ten black friends who had started doing graffiti in his poor neighborhood that was still alive, for all of the others had had violent deaths. There was another one who came from a neighborhood founded by the movement of Workers Without Land (MST), where he started to observe and identify insects, and in order to do so he learned to draw and paint, and finally became interested in being an artist and also an art teacher.

The list of examples is endless. To give a more accurate picture of these paths taken by many of our students I will now present three cases:

Ray was born in a poor family of Afro descendants from Diadema, a town next to São Paulo, were many workers live on account of the cheaper rent, even having to travel long distances to go to work every day. He was the first member of his family to graduate from college.

His choice to take an undergrad course in arts came from an experience he had in 2013, when working in an exposition by Sebastião Salgado (1944-), a famous

Brazilian Photographer, where he fell in love with photography. He started his course in art education at FPA in 2015, supported by his family that in the context of the new politics in Brazil, believed for the first time that someone of their own could have access to higher education.

Throughout his graduation, Ray developed his affinity with photography and started to see himself as an artistic photographer, which led him to start organizing his own expositions in some cultural institutions in his town, as well as taking pictures of his colleagues' works, being requested to help on their projects when they involved photography. In the beginning of his project for graduation work, Ray was thinking of investigating through photography the situation of a crossroads near where he lived. His town was mostly constituted of very poor neighborhoods. However, this crossroads in particular separated his district from a upper middle class district in São Paulo. He thought of investigating how these two different environments could meet at a crossroads.

He started planning a series of pictures to be taken in the avenue that divided both neighborhoods, and asked a friend to be part of the project as a subject in the photographs. This friend, who was adept of *Candomblé*, a very popular Afro-originated religion in Brazil, talked to him about *Exu*, the entity in *Candomblé* related to crossroads, as it is the entity responsible for the communication between the world of humans and that of the gods.

Ray got interested in the figure of *Exu*, and remembered that when he was a little boy his family practiced *Candomblé*. He started to recover that experience and the history of his family. His great grandfather had been *babalorisá* of a *Ilê*, the *Candomblé* yard (temple) of the family. After the death of his grandfather who had inherited the *Ilê*, his whole family was converted to Christianity and started thinking of religions of African origin as "the Devil's doing."

Ray remembered being present in the ceremonies as a young boy, but had no deeper knowledge of the religion of his ancestors. His family would rather not talk about it, denying their past beliefs since they were followers of a new religion. Today, many trends of Evangelicalism move a true war against Afro-originated religions in Brazil, to the extent of making violent attacks to their temples and to people in the streets that identify themselves by wearing traditional clothes.

Ray started an investigation on the Afro-originated religions in Brazil and particularly on *Candomblé*. He could make observations on the history of these religions as they were a result of the enslavement of Africans who were brought to Brazil and prohibited from worshipping their own gods. They started to use the saints of Catholicism as covers to their own divinities and through these practices created new forms of religions that would be framed in syncretism.

Going on with his research, Ray found relevant bibliography produced on *Candomblé*, kept strictly for the followers' use, not open to public access due to lack of interest from publishing houses. He could then open a broad discussion about *Candomblé*'s theology and through this have a better understanding of the figure of *Exu* as a messenger and entity of crossroads.

On the art side of his work, Ray started a broad research on artistic representations of *Candomblé*'s figures. He began to look for a way of making what was

conceived as the multiple nature, which was the main characteristic of *Exu*, concrete and visible as it had been described in a great variety of forms, names and functions. Ray did a historical investigation on photography as a technique and as an art form and came across the Multiflash technique and its use in artistic photography.

The Multiflash, or stroboscopic, photography allowed him to take pictures of his friend as *Exu* personified, moving so that it appeared as a multiple presence, somehow alluding to Duchamp's picture *Nude Descending a Staircase No.2* (1912), which in its turn referred to some picture experiments in time-lapse photography that were being used to study animal motion, as can be seen on the 1887 photo series *Woman Walking Downstairs* by Eadweard Muybridge.

Exu Sete Encruzilhadas (Exu Seven Crosroads) by Ray Elivelton (de Souza 2018, p. 90)

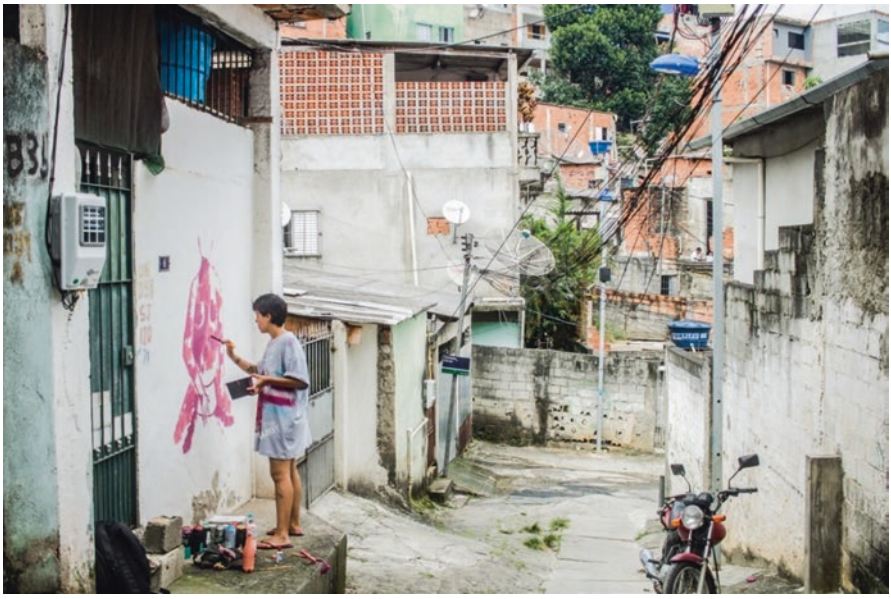
Ray's research, combining history, anthropology and art, opened the way for him to access his own past, as well as his cultural heritage. After some persistence he was able to persuade his grandmother to talk about their previous beliefs and experiences with the *Ilê*, which was an old family tradition that was abandoned when they were converted. After graduation, Ray started to work on ways to bring his discoveries to his practice as an art educator, breaking the tradition of covering up issues related to the African cultural legacy which, in his experience were difficult to access, owing to prejudice or ignorance as his teachers had little to no information on the matter.

Such research is a good illustration of how through art, combined with theoretical scrutiny, our students have achieved both personal contact with their identities and cultural heritage, but also found ways of transforming it in artistic expression and art education practices.

Zerlo is a graffiti artist that comes from one of the poorest districts in the south side of the city of São Paulo. As it is common amongst our students, she comes from a family that had little to no schooling and that until her generation had never thought possible for any of them to get a college education. She herself had no such perspective and although she had already been doing graffiti on the streets for some time, she had never thought of herself as an artist. One day, an art teacher at her school who had previously been a student at FPA, told her she was an artist and should try and get into college to extend her qualification and maybe become a teacher herself.

That started a new path for her and now she is finishing her studies, centered on her passion for graffiti while exploring another interest that has become important to her: the feminine sexuality. As she had no help learning about sex education, due to the lack of educational programs on the matter in many public schools, she became interested in what the sexual pleasure meant for her equals, women from peripheral neighborhoods. She started research through the internet, asking women of her vicinity to answer a questionnaire concerning how they had discovered self-pleasure and how they had dealt with it in their lives.

After that, she had some chats on the internet with some of the women that answered her questionnaire, and took the information obtained to create a new graffiti on the theme. She chose a wall outside of a poor house near her own and asked the woman who lived in the house if she could do her art there. The woman was not very receptive at first, but as they started talking about women's conditions and sexuality the house dweller supported her aim to leave the result of her artistic endeavor outside the house, publicizing some of the matters of the female sexual pleasure that had been raised in her research.



Zerlo painting her graffiti. (Vieira 2019, p. 27)

André was a student in the theater education course, and came into my supervision under the PIBID (Programa Institucional de Bolsas de Iniciação à Docência), a program sponsored by the CAPES, a governmental agency for incentive of academic research and higher education in Brazil. The program grants scholarships to students of the teaching programs to have them do internships in public schools as a way of increasing both their experience in their academic training and their interest in the public school as a place of a future professional career. As André was doing his internship in a partner school near FPA, the school received, as a mayor's office program, thirty transgender students and asked us if we could help to socialize them and integrate them into the schools routine, for the school had never worked with matters regarding transsexuality and was unaware of what kind of issues could come up with the other students and the school's community. André immediately perceived the situation as an opportunity to learn something about a subject that had interested him for some time. We had another drama teacher in the program that had already worked in the area and offered to help. André started a project of theater creation and invited the transgender students to become a part of it.

They started to work on a weekly basis, and the themes brought to improvisation were those that were more closely related to their daily lives. The idea was to create an art space for exploring their life experiences where they could review these events through playing different roles in several situations in which they had been involved, so as to open new possibilities to deal with prejudice, cultural references, affection and whatever issues would come up in the improvisations. The project was a success in creating a space for helping integrate the students into the school community, although their first reaction was that they did not need to be socialized for "the prejudice we live here is the same we live in the streets and is the same we will encounter everywhere." (Jesus 2016, p. 37).

They went through three processes, each with the creation of a documentary theater presentation. These were opportunities for the students-actors-creators to make themselves more visible, since their situation is usually kept under an invisible cloak that tries to disguise the prejudice involved. After the first process and a semester of work, most of them graduated – a novelty since a few years ago no one would hear of transgender people being able to attend school in regular courses – or left school and went on with their lives for different reasons. André continued to work with the few remaining participants and they created two more shows, always bringing it to stage and by this showing other people some of their lives, problems and aspirations as transgender individuals. Through the process, André pondered his own sexuality many times, as he always, or at least for some years, had identified himself as a homosexual, but had also great interest in female characters in his work as an actor. The work with the transgender students and their issues brought him very close to questioning his own gender identity and helped him to understand better who he was and what his attitude towards social prejudice should be.

The Encounter of Cibele and Tiffany, one of the plays performed. (Jesus 2016, p. 77)

The presentation of the results of the three processes in different places were a very rich experience to all involved, and the presentation in FPA was an important ingredient in a long road of learning about our community, since we also have a lot of students going through the discovery of their own gender identities.

7.8 For the Future

This kind of work is pioneering in Brazil as it's the first time these voices are being heard in the academy. It's part of a major movement that has been taking place in education throughout the country in the last two decades. We have just begun understanding the meaning of bringing these actors to play and a great reaction has already been nationally manifested. The conservative upper and middle classes have started a movement that in the last 5 years has attacked all the latest advancements in education, art and culture and are menacing to at least dismantle most of the policies and work done in the last two decades to include these different segments of poor and segregated people.

What will become of these conflicts, only time will tell. What has already been shown is that education and, in our case, art education is a powerful means to open the doors of self-discovery and bring to light many controversies that were concealed by Brazilian auto-propelled "cordiality". We had a late start in education, and an even later start in art education, but we have a rich cultural diversity that, although being gradually obscured by the invasion of the cultural industry in the media, is still very strong and can be the material for the development of Brazilian identity if our educational efforts find a way to endure.

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Chapter 8
Diverse Education Within the Arts

Miguel Rosa Castejón, David Muñóz Villaraviz, and Fernanda Durán Romero

8.1 Spain and Education: An Overview

Spain's educational history over the centuries has been rich with diverse religious influences—Christian, Muslim and Jewish—while the region was intellectually isolated from the rest of Europe and the world up until the eighteenth century. Education was seen then as bringing the possibility of social and economic reforms that, despite efforts throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, largely failed. Through most of the 80 years since the Spanish Civil War, the educational system was extremely stratified, with ten-year-olds taking a test that would track them into further education. Economic conditions had worsened after the Civil War, and within 10 years Spain became economically isolated from its European neighbors. The state had a minor role in education in comparison to religious institutions, with three out of four attending private secondary schools in 1970, at the time of major structural reform of the educational system. The aim of this reform was the increase of the public schooling and educational attainment of students at higher levels through, for example, compulsory attendance and the ending of the tracking system (Ballarino et al. 2008). Student achievement has reached some more equitable ground in the past several decades in Spain with the move toward decentralization by region, with girls now in school at equal rates and doing as well as boys.

The move toward decentralization from national to regional control of the schools helped with innovation in schools, in spite of the political swings in the 1980s and 1990s from radical left to conservative right (Hanson 2000). During this same period there was a search for a more democratic model of school governance and leadership. Principals are elected and drawn from faculty in schools in this participatory model. However, at least half of the schools required appointed principals as volunteering happened less frequently, given the level of accountability to teachers,

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parents and local authorities. The move toward teacher leadership has been a next step in the public-school movement in Spain (Bolívar and Moreno 2006).

The educational system was reorganized into preschool (from zero to 6 years in two age groupings); elementary education (ages six to 12 years with three age groupings); compulsory education (ages 12–16 years with two age groupings); and secondary education (16–18 years) included either *bachillerato* (preparation for university studies) or professional (vocational) training. One of the innovations was the introduction of constructivist approaches to learning and teaching with hands-on experimentation and projects supporting group work. The *bachillerato* curriculum requires two years of study with a common curriculum for all students and specific curricular paths for students in art, natural science and health, humanities and social sciences, and technology. The common curriculum includes physical education, philosophy, foreign language, religion and electives.

The educational system has established a goal of promoting and protecting all Spanish people in the exercise of human rights, including their language and culture. There are at least four languages taught by region in the country, and the Spanish Constitution further recognizes the right of the autonomous communities to use their languages in administration and teaching. The study of languages also includes a wide range with most schools offering two or more. In certain areas of Spain, the public schools have undertaken such strategies as children being distributed across neighborhoods or implementation of bilingualism to address cultural and linguistic diversity. The schools in urban settings can have many languages and cultures represented and many seek to take advantage of such diversity in the pursuit of inclusion, intercultural collaboration and celebration of differences.

8.2 Introduction

You can't understand our school unless you know its origins. *The Cherry Tree* was a middle-class neighborhood, which went through a great transformation with the real estate boom as there was a great exodus of families living in the area to newer areas of the city. The low prices of houses in this area made numerous immigrant groups come here. And consequently, little by little, some neighborhoods were appearing, such as the African neighborhood, the Arab quarter, which has the largest mosque in Seville, the Latin American neighborhood, among others.

San José Obrero was created in 1972 by enrolling students from Macarena, Las Hermandades, La Carrasca, El Cerezo, Princes and Polígono Norte de Sevilla. All of these neighborhoods have developed outside of the city center and are densely populated by the working class. The school has seen a number of changes over the years, especially with respect to the population of its students. Since 1972, and in the past two decades in particular, the diversity of students has steadily increased, to the point of having 52% out of 480 students in the school who are immigrant boys and girls from more than 34 different nationalities. In addition, the arrival of students from the shantytown of El Vacie contributes to the composition of our school.

Thirty percent of students don't have Spanish as a mother language. Most of our students come from South America and Morocco. Our goal is to take advantage of this diversity and develop learners' competence in the languages of schooling, whilst valuing all native languages as a rich resource for learning.

This considerable increase in gypsy and immigrant populations has defined us as a school and allowed us to create and develop inclusive strategies in response to the increase in diversity within our educational community. We have come to understand that the problems and conflicts regarding coexistence do not occur as a result of contact between cultures, but from the way we approach that diversity. We can affirm that cultural differences are an enhancement and what may initially appear as difficulties can in fact turn into opportunities, and the labels that segregate students can be blurred thanks to coexistence and inclusive educational work.

Our school is classified as a difficult performance educative center, considering the characteristics of the neighborhood and the low socioeconomic and cultural level of the families. This is our strength; we transform difficulties into learning challenges and these into educational success. Our challenge is to transform these difficulties into real opportunities for our students. Our approach defines us as an integrating, inclusive and participative school.

On the one hand, by looking for meeting points, through integrated projects, inclusive projects that adapt to the reality and needs of each student and are based on their interests and possibilities. On the other hand, by doing social work. The educative task of the school covers first the social and then the academic issues. We advise families, we seek resources and links with other organizations, institutions, etc. The aim of every teacher is to bring out the best in each one of our, students and achieving this through projects closely linked to their real interests is highly motivating for them. In this way, they are the center of learning and they really feel involved in the process. They are empowered and this has a very positive impact not only on meaningful learning, but also on the creation of a positive and encouraging environment.

In our school, we are aware of the importance of teaching a twenty-first century citizen. Our society needs creative people, entrepreneurs, with critical thinking, with digital competence, with adaptability, with a good management of social skills, but, above all, honest people with great social values. That school aims at the acquisition of social skills is the basis for achieving a peaceful and rewarding coexistence. Nowadays, in our society, the work of teaching is difficult and increasingly complicated. The two most important socializing human groups (the family and the school) mention the following difficulties: lack of motivation, a lot of aggression, the means of communication do not help, and the models of success. To this scenario is added a transmission of knowledge centered on instruction, but this is not enough. It is necessary to educate, to provide our students with the skills that allow them to live a better, fuller and happier life, more critical and capable of transformation.

Learning requires mutual trust. Students must have confidence both in themselves and their teachers, must believe in their own possibilities of improvement and also trust the help they will receive from their teachers. Teachers must believe that their students will achieve high goals in their learning process. Trust is a principle

that is based on the images and beliefs we have about the people with whom we interact. We are convinced that each one can achieve a lot even though from their role as an apprentice despite what may happen because there are people working to make this happen. Trust is forged through interaction and the learning of trust is reached by way of love.

Our project is based on the relationships between different members of the educational community. Coexistence, the development of ideas such as the values of respect, tolerance and the creation of a favorable climate, are much greater priorities than the content of the curriculum. We are a school with open doors to the community and we favor the participation and intervention of associations, NGOs and other entities, which through their activities energize the different projects we carry out within the school. We now can envision a utopia undivided by knowledge or subjects, and although it is virtually impossible to tear down the walls of the classroom and eliminate arbitrary classifications of students by age or knowledge, when we develop our projects we certainly move toward this utopian idea, these concepts of inclusion and equity. When our students undertake a project—for example, the one called Lights of the Neighborhood—individuality is the basis of learning, albeit in a group collaboration context in which teachers and members of the educational community guide and design activities together with the children. The search for an "active school" encourages inclusion.

Another goal is maintaining the active participation of families. In our school, the relationship with students' parents and other caregivers is tenuous, mainly due to their way of life. It is evident that in complex and disadvantaged environments, where families seek to survive on a daily basis, it is extremely difficult to establish a consistent calendar of meetings or appointments that encourage their participation in activities. The entire school community (families, pupils, teachers, etcetera) takes an active role in the projects that use a methodology called "Aprendizaje y Servicio." In the projects that use this methodology, participants undertake a project that improves the reality of the whole school. The participants learn a great amount thanks to doing this work. An example of this type of project is Sanjochef. Students get to know other cultures and broaden the knowledge of their own through gastronomy. As well as working in an atmosphere of diversity and multiculturalism, in this project students learn to cook, to create recipes, to classify foods, to distinguish healthy from unhealthy food, all with the help of their families. This project received an important educational award given to projects that further diversity. In this sense, we are talking about an inclusive and participative school in which the entire educational community takes part.

We believe that an inclusive school is comprised of two pillars: the first is to understand that children are unique, to consider that we are all special. According to this pillar the students undertake responsibility for their growth. They need the ability to identify their own methods and establish strategies that develop their skills to their maximum potential. The second pillar is a participatory methodology in daily assignments. These assignments involve participation, collaboration and leadership in which students look past materialism, fixed schedules and superficial groupings.

In conjunction with the concept of inclusion, we must also consider an external realm that includes everything that occurs beyond what could be termed "school life." The product of inclusion and going beyond school life promotes a unique culture that will evolve so long as the principles of belonging and identity are maintained. In other words: "(culture)… is learned in social life" (Grimson 2008, p. 48). In any case, a social life obligates you to get to know people who may be different, your neighbors, or the parents of a friend. This type of immersion with other cultures eliminates prejudices and xenophobia. A clear example of such social occasions are birthdays. When a boy or girl celebrates their birthday, so do not only their friends but also their parents, grandparents, neighbors and friends from any other country.

It is a change that requires the immediate initiation of the following actions: The design of a plan that welcomes students and immigrant families; a profound modification of the methodological strategies where the child is at the center of education; fundamental learning regarding emotions, resilience, inclusion; and above all, the facilitation of an excellent school climate. Certainly an arduous task that involves the participation of our school in every way, which leads us directly to a different approach in the dialogue and design of new school culture and curriculum.

Max Weber (1974) offers the concept of culture as implicit within the theory of "or?" where it does not use the term "identity" but that of "community consciousness" (pp. 318–322). It is this community consciousness that defines our project, giving it continuity and meaning. Families are committed to the education of their children, either through working in interactive groups in the classroom or providing guidance outside of school. On the other hand, teachers are an active part of the community. In their roles they are responsible for the teaching process, for relationships with the families, for developing basic skills in cooperative and collaborative learning (Pujolás 2008), for opening their sphere of action beyond knowledge and formal learning so that it comes to include resilience and emotions. The terms "coexistence" and "inclusion" become the common thread of any socio-educational actions that the community takes.

To affirm this trend and ensure coexistence we have three active projects that work in a transversal way: *Space of Peace School, Gender Equality Plan and the Coexistence Plan*. Although at the formal and institutional level there are three different projects, in our school we treat them as one. In addition, the coordination is carried out by a single teacher together with the Head of Studies. Its follow-up is done in the Technical Team of Pedagogical Coordination. The implementation of these projects is vital in schools such as ours, which face challenges in performance. The relationship between all the members of the Educational Community requires a framework of action based on dialogue and emotional intelligence in order to respond to possible conflicts that occur in daily school life. The results have been very promising indeed, perhaps because it takes place full-time, permeating any activity that is carried out, whether it is reactive or not.

As a fundamental part of the change, teachers are trained according to the need for specific projects or topics that we see of interest for the proper functioning of the school (We have taken different courses based on conflict resolutions, emotional

education, multiple intelligences, diversity and multilingual education, among others). There is a high demand for this type of training and sometimes we turn to local organizations. This includes self-training among teachers, in addition to the regulated courses of the Teachers' Education. We believe that this training is vital to respond adequately to the demands of our students, which is necessary to ensure that the school functions normally. There is a good climate within the school, especially because we talk a lot among ourselves, and keep each other updated. The majority of projects are put into practice in collaboration with families, with the peripheral organizations contributing ideas, solutions and resources.

8.3 The Arts as Foundational for the School, Local and International Communities

As a result of the changes, we have developed a high percentage of activities based on artistic teaching and music. The artistic component is always present in any project, for example, the service-learning project Qué Bonito es Mi Cole, where we remove all graffiti from the school and instead design a mural. Emotions are the leitmotif of school life. They say that without emotions there is no learning; We go further: without emotions, without feelings there can be no education.

As an example of the work carried out, we elaborated a educational project called Sanjomix. In March 2017, the components of the Zemos Association (Zemos develop mediation processes that activate relationships between activists, artists, academics, foundations and public institutions. Our objective is to value political and cultural processes for social change) told us about the project Antropoloops, where a group of multidisciplinary artists is at work combining different music of the world, applying computer science, technology and data visualization. We organized the first meeting with just one idea: How could we apply musical information and turn it into an educational project taking advantage of the enormous diversity of our students? At the same time, the Antropoloops group began the process of requesting a project in public art from the Daniel and Nina Carasso Foundation. On the foundation's page it is described as follows:

> *Antropoloops is an artistic project that remixes fragments of traditional music of the world to create new musical collages. The educational program aims to enhance the intercultural and intergenerational dialogue among students through the development of structured music teaching on remixing of traditional music. The use of active pedagogy methodologies is complemented by the development and use of digital tools for collective creation based on spatial and geographical interfaces for remixing sound fragments…The Antropoloops program wants to promote educational innovation and musical remixing, the integration and coexisting strategies that educational centers have been developing in recent years.*

The project was launched in our school for the 2017/2018 academic year with the name Sanjomix, combining the experience of Antropoloops and that of the San José Obrero School.

The first year of the project, we worked with two groups in the fifth year with this approach:

1. First Term: "Introduction to the Remix."
   Work the remix from different artistic expressions, while introducing the diversity of traditional music and introducing the music software.
2. Second Term: "Life Stories."
   Investigate, collect, select materials (images and music) from our personal stories and our family, to visualize them on maps. Where we come from and what's in our backpack.
3. Third Term: "Remixing our school / Sanjomix."

Remixing personal materials in a collective construction, composing and playing together with the soundtrack comprised of students within our class.

The first day we asked some questions to get an idea of what remixing was to them.

Within this annual framework, to begin working on remixing, we will carry out 6 stages:

1. "The trip of Antropoloops": To awaken the interest of the students in the Antropoloops project.
2. "See with the Ears": Develop active listening to world music through mediating elements (concepts, categories). Introduction to resignification as a basic remix feature.
3. "Building the Professorship": Introduce the concepts of decomposition and recomposition. Work on hybridization. Discover new meanings from the visual and narrative collage.
4. "Musical Professorship": Introduce students to the idea of musical layers (rhythms, accompaniments and voices) and their combination using various components of the teachers.
5. "Dismantling and Assembling Songs": Unveiling influences of traditional music in today's pop music, deconstructing songs in sound layers. From there, select and combine musical fragments.
6. "What Happened Here?": Reflection and collective evaluation of the project.

8.4 Introductory Session Workshops Antropoloops

The general idea of this first course was to test and experiment, develop the pedagogical objectives and make concrete proposals for each session, try technologies that can help us achieve those objectives, test how we are in the classroom and how students feel with our proposals. With the first session, we sought to arouse interest in the project and introduce some fundamental elements of the Antropoloops workshops (traditional music, diversity, mix, technology). For that, we decided to design an activity that included the three phases into which we divided the remixing

process: listening, selection and composition. We also wanted there to be an important presence of technological elements, to test its use and response among students.

8.4.1 The First Day

We assembled a "MakeyMakey" with 16 pads to release sounds distributed on different tables and prepared the projector to visualize those sounds on a world map. The MakeyMakey is a small device that connects to the computer via USB and (among many other things) is able to create sounds. It works by closing an electrical circuit, usually joining the ends of two wires, but we take advantage of the fact that the human body is a conductor of electricity, and we assemble a system with metallic paper that is activated by making a human chain.

The idea is that, in working as a group, they make human chains to create the sounds, and that by combining those human chains, the musical fragments are remixed. We were worried that, due to the overexposure we have in our society to digital devices of all kinds, such a "low-tech" thing would not capture their attention, but our doubts faded when we saw the emotions on their faces. We were also surprised by their receptivity to the strangest sounds and musical memory when some fragment caught their attention (the wheel of Saint Michael).

8.4.2 Session 2: See with the Ears

We intended to start a trip that lasted the term, talking about the remix. As starting points we wanted to work with listening and resignification. Working with the resignification was to express the meaning, and at the pedagogical level we found it interesting to use mediating elements and other nonverbal expressions. For listening we designed some dynamics of body expression. We asked them to look at some specific elements (rhythm, pitch, texture) and to express what they heard through movements or dance. We also played "What does it sound like?" And using food, colors, emotions or other more or less abstract ideas, we asked the pupils to associate the musical fragments with any of those elements. The last part consisted of drawing, in groups, what they were hearing. At first with freehand drawing, and then encouraging them to leave the figurative drawing and "dance" to the music with the brush. We spent four hours starting the project and it is difficult to list the number of sensations and emotions we experienced. The interest and receptivity and the level of collaboration of the students exceeded our expectations. They reaffirmed our idea of continuing to delve into the game as a motivator of learning.

8.4.3 Session 3: Building the Teaching Staff

In this third session, we have built the teaching staff. The students have taken photographs of different teachers, have cut their images and assigned to each of their parts a piece of music related to their place of origin. At the end of the first term, the students presented the sessions we had done to their classmates, in which we worked on the idea of remixing from different approaches.

8.4.4 Stories of Musical Life

Throughout the second quarter we have been working with the early adolescents on their life stories, and we have tried to do it from the family perspective. It has been the families who have provided documentation, narrated their lives and told as emigrants their cultural vision of the host country. A way to maintain and strengthen the culture of origin. The final result has been recorded in sound format and placed in interactive panels where photos, drawings, currency, musical instruments are collected.

8.5 Workshop "Culture for Solidarity"

After the first year of work of Antropoloops workshops at the school, we planned to expand the project by participating in a European project being developed by Krytyka Polityczna (Poland) and the European Cultural Foundation (Netherlands): "Culture for Solidarity." The idea was to collaborate with the Polish artist Sebastian Świąder doing a workshop during the first term of the 2018–19 academic year, our second year of the project. We decided to concentrate on working with early adolescents. We think that the global approach for these two courses could be: the first year is a period when they reveal and explore value from remixing, the diversity of the classroom, ask where we came from and how our origins are diverse. After this first year, the second year would be a year to go outside the classroom and approach the musical diversity of other cultures through the idea of travelling. The possibility of the workshop for Culture for Solidarity fit very well with this approach.

Working with Sebastian Świąder and Dorota and Igor (from Krytyka Polityczna), we decided to make a sound exchange between our students and the Free Democratic School Bullerbyn in Warsaw, where Sebastian works. What do we want to hear about the daily environment of children living in another country? How do we introduce ourselves to others using sound? How do we show our school using sound?

The first part of the workshop was held in Seville. A theater experience and pedagogy by Sebastian and Fran was fundamental to work with sound with the students from the corporal expression and the game, encouraging the active listening of our

sound environment. The goal was to record a message for the Warsaw students of Bullerbyn School. Sebastian took a cassette tape to Warsaw with the sonic presentation of our students recorded on face A, along with the questions they had thought up for the children of Warsaw: What does your school bell sound like? What does your voice sound like? What is the sound of your breathing? How does your teacher sound when he scolds you? How does your school sound? How does your house sound? How does your laughter sound? How does your favorite music sound? What do your classmates sound like in the courtyard?

Once in Warsaw, at the Free Democratic School Bullerbyn, Sebastian worked similarly with the students, who recorded a sound presentation of his class with questions addressed to their Seville peers on side B of the cassette: What are the sounds of animals in Spain? I want to hear outside sounds from you. How does the wind sound to you? What do the leaves sound like in the rain? What do you play in Spain (games)? How do Spanish advertisements sound (in radio, TV)? What song gets stuck in your head? Questions even came for Halloween! How do broken bones sound? What does death sound like? How does the sinister laugh sound?

The second part of the workshop was to answer the questions. The students of Warsaw recorded the answers to the questions they had been asked by those of Seville on the A side of the tape, which flew back to San José Obrero with Dorota. Once in Seville, the answers were recorded on side B, and in this way, the tape returned to Warsaw with both sides full of questions and answers.

The workshops were developed in a mixture of language. From Seville, our students, fascinated by the sound of another language, played to imagine what the questions meant, and when they heard the answers they said, “They are just as crazy as we are!” Listening to the sound of the choir concert at the Bullerbyn school, it was striking how different it sounded from ours, why? Is the floor in your school made of wood? To close the process, we made a videoconference with Sebastian before Christmas and we rang in the New Year.

8.6 Synergies

One of the objectives we set ourselves this second year was to try to generate synergies in the school that go beyond the workshops. David, the PE teacher, had done a podcast with his cell phone, and this year he wanted to continue with the idea. We decided to allocate part of the budget of the *Carasso* materials budget that we had not spent last year to buy recorders and materials to set up a recording studio for podcasts in the school. After the experience with Sebastian, we decided to end the term by doing a podcast with the students in which they would tell how their experience had been. We were working in groups of script, translation, management of the recording equipment and creation of sound curtains. Here the result: broadcasting from Sanjomix to the entire galaxy.

After finishing the first term with the Culture for Solidarity workshop, seeing the students’ answers and the feedback of the school’s teaching team, the idea of these

sound and musical exchanges seems very interesting to continue developing with other educational schools. Taking advantage of a previous collaboration channel of the school, we will continue the "trip" in the second term through a collaboration with the Tamer Özyurt İlköğretim School in Istanbul. The school is located in the district of Esenyurt, in the European part of the city, an area with an abundant migrant population (Syria, Egypt, Congo, Iran).

The objective is to make a musical exchange and make a remix piece between the students from Istanbul, Warsaw and Seville. The evaluation is continuous, focused on the learning itself throughout the process. The collection of data, records, direct observation, acceptance of criticism, defense and argumentation of the work performed and the individual and group rubrics. For example: In the Sanjomix project, students have had to bring documentation about their family and tell a life story, making the group assembly together with the Antropoloops educators. The form of evaluation at the end has been the exposure of the product and the preparation of an individual and group rubric, while in the execution trajectory all the contribution of documentation, narrative works and configuration of the digital support has been valued.

One of the keys for the success of the educational model of San José Obrero school is to know how to take advantage of the synergies (cooperation). The majority of the educational experiences have a great impact and diffusion in the educational community and society in general. The teachers that lead and participate in the innovation projects are conscious of the importance of empowering their pupils and their educational model, presenting their educational experiences in prestigious events where the pupil is the main protagonist in presenting and telling about what is done in the school.

For instance, Sanjomix project has participated in the intergenerational innovation project MuAC (Annual Exhibition of the Communication). San José Obrero school is one of the centers that organize MuAC. MuAC was created to empower pupils and good teaching practices. This is the goal of MuAC: turn the student into the protagonist of the learning process and exchange good teaching practices that have already been carried out in schools with students of all ages (children, teenagers and adults). This exhibition is an event in which groups of different levels or educative stages interact. The schools exchange different realities, learn and teach tasks. These tasks have been previously worked out in class using not only innovative techniques and methodologies, but also some that are not that innovative, such as gamification, handcrafts or collaborative work.

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Chapter 9
Project-Based Teaching and Learning, an Adaptative and Different Approach

Marie-Anne Cazenave

9.1 France and Education: An Overview

At the end of the nineteenth century, the celebrated political leader Jules Ferry undertook extensive reforms in education in France and guaranteed "free and obligatory public, secular schools" for all citizens until the age of thirteen. All nationally certified teachers were to instill values of the Republic into their students, emphasizing duty to family, school and the community. The curriculum entailed literacy, mathematics, history/geography, drawing and music, and student populations included youth from all social and economic circumstances. Student enrollment increased over a 40-year period and the illiteracy rate was negligible. Despite this universal access to education, the most successful students at the secondary level tended to be from upper-class and professional homes. These students, whose families could afford the cost of higher education programs which at the time were not free to all, went on to make up France's intellectual elite. Social class inequalities continued to be debated among educators and politicians, with many seeing the schools as reproducing the class system despite efforts to base student placement and progress on merit alone. After the First World War and with the creation of the Ministry of National Education in 1932, vocational programs began to emerge, paired with an ideology that moved the emphasis away from agricultural and rural to industrial-technical and urban populations and a curriculum emphasizing scientific studies (Chapoulie 2017).

French schools represent individuality, yet have a very structured approach to schooling and curriculum. There is a nationalized system to which students have access. They can apply to whatever schools they choose and are selected to attend. Some go on for post-Baccalauréat education; others go into a two-year career

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program, which is housed in the building with the same teachers as for the secondary school. In urban areas the largest schools can be among the most prestigious, with between 2000 and 3000 students. Class sizes can be up to 35, and there is no contract for teachers that specifies caps on classes. There is relatively little group work in schools, and while it has increased, most of what is done is individual seat work. Teacher unions exist, but only about 15% of teachers are members.

Over time there has been slightly more autonomy given to local authorities to shape French schools. The more marked changes have been in the students being served, being more diverse racially, ethnically and economically. Whereas girls were prevented from entering the highest levels of schooling in previous centuries, they are at a higher level of academic achievement and more likely to obtain a Baccalauréat Général than boys. As stated above, acknowledging and integrating students with disabilities in schools is a relatively new phenomenon in French schools. Today, some middle schools (college) and high schools include a special class with a coordinator-for-disabled-student specially trained teacher who is in charge of supervising administrative, health and teaching matters concerning these students. Immigrants are less likely than those born in France to be in high-quality study, but are equal to others if differences in social class are factored in—and in some cases, achieve at higher levels (Chapoulie 2017). While differences in the students' achievement in school might involve variation in the type of school students attend, there has been research that these achievement differences connected to student background might also be attributed to "social capital," addressed in an earlier chapter in this book, which represents the informal knowledge and relationships that help to support student learning in schools.

9.2 Introduction to French Education

I have been teaching English for 27 years. Before writing about my topic, that is, "*project-based teaching*," I would like to explain a few global facts about the French school system and how teachers are trained before and during their professional years. I have always been interested in studying how things work abroad and what can be learned from it. The first part of my article will therefore outline the organisation of French schools from nursery school until the final pre-university exam.

In France, school is compulsory between the ages of three and sixteen. There's been a very recent law change concerning the minimum age, from 6 to 3 years old, with the objective of fighting inequality and social discrimination, as studies point out that many children from working class or mixed-origin backgrounds entering the *maternelle* (nursery school) have more learning and cultural difficulties than those coming from middle- to upper-class backgrounds, the global and schematic philosophy being that the sooner they are taken care of and educated, the better. So, roughly speaking, within the French system children attend nursery school from 3 to 6 years old, then move on to primary school until age eleven. Then they start middle school (*collège* in French, which is very different from the American word)

and move on to high school (*lycée*) from 16 to 18. The final exam is called the *baccalauréat* and it gives access to further education programmes. A previous exam, the *brevet*, is given at the end of middle school, but it is not mandatory to pass it in order to attend high school. One more detail: there are private schools, with registration fees, and state schools (*écoles publiques*), which are free, throughout the curriculum.

Parents can choose to enroll their child in a private school based upon a number of criteria: geographical location, religious instruction, elitism, and innovative teaching methods. To give an idea of this particular private-school sector/public-school sector issue (which was once a "hot potato" social and political topic delineating the left/right gap), I will mention an official statistic from 2014 indicating that out of the 269,228 school kids in Gironde (Bordeaux is the local capital of this county), 13.2% studied in private school, with this figure being on the rise. When I wrote "roughly speaking" as I mentioned the French system, I did so because some educational paths can be quite different from one others, depending on the way each child progresses or evolves in her or his schooling. After middle school, school children can go on to attend a technical high school (*lycée technique*) or a vocational high school (*lycée professionnel*). I teach in the latter type of school.

The organization of vocational high schools was defined in 1986, 1 year after the creation of the vocational *baccalauréat.* This particular school leads to different vocational diplomas *(CAP, BEP, bac)* based on a trade-orientated and practical curriculum preparing children to become professionals from the secondary or tertiary sector. Courses include general subjects (foreign languages, French, maths, history, sports, civics) and vocational ones according to the professional sector the student was guided into at the end of middle school. As vocational training is for crafts-people, it includes mandatory three- to four-weeks training periods twice a school year in companies where interns learn about more practical approaches to professional attitudes and professional skills. When they pass their final exam, vocational students can either look for a job or start further education programmes such as the *BTS (Brevet de Technicien Supérieur),* a two-year curriculum on various trade training that is very popular in France as its graduates are thought to have general knowledge and a good hands-on approach to the work world. More and more this curriculum includes training periods that are spent in a foreign country, thus adding an international competence enhanced by a much sought-after adaptability.

In this short presentation about the French school system I would like to include some technical information about how a high school is ruled and by whom. It may provide useful in the understanding of this article.

French schools are like pyramids, with a pointed top and a large base. At the head you will find the headmaster/principal (*proviseur*) and his or her deputy, the vice headmaster or vice principal (*proviseur adjoint*). These positions are obtained after successfully completing a rather strenuous exam. Then, depending on the number of pupils, we have one or two principal educational advisers, who go by the acronym *CPE* (*conseiller principal d'education*). They are in charge of everything that concerns attendance and registering and interfacing with students' families or relatives. They also manage the education assistants (*AEDs, or assistants d'education*),

whose number also depends on the number of students. Usually these young women and men are college students, their post at the school represents a part-time job. The vocational school hierarchy includes a position that does not exist in general school, the head of works (*chef or cheffe de travaux*), who supervises the contacts between the school and companies and everything that concerns students' mandatory internships depending on the trade curriculum provided by the school—a kind of vocational high school public relations. Of course, the school staff also includes administrative and technical personnel (accountant, PAs, cooks, janitor, etc.). Lastly, here come the teachers!

An overview of how the French school system works would not be complete without a paragraph on how French teachers assess their students. I will mention here the traditional, widespread practices that take place in the majority of middle schools (*colleges*) and various sorts of high schools (*lycées*). As we will see later on in this chapter, this particular issue of grading, rating and marking is particularly relevant as far as project-based teaching and learning is concerned.

Traditionally, marking students through their tests, essays, individual presentations or group works amounts to classifying and listing them with a view to situating them for their curriculum exams (*brevet* and *baccalauréat*) and further education-exam requirements. (Hence, a system grading from **zero** to **twenty**, **ten** being the average and half points taken into account.) As the final exams are tailored this way, and most university ones too, French middle-school and high-school students are used to being graded according to this pattern throughout their school years. The school year (roughly speaking from September 1 to June 30 for students, a little longer for teachers as their job is based on a 35-hour-a-week, 1607-hours-a-year schedule) is divided into three terms that appear on a report card. These quarterly report cards (which include each student's marks and overall assessments) are the cornerstones of pre-*baccalauréat* students' applications to further education programmes.

The above paragraphs may seem slightly off-topic with respect to the theme of my presentation, but I strongly believe the practical information they provide is relevant as I will refer to them later on. To add a more personal touch as well as telling the story of a standard teacher's career in modern-day France, I will now provide a few biographical details.

9.3 A Professional Biography and Vocational Teaching

How did I become a teacher myself? I assume that several factors contributed to my choice of career. On both sides I come from middle-class families that included a significant number of teachers (only women, coincidentally!), with my late mother as my number one influence. She wanted to become a Spanish teacher (her own mother, my grandmother, was a Spanish national), but it proved financially difficult for her parents to make her dream come true in post-World War II France. Mum dropped out of university, become a primary school teacher when she was twenty,

and retired some thirty-five years later. Both my parents were cultured people and great readers. As my brother and I were growing up we were exposed to stories, music, cinema, museums and travels in nearby Europe. I have often thought we could nearly pass as a typical postwar French middle-class family. When I passed my *bac* in literature, I had a vague notion of becoming a journalist. While taking an English and Spanish curriculum at college, I did some freelancing for a local newspaper and took exams for entry into some communications and media schools, but to no avail. I had several odd jobs, including private tutoring in foreign languages for middle-school children.

However, things began to shape up when I spent one year as a French assistant in Belfast. As I was meeting wonderful people, going outside my comfort zone and opening my mind to another lifestyle, I also found out that I genuinely enjoyed my teaching experience at two schools; I really liked sharing knowledge and helping youngsters to express themselves and hone their abilities—and telling stories, and endeavoring to have them understood, communicated and partaken of. When I came back to France, this teaching experience (along with my master's in the foreign languages English and Spanish) enabled me to land my first "official" teaching job as a substitute teacher in a large downtown high school. With this month-long substitute gig I stepped on the first rung of the teacher career ladder. The following year I applied to the institute of higher education to prepare for teaching exams (the type of exam depends on the type of school you want to work at—primary, middle and general high schools, vocational high schools—and the exams also bear different titles depending on the administrative structure of the school, whether it is public or private). At that time I was also working once again as a substitute teacher with a year-long contract at another high school (in the countryside this time). Quite a busy year, but it turned out to be rewarding as I passed both parts of the vocational school exam in English and French (and failed the orals of the general high school exam). At the institute of higher education I had a sort of "sandwich" course, with nine hours as a trainee teacher with two classes of my own and a fellow vocational school teacher working as my supervisor, the rest of my schedule being spent at the institute studying pedagogy along with various subjects, such as adolescent psychology and European education systems.

All these aspects of the work-related training were of course assessed; in addition to this I wrote a university dissertation and gave a final oral presentation. I graduated, hence stepping up further rungs and officially becoming a "full teacher" (*professeure titulaire*). In France, all the "full teachers" of public schools are civil servants, and are appointed to a position after passing the teaching exam. Nevertheless, I had to wait for 2 years for a position to open up in a vocational school whose location would fit my personal and family-life wishes, that is, in the Bordeaux area. During these 2 years, I once again did short-term teacher substitutions in a high school, in a middle school and even as a school librarian. Then in 2002, I was appointed to one of Bordeaux's vocational high school, and I have been working there ever since.

My vocational institute is situated in the city centre of Bordeaux, on the right bank of the Garonne River, in a district that was once working-class but has been

undergoing a slow and steady gentrification process with the rising of real-estate prices. It welcomes about five hundred students ranging from 14 years old to post-*baccalauréat* students. The latter are enrolled in two one-year further-education programmes, the first about Customers and Users' Reception and Service in places greeting the public, the second about Users' Service at the Post Office. These two curricula are sandwich courses. The other students are enrolled in four main sectors, Service and Care, Electrical Engineering, Machine Operating for the Secondary Sector on the one hand, Commerce, Sales and Customers' Service for the Tertiary Sector on the other hand. More than 50% of my vocational students come from working-class families and are scholarship holders. There are about 50 nationalities represented. A small majority of these teenagers did not pass the middle school (*collège*) final exam, the *brevet.* As I said before, this exam is not obligatory to register for high school but it remains a representative test for measuring the level of knowledge and learning competencies of students. To sum it up, my vocational school's population is diverse, rather fragile, and providing them with a sound and profitable teaching experience necessitates careful planning, sustainable team spirit and a great deal of energy.

I would also like to recall a fact I mentioned earlier in this article, namely that there is a sort of prejudiced take on vocational high schools in France. Indeed, many think these schools are where students with all kinds of learning difficulties go to learn about trades and hands-on applications because their middle-school results did not secure their educational orientation on a "higher" school path. For a significant number of vocational school students, vocational studies (unless they refer to sought-after fields like aeronautics, catering or optical studies, to name a few) are a second choice, if not a default one. When they start vocational studies, however, students often lack confidence, self-esteem and don't have a clear view of their future career; to tell the truth, what fifteen-year-old really has a clear view? Looking back, I can't really say the dreamy, rather immature teen I was then had a well-defined idea what my own future had in store.

The mission and objectives of this particular type of school were redefined some 40 years ago with the aim of providing students with a sound diploma equivalent to the institutionalized and celebrated *baccalauréat*. The vocational studies curricula contents were also modified to take into account various factors: on the one hand, French industries and services required well-trained, adaptable and experienced technicians; on the other hand, vocational students had the impression they had been sidelined by the system because they were not good enough to enroll in general education. Consequently, different teaching approaches had to be implemented combining efficiency with workability: tailoring "general" subjects (French, maths, foreign languages, economy) with "practical and vocational" ones according to the student's school career (practical knowledge, workshops, training periods). Logistically, it entails some different practices from those followed in general schools: a maximum of 30 students per class, fully equipped technical workshops, class divisions in some time slots of the class schedule, mandatory three- to four-week-long long internships twice a school year. As far as the actual pedagogy is concerned, a lot of vocational school teachers resort to project-based teaching to

deal with the specificity of the vocational student population. This fact will lead us to the core of my article.

9.4 Project-Based Teaching

So, what is project-based teaching? In France, a young researcher named Catherine Reverdy (e.g. 2019) is the current leading authority in this area in the field of education. Her academic studies are widely commented on at the higher education institute and studied during teachers' trainings. They deal with how this method (based on previous experiments dating back from the twentieth century) is focused on the learner with the objective of pushing them forward towards autonomy and self-confidence. Teachers have to reconsider the very core of their profession and its traditional practices, approaches and even manners. Today, being a teacher does not only consist of delivering a certain amount of knowledge on a particular subject and regularly checking, through the use of various assessment, that the message was indeed received. Project-based work method rests on *interdisciplinarity* competence-based assessment, learning through doing and learning through one's missteps. Teachers guide their students thanks to the apprenticeship of a collective enterprise managed by the group. If I may borrow from the sports lexicon, the teacher is not only the referee of his class but also plays the role of a technical, mental and fitness coach who has to qualify his team. If we act and work together, we may prevail, or at least endeavor to prevail. Of course, this attitude can be viewed as rather revolutionary within the traditionally rather conservative education system with its well-aligned desks and muffled atmosphere. Think of a class with colorful posters (presenting the works of students or some topical information, say, for example in an English class, some grammar rules or vocabulary games), desks arranged in islands, a bouquet on the teacher's desk, a comfy corner with magazines or books to browse through. Of course, I'm not talking here about reorganizing one's classroom or workshop for the mere sake of reorganization, some people may say there's a great deal of demagoguery behind it all. Therefore, it's necessary to have an objective and an agenda behind it all. This is where a different teaching approach can be considered.

But first, what kind of project are we speaking about? Following the work of Reverdy (2019), there are different ones: to begin with, the educational project, which is a way of integrating youngsters in the grownups' world. Then we have the pedagogical project, which impacts the relationship of teachers and students within the school frame. Next there is the school project (each school must regularly set up its own programme stating its rules, objectives, teaching code…), which aims at giving a target-setting roadmap to education stakeholders. Lastly, we can mention the learning and training project, which might be seen as more on a level with the training of adults than high school students, but nevertheless occupies its rightful place in a vocational high school. All these strategic actions and perspectives are closely tangled in project-based learning. They build its institutional, pedagogical

frame and provide inspiration, enabling us to tick most of the appropriate boxes as we plan, organize, review and communicate about our project. Respecting these steps makes our educational action legitimate and productive: it can be reviewed, transferred, adapted, provided with feedback, assessed, extended or even killed if its impact proved unproductive and poor.

This last remark leads me to address the matter of the assessment of a school project that has been correctly carried out. This issue is a matter of many debates in French schools, particularly middle and high schools. It is closely tied to the issue of competencies and skills. How to measure the progress of students? How to evaluate the development of such key social and situational skills as autonomy, team spirit, reliability, respect for one's professional environment and so forth, all by means of the classical dual marking code of "Right/Wrong"? We have been relying on this for ages. However, this has changed in nursery and primary schools, and this change of direction has also trickled down towards middle schools, where competence-based assessment is being implemented to an increasing degree. Instead of unfriendly quarterly school reports, students get tables tracking their progress. Mind you, I'm not saying that "Right/Wrong" marking has completely disappeared in France. But within the past years new methods of evaluation have been introduced, along with new educational approaches such as project-based teaching and learning. It goes with considering the student not only as a passive learner who is supposed to recite a lesson but also as a future adult and citizen who has to be equipped with the appropriate tools to understand the main issues of the world, all the more for a vocational school student who is facing the issue of building up his professional identity. Therefore, the latest reform plan (it dates back to early 2019) to be implemented in vocational schools as early as next September clearly emphasizes cross-disciplinary teamwork creating a school climate prone to project-building and helping students to progress and achieve success thanks to new teaching methods and assessment approaches. This may not seem groundbreaking to teachers from some Northern European countries like Sweden or Finland, whose school system is very often praised and used as an example.

To add another paragraph to this issue of assessment, it is interesting to mention, for example, that we foreign-language teachers (the whole primary, secondary and university system is concerned) have completely changed our approaches on the matter thanks to the introduction in 2009 of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (or CEFRL). This guideline sets up five thresholds to be gradually reached by learners in reading, listening, speaking and writing through four kinds of language activities: reception (listening and reading), production (spoken and written), interaction (spoken and written), and mediation (translating and interpreting). A language user can develop various degrees of communicative competence in each of these activities that are described by six *Common Reference Levels* (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2). This language-level classification is now a European reference used by educational institutions and prospective employers to evaluate the qualifications of applicants for education admission or employment. The CEFRL is the grading reference for assessing English (or any first-taught/first-learned language in the school), for the three degrees/diploma

that are mandatory at vocational schools. The CEFRL focuses on profiling a learner according to their level of competence and gives a more global overview of one's language competencies. It sets up an incontrovertible scale of progress and improvement that can be assessed throughout one's school or college years. It gives an aim to reach and, thus, can be seen as a less abrupt, less *unfair*, than the traditional Right/Wrong grading.

As a teacher, this language-level classification was a real eye-opener with respect to the very notion of communicative competencies. When it comes to project-based teaching, it is impossible to avoid the step of assessment, whether we are dealing with evaluating the different items of the programme or its different actors. The CEFRL has provided me with an easy-to-use and easy-to-read tool whenever I assess my students during a language activity, no matter the educative action being organized.

At the beginning of this passage about assessment, I mentioned that other types of competencies and skills must be taken into account when anticipating a project. We want our students to be involved in an action whose objective is to create a "final product" (it is called a "masterpiece" in the most recent reform plan to be implemented in the vocational schools I hinted at earlier). Beyond our particular subject (English for me, math for another, machine operating for a third, IT programming for a fourth) we want our learners to develop such competencies as the ability to remember, to understand, to enforce, to analyze, to view with a critical eye, to create, to argue, to share, to champion and so forth, thanks to a hands-on approach leading to the achievement of a project. These cross-disciplinary skills are even more important within vocational school studies, considering the profile of the majority of vocational-school learners as I described at the beginning of this chapter.

I will explain the hows and whys of this different approach that follows the broad guidelines of project-based teaching. My first project was put into effect in my English class, emphasizing a theatre programme, and the other took the form of an interdisciplinary project. This past school year, I had a group of fifteen final-year students (*Terminales* in French) coming from three different sectors: Machine Operating, Service and Care, Electrical Engineering. A couple of years ago, my school language-teaching team made the choice to blend our three "industrial sector" classes from *seconde* (first high school year) to *Terminales* into two groups per academic year so as to make smaller, mixed-gender classes (our Electrician and Machine Operators being mostly male students and our Service and Care class predominantly composed of female ones. We would need to dedicate entire chapters to this sociological fact!). I had been teaching this particular "class" for one year. There were seven girls and eight boys composing a diverse group with varied language abilities. I wanted them to put on a small theatre piece adapted from Roald Dahl's famous short story *Lamb to the Slaughter*.

My lesson had to tick several compulsory boxes and some optional ones—and take a few factors into account: first, a majority of these students were quite dynamic and showed interest in spoken activities. Second, I needed to draw their attention with a varied range of tasks if I wanted to keep them focused. Third, we only had two hours a week and my lesson could not stretch on forever, otherwise we would

all be bored to death. Fourth, this culture-themed project had to be connected to the students' final *bac* exam. As I pointed out earlier in my article, final-year vocational students take a fifteen-minute oral exam. It is divided into three five-minute tests: spoken production and interaction, interpreting (These are among the four kinds of language activities to be practiced during a language class). Part one and two of the oral are based on topics that have been addressed during classes, while part three consists of reading an authentic (meaning that it was neither adapted nor modified) 10-to-15-line passage in English and answering six comprehension questions about it in French. Therefore, when I prepared my unit, I had to keep in mind that no activity could be omitted and that each had to be instrumental with respect to the exam. But this graduating outcome could not be my sole guide. Otherwise, teaching would only amount to cramming! Fourth, I had to integrate the situational and cross-disciplinary competencies I cited previously. Fifth, I had to overcome the shyness and lack of self-confidence of some students and strive to allocate to each of them an interesting role in the piece. I planned my unit over 4 weeks, this schedule including the performance of the play itself. We watched extracts of films or short videos adapting *Lamb to the Slaughter* (including the famous black-and-white version by Alfred Hitchcock). After this first activity, we discussed the scenario and the different characters and then delineated the different twists of this suspense story. I used this material to write (at home) a shortened version of the dialogues that was to be used later for the play. We had a reading comprehension activity about the short story and another about an abbreviated biography of Roald Dahl. We also watched his video biography.

Then we organized our play. The majority of my students were adamant that they did not want to act before an audience and would stay in our very classroom for the show. An aside: it always amazes me how these teenagers, who spend most of their free time carelessly sharing photos and videos on social networks, shy away immediately when it comes to being seen on the school web site or when they have to step slightly out of their comfort zone. In all fairness, I understand that they shy away from ***school-***related things and that we teachers, educators, counsellors, tutors (depending on the situation, every teacher plays one or even many of these roles at the same time) have always to find ways to motivate and instill new dynamics in our lessons. But let's go back to my little theatre piece adapted from Dahl's short story.

The most difficult part was the casting. Even if there would be no real audience (apart from another class and me, of course), some of the youngsters refused to participate. So we discussed about what positions were necessary to mount a show and they began work on their specific missions: there would be set decorators, "sound engineers," costumers, a prompter and some extras. The leading role, that of Mrs. Maloney, was played by two girls, one before and the other after the crime. The following classes were dedicated to discrete exercises: the "comedians" rehearsed their texts according to their scenes, sometimes with the help of our school's language assistant, Claire, while the technicians prepared the set with the help of my written scenario and with further film watching, the whole thing being carried out in a mix of English and French. I monitored the time and coherence and discreetly supervised my students' work in progress.

These would have been the perfect conditions and I would have been the happiest of teachers except that there was a boy who adamantly refused to take part in any of the activities and sat at his desk with his arms firmly crossed and a conspicuously disengaged attitude. This teenager had not been in my group the previous year and right from the start had singled himself out by saying that he didn't understand (expletive deleted) about English and would not utter a single word in this language. He was strong-willed and continued his recalcitrance for the majority of the school year. On written assignments he would only write his name and copy the guidelines. He was not, however, confrontational. After the preparatory work on the films and texts, I noticed that as soon as we started working on the play itself, he found himself a little physically isolated in the classroom as his classmates were busy conducting their different activities. He belonged nowhere. I had of course forewarned him that there would be some clearly identified assessments within the *Lamb to the Slaughter* unit, and that active participation was a requirement in the "teamwork" category. But to no avail.

I had also been overly optimistic with regard to my lesson's four-week planning and spring holidays were looming on my schedule horizon, harbingers of demobilization and lagging. So I began hurrying things and turned from benevolent timekeeper to a somewhat stressed overseer, which right away had a rather negative impact on my students' attitudes. The more actively I directed, the more careless they would become: my text was too difficult, the set decorating was too complicated and so forth. One of the "extras," who was also working on the soundtrack, stopped coming altogether and skipped two classes in a row (although I would see him in the schoolyard at break time). During the following class, as I was explaining that this play had to be the result of a dynamic teamwork and that if every one of them showed the same lack of discipline I would cancel the show (I remember saying something like "united we stand, divided we fall," which was slightly hyperbolic), the oppositional student came to me and said that, after checking some things about the chosen music, he would step in and play the extra part. And he joined the "comedians" group, which at this stage was beginning to rehearse in the makeshift stage at the back of the room. The extra part was that of a stretcher bearer. His lines consisted of just two greetings, one at the beginning and one at the end of the scene. But it did the trick and he said his lines with conviction.

If I had cast him right at the start, he would have refused. I had let them decide who was playing whom and who was doing what. He hadn't made up his mind and I had not insisted or forced him. He had seen the workshops in action and his classmates seeming to enjoy doing their task. And he had wanted to be part of it but was too proud to admit it. All the cogs were set into motion again and we eventually did put on our little show and had photos taken and we even wrote a little report on it for our school website. The bottom line is that the other student who had played truant came back and played another part (we had to invent the role of a second doctor in the forensic team examining the dead body of Mrs. Maloney's husband). When it comes to project planning, we must always have one or two backup plans ready!

Why did I mention this experience? Because I believe it fits with the postulate running throughout this chapter, that is to say that project-based teaching, if carried

out within the appropriate procedures and following tried and tested approaches, can be a useful method when dealing with all kind of students, with different age groups, different school structures, a variety of learning difficulties and so forth. It creates more dynamism within the class and captures students' interest as they are led to be active in their learning and solve problems on their own with the teacher acting as a coach and a facilitator.

The second project I would like to write about dates back a couple of years. Unlike the theatre project, this scheme was ambitious (3 years long), interdisciplinary and had an international perspective. It also dealt with students' career planning and professional subjects. It was titled *"Focus on Machine Operating jobs in Relation with Aeronautics and Professional Mobility in Europe."* It all started with the observation that our industrial classes, especially in our Machine Operating sector, where students learn computer design and how to make metal or composite parts for companies ranging from car manufacturers to aeronautical companies, were less and less attractive to youngsters enrolling at our vocational school. French school administration is very vigilant regarding the numbers of students in classes from one school year to another: if a sector fails to fill its quota over a predetermined period of time, it can lead to its closing, which in turn entails cuts in the school workforce and teachers' transfer to another school. Therefore we had to find a way to stop this student drain. We had to show that vocational high school students who started this particular and rather little-known curriculum had interesting job prospects in this sought-after technical sector. We also had to do our best to debunk stereotypical ideas about blue-collar jobs.

To begin with, members of the teaching team (more precisely the professional subject teacher, the French and History instructor, and me for the English) supervising the Machine Operating first-year students established a partnership with a same-age aeronautics class from a neighboring vocational institute of good repute. This partnership focused on a cultural exchange and a technical one. The cultural exchange consisted in bringing the two classes together (two groups of fifteen youngsters, which meant a very manageable group for common activities) for a theatre workshop based on the topic of "Clichés and stereotypes in Europe" in French, English and German, the aeronautics students being in a Franco-German class. On the technical side, the group was supposed to design, engineer and machine a specific tool for technicians who maintain airplanes. Within the school year, several workshops were planned where we could carry out both aspects of the project more or less simultaneously. It required careful planning, loads of energy and rigorous follow-up on behalf of all the teachers involved. We also had to supervise budget spending as we had been granted some funds by two educational institutes. At the end of the school year, the classes presented their show and their "tool" during a mini festival celebrating the special Franco-German friendship.

My students, who were quite skeptical, not to say reluctant, at the beginning of the adventure, had quickly joined in the dynamic mood and greatly appreciated the fact that some part of their first-year learning took place in different places and that they had to mix with teenagers coming from a different school (and different cultural and sociological backgrounds as well). Their eagerness had a positive impact

on the other, more classical aspects of their studies. They acted as a positive team, helping and stimulating one another. We noticed that this particular class was less prone to absenteeism and unruliness. Well, teenagers will be teenagers and things were not entirely rosy, but all in all, the final year assessment of this first step of the project ticked more positive boxes than negative ones.

The second step had an international perspective. The German teacher and international project manager of our partner school put me in touch with a fellow teacher from Frankfurt whom he met twice a year when his Aeronautics students were interning in German companies. Our German colleague was in charge of some European projects too and willing to organize class exchanges regarding technical subjects. Her learners were a little older than mine and all engaged in apprenticeships at a large vocational institute in the center of Frankfurt. Under the joint supervision of my French and History colleague and myself, our now second-year Machine Operating students planned a five-day package holiday for their German pen pals including cultural (there are so many great sights to see to in Bordeaux!) and professional visits. We had also planned a Franco-German get-together in my school, with a conference about "*How to build a European citizenship*" given by a European deputy and a member of the German education institute of Bordeaux. We also had a quiz and of course a convivial party after. You may wonder how all these communications activities took place as there is no German taught at my school. We spoke English, and also a little German and French, and with open-mindedness and goodwill, most things came together.

That spring, thanks to a grant given by an international association promoting projects between France and Germany, it was my class's turn to sail away (by train, to be more accurate) and discover Frankfurt according to a roughly similar programme mixing cultural and professional activities. The same action was implemented the following year with a new group of first-baccalauréat students. We were still working hand in hand with the aeronautics institute on a joint project mixing culture (this time we chose to deal with the theme of "The Wall") and technical workshops. There were physical and virtual exchanges and contacts with another apprentice group from Germany. They came to visit us, following the previous pattern of cultural sightseeing and an industry-themed tour. However involved and rather eager to focus on their two project-based subjects, our students, unlike the group from the year before, proved to be less manageable and reliable. The joint workshop with our aeronautics partners was not doing so well; there were little bickering between the youngsters and we teachers had to play the "referee" role instead of being just the watchful coaches we wanted to be. We tried to curb things by changing team working activities, modifying our assessment items, but to no avail.

We did manage to finish our "The Wall" work (a choir show) and the technical one but reluctantly agreed that we could not organize the international part with such immature students. In our feedback assessment (as I said before, this final evaluation is an essential step in a project's implementation), we wrote that we had probably underestimated the "profiling" assessment, which is one of the key elements in a project-based approach. Another explanation came from the fact that

maybe these students had addressed too many multiple-learning standards simultaneously. Our project came to its planned end and we carefully reviewed its upsides and downsides. My German colleague got transferred to another college and my fellow History and French colleague, too.

But this ambitious action now has an unexpected offspring: one of my fellow vocational school teachers who works in Care and Service had told me she would be interested in starting a project with a German school related to her teaching sector. So upon the visit of the first German group, I introduced her to my German work partner and they had a brief exchange about this idea. Later on, thanks to this friendly chat, my school colleague was put in contact with a Frankfurt institute about health education. Three years later, she is piloting a Franco-German project of her own that has followed a rather similar pattern of mixing cultural and professional activities as well as virtual and on-site exchanges.

9.5 Reflections

None of the "preparing, planning, implementing, controlling, explaining, showing, transferring" steps I mentioned above in this chapter must be neglected in this instructional approach: it is necessary to secure the undertaking within a carefully built framework combining teamwork, a multidisciplinary approach, assessment, personal investment, stamina. I believe all the projects I have implemented have taught me things about my teaching methods and about myself. My students and I were involved in the same hands-on activities and we learned through our fits and starts.

A year ago, the History and French colleague I wrote about (who was and still is a dear friend of mine) got an email from a former student who had been involved in the first period of our Franco-German project. I will mention again that this student was taking a course in machine operating. The cultural part of our undertaking had dealt with organizing a play about "Clichés and stereotypes in Europe" in English, German and a little French. We noticed that this youngster had a fairly good command of the English language, all the more since he was studying Spanish. Spanish had been his first choice because he is of Portuguese origins and thought it would be easier for him. Towards the end of the year he had told my colleague friend he wanted to give up machine operating and go to university to study an English and Portuguese curriculum. The educational team had tried to dissuade him, not because we thought he was not clever or adaptable enough, but because we were well aware of a crude statistic which states that a mere 1% of vocational school students, all disciplines taken together, are able to reach a Master's level. Vocational students are not groomed for a university curriculum but rather to enter the work world or to take a two-year technical college course. So when that boy insisted, we finally stopped trying to make him change his mind and gave him our blessing regarding his career change. In last month's email, our former student thanked my colleague and me for our advice and support; he said that our project had been enlightening insofar as it

had opened new perspectives and helped him to see things differently. He liked speaking foreign languages, including the German he had used for the first time in the theatre production. This young man had just earned his 3-year language diploma with distinction and was enthusiastically applying for a Master's degree.

Recently, a former commerce student of mine called at my school to say hello and give us some news. She graduated 7 years ago. She wanted to thank me for the project I had involved her in when she was in her second *baccalauréat* year, saying that it had been an eye opener for her and that I had shown her that she was a trustworthy, autonomous, reliable girl who could do great things. Back then, thanks to European funding, I coordinated a project where some of my vocational school students had a 4-week internship in the UK and in Spain. There were a handful of participants each time (we had a limited number of grants and needed to augment our budget with some of our own funding each year) and of course they were carefully selected. She had been part of the adventure, and after that she had developed a penchant for travelling. So after graduating, she had started a 2-year course in the wine trade and found internships abroad. Then she had worked in America. And now, when I heard from her, she was back from Australia. Looking back, she was amazed at how mature and open-minded she had become. She said that when I picked her for the project, I had let her know she was worthy of confidence and that it had helped her to believe in herself.

Well, who knows? Maybe I had something to do with her personal change through my teaching, for her, for that university student, for some others. I hope I have had a somehow positive impact on all the students I met over all those years. I believe in teamwork and collaborating with wonderful people and meeting all kind of different personalities and sharing our ups and downs. With colleagues and students. It's my job as a teacher, my responsibility as a person and my duty as a citizen of the world. Who knows, then? The answer, my friends, is maybe written somewhere in the wind.

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Chapter 10
Malagasy Teenager's Current Social and Emotional Life (Case of Antananarivo Region)

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10.1 Madagascar and Education: An Overview

Madagascar has a history of diversity, with influences from other parts of Africa, Indonesia, the Middle East, China and France. Most of the people follow some form of Christianity but there are mosques that exist in Madagascar, as well. The primary language is Malagasy, but most people have some or full command of French. Several teachers who were interviewed noted that those born in Madagascar see themselves as distinct from Africa, a unique blending of cultures and heritages. The recent history of the country has been a turbulent one, including the political crisis in 2009. In light of this, there is considerable effort to present to the world that the island is stable.

Education in Madagascar has not, in the past, been seen as separate from the other spheres of life, reflecting the social hierarchy, rituals and respect for ancestors. In the nineteenth century, schools were the province of the British missionaries and, over time, gave way to an elite French system of public schools with divisions of elite French citizens from the indigenous schools for the Malagasy. Both languages (French and Malagasy) were taught in schools. At independence in 1960, the country had a system of education almost identical to that of France. The elite continue to be French-speaking (Sharp 2002).

Education is now compulsory for those between the ages of 6 and 14. The current education system provides primary schooling for 5 years, from ages 6 to 11. Secondary education lasts for 7 years and is divided into two parts: a junior secondary level of 4 years from ages 12 to 15, and a senior secondary level of 3 years from

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ages 16 to 18. Students can receive an academic or technical school diploma. Those with the academic "track" can attend the university with branches all over Madagascar in all spheres of study, including teacher education. Expansion of the educational system has supported greater literacy and school enrollment. Yet the economic commitment to the system slipped in the 1990s and debates about the educational system and the priority given to it have continued for years, sparked by such matters as unequal distribution of resources by people, income and region.

Some statistics from the schools help to understand the country's current educational status. In the region which is the most populous, there were approximately 28,000 children enrolled in public preschool in 2016–2017, a number that expanded to almost ten times that in primary school (almost 280,000). However, the number of children enrolled in public middle schools that year was about one-third that number (about 90,000) and in public high schools, less than 35,000. As should be clear, the emphasis and resources are on the primary school years. Despite laudable efforts of the Ministry of Education to promote universal access for all, more than one and a half million children in Madagascar are missing out on school, according to statistics. Studies by the Ministry reveal that orphans, children from needy families and isolated areas, their fellow young workers, as well as those with physical, mental and sensory impairments, are the most affected by the phenomenon of exclusion (Ministère de l'Education Nationale 2018).

But the resources are scanty. Currently the economy is one of the most challenged on the continent. Many Malagasy children study in dilapidated and overcrowded classrooms with few learning materials. Teachers noted that more than half of those teaching in primary school are recruited by parents' associations and have limited or no training. Many communities have no schools at all and, despite the rapid increase in enrollment in the last decade, children are still turned away from schools due to overcrowding. There are many temporary classroom structures created for cyclones and storms that are used permanently because of limited funds to rebuild (Loomis and Akkari 2014). The current number of classrooms in the public schools mirror the trends in the enrollment. While the number of students in the primary grades was about 280,000 in 2016–17, the ratio of students per classroom was 43:1. The private schools had more students enrolled at the preschool, middle and high school levels in that year, and slightly fewer enrolled in the primary grades. But the private sector had 30% more teachers and classrooms than public schools.

The political crisis of 2009 has been an additional major challenge to Madagascar's education sector. Most households have experienced a loss in revenue, with rising food costs and children needing to work to supplement family income. While there have been recent national efforts to lengthen the time of compulsory education, the availability of high schools for those in rural areas is limited and physically difficult to reach for working families. Most children, therefore, contribute to the family's economy after finishing their schooling in early adolescence. Life is hard for most Malagasy people, with a life expectancy in the mid 60s. Education is still seen as a luxury more than a necessity for societal growth, although university education is an aspiration for an increasing number in the country. This is certainly true in terms of gender. Of the almost 35,000 students in high school in the most populous region of

Madagascar in 2016–2017, 53.8 percent were female. However, less than half of the students pursuing the sciences in high school were female.

The national vision for education has yielded a plan for 2018–2022 based on the goals of the National Development Plan (2015–2019) and the international objectives for the development of education, particularly, the Sustainable Development Goals. The plan is the first for Madagascar that aligns medium- and long-term development goals for the entire education system with three ministries responsible for education and a common financial framework. The plan proposes a strategy aimed in particular at reducing repetition rates by establishing 9 years of basic education (primary and junior secondary school) divided into three sub-cycles (5 years of primary school and 4 years of junior secondary school, followed by 3 years in senior secondary school). The curriculum (and related resources for it) emphasize the teaching of Malagasy, French, English, history/geography, philosophy, mathematics, and physical, chemical, life and earth sciences. No arts are mandated in the schools as of this date.

The plan emphasizes strengthening the management and governance of the education system, while proposing responses to disparities in access by having communities construct schools and by improving the intake of children with minor or moderate disabilities into the formal system (goal of 15% in 2022) and children with significant or severe disabilities into specialized institutions (15% in 2022). The culture and families treat all children equally as all contribute to the daily activities of the family. There is a decided lack of money to pay teachers recruited by the community. Teachers need a Bachelors' degree and make very little money

10.2 Introduction

In Madagascar as of 2013, the National Statistical Institute of Madagascar states that about 51.6% of the Malagasy population was under 18 years of age. According to a 2014 report by ECPAT France (formerly knowns by its full name, End Child Prostitution and Trafficking), 37% of Malagasy girls and 27% of boys under 15 years of age were already sexually active and early pregnancy is the reason for the nation's high mortality rate among teenage girls.

In the eighteenth century, before the arrival of Christians in Madagascar, sexuality was permitted among all members of society, adults and children alike. Since the Malagasy Queen's conversion to Christianity, sexuality has been considered as a sin, making it a controversial and secret theme, mainly in Antananarivo (Blanchon 2013). Child marriages have been being common despite a 2007 law setting 18 years as the legal age for both sexes to marry. Before that it was 17 years for boys and 14 years for girls. Nowadays, early marriage remains very common in every region of Madagascar (UNFAP) and children are also abused within the context of sex tourism. This chapter is to describe some teenagers' emotional and sexual behavior in some areas of Antananarivo.

10.3 Social Life

Eight dozen teenagers from four teenage clubs, of which one is a juvenile correctional center for girls in the capital Antananarivo, have been trained in emotional and sexual education for three to five months. The trainers are three graduates of the École Normale Superieure of Antananarivo. They teach in the high school where they set up the clubs. The juvenile correction center for girls has been chosen as one of experimental groups. Due to the distance from the city, the juvenile correction center for boys has not been considered; even though it should have been. Such centers host social and penal cases. A case is considered as "social" when the parents confess to no longer being able to bring up their teen because of his or her behavioral problems. A case is considered as penal when there is a court verdict with respect to the teen's misdemeanor.

The three high-school clubs are located in urban an downtown area, an urban highland and a rural area at about 120 kilometers from the capital Antananarivo. Most of the trained teenagers are girls, including those of the juvenile correction center. The girls' age ranges from 12 to 19 years, while that of boys ranges from 15 to 21 years. The majority—70%—are at a high-school level, with the remaining from the juvenile correction center at primary and secondary school levels.

Most of the girls at the juvenile correction center have parents who are separated but not yet divorced. Divorce brings with it a plethora of court problems and no possibility of reversal unless the couple redo the entire administrative process. A third of the girls at the center are adopted or have a stepmother or stepfather; such situations are among the causes of their social or penal cases. The remaining teenagers have married parents in rural as well as urban areas.

10.4 Emotional and Sexual Life

The emotional and sexual life of young Malagasy have two aspects depending on the social and geographical context. On the one hand, there are young people living in the capital who are strongly influenced by the high technology and especially social media. Their relationships are based mainly on a physical or even sexual attraction with a total absence of idea of marriage. Despite a timid entry of technology into the daily lives of young people from the countryside, their social and emotional lives are more influenced by the habits and customs. Considering the environment, they are living in, they are determined to enter family life sooner even if they cannot afford it yet.

According to the questionnaire responses, boys up to age 21 have had up to 43 girlfriends, while girls up to age 19 have had up to 16 boyfriends. On the average though, the teenagers have had 6 lovers. Fewer than a quarter of those in the age range of 12 to 19 do not have lovers (a 14-year-old girl, a "social" case, was raped

by her stepfather, her mother has decided then to put her at the center to protect her against further sexual assault).

Even though most of girls and boys (61%), have up to 15 friends of the opposite sex, on average, they do not have sexual intercourse yet . As far as girls are concerned, having plenty of boyfriends might bring them into contact with the criminal element, which was the case for some girls in the juvenile correction center. In the Malagasy society having multiple partners is a sign of social success (Ravaozanany et al. 2012).

10.5 Education

In 1986, a UNESCO consultation mission took place during which was formulated the project "Introduction of population education in the school system". Thanks to this project, notions relating to sexuality and human reproduction issues are integrated into programs at every level of the school education system. Since then, various NGOs intervene through training, raising public and high-school awareness. It can be said that these interventions are still in vain given the increase in the number of young people who contract sexually transmitted diseases, the number of pregnancy among teenagers as well as the number of students who drop out of school because of early and undesired pregnancy. The Malagasy government is beginning to be aware of these failures and situations. In February 2018, the Ministry of Health and Education announced that sex education was going to be on the curriculum for high school students.

The emotional and sexual education of teenagers dealt with the following concepts: romantic feelings, sexual intercourse, early pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, and contraception.

The majority of girls in the juvenile correction center are at a secondary school level and still studying, and four of them have stopped their study at the primary school level. They are taught embroidery and sewing and their works are sold to the benefactors visiting the center. The remaining students are, respectively, in grade 11 (scientific) in the urban clubs and grade 12 (literary) at the rural one.

10.6 Their Future

Teenagers from the urban highland dream to take their studies to a master's or even doctorate level, while those from the downtown area, rural and the juvenile correction center aim to achieve a bachelor's and lower level. Most of them have not yet collected information about their dream profession, and some change their mind after finding out how long the study program will be (many changes to one with a shorter duration or to a subject that is more agreeable to them). Most from each club and center dream of working in the health field at every level: midwife, medical

doctor, even surgery. But many also want to be tourist guides or engineers or entrepreneurs, artists and authors. These last do not need any diploma, just inspiration and ideas, in their opinions. This conclusion comes from the fact that famous artists from their area succeeded without spending time and money on education.

They were asked about their self-esteem and their qualities. Most saw themselves as potential leaders and managers, having good relationship and communication qualities. These leaders and managers have artistic skills and spend their spare time playing music and drawing or writing poems.

10.7 Good Parents

Their conceptions of what constitutes good parents are revealed through their answers on a questionnaire. Overall they said parents should be responsible, paying attention to their children, as well as being loving and model people.

10.8 Assessment of the Training

The training was assessed by role plays. For the first one they wrote a script they had to perform for 20 minutes with eight participants. The other students watched the play and evaluated it. The teacher then evaluated both performers and the evaluators. The play could be a comedy or a song or poem through which they conveyed one sexual concept learnt. Most of teenagers' theme was about early pregnancy.

The girls at the correction center played for instance, comedies about girls who had fallen in love with a gangster or an irresponsible boy and did not know what to do. In these cases, the girl's friend rationally explained to her what might happen if she went down the wrong path. But she followed her heart, and this brought about her demise. Whatever play these girls performed, they were all fatal—maybe a way to convey how dangerous it can be to listen to the voice of one's heart only.

In the other clubs the youngsters performed musical comedy, playing and singing songs, such as one that depicted a father and daughter discussing responsible behaviors with regard to sexual feelings and early pregnancy. Another song was about a boy being aware of his fault impregnating a girl and taking responsibility for taking care of the mother and the baby.

About the second play role: students were assigned to take care of eggs supposed to be their own egg after fertilization. Every student had been told to take care of one egg for at least one month.

What was taught to them prior to the assignment was that the concept of parenting begins right after the fertilization of the female egg cell. To be clear, the couple should be responsible for the future baby not only after giving birth but at the phase of embryo or fetus which results from fertilization. The scientific knowledge, the

use of appropriate materials, their attitude and creativity were assessed for both plays if conformable to what was taught to them.

The play with the egg will show the extent to which they understand the parental qualities as they mentioned in the questionnaire. For example, if they were a parent, how would they pay attention to their future baby, or how do they understand the process of fertilization and its result? One result found as example is the behavior of all boys in the urban downtown area club, who refused to play, arguing that men are not meant to carry egg after fertilization or just that it is not a human egg, so it is a futile play.

In contrast, all the boys in the highland club willingly played. Some even took care of two eggs, proclaiming to have twins on the way. All the girls in every club or center played the role, making a cozy box they carry with them at all times. Some girls were so attached to their eggs that one of them cried when someone has inadvertently broken hers, and another when a physical education teacher deliberately struck the box, saying that it is a meaningless play. A minority of parents adopted the same attitude, laughing at them or forbidding them to take care of an egg, arguing that they do not send their children to school to do some such ineffective thing. The teenagers explained the facts to them but in vain. Most of the girls and some boys succeeded in keeping their eggs safe for about one month.

In the rural area, after a two-month training, two girls and three boys left both the club and the high school without any explanation. Nowhere to be found for quite some time, according to rumors, the girls were pregnant and some of the boys had impregnated other girls outside the club. One could not know to what extend the high-school teenagers were sincere in answering to the questionnaire. One never knows how far they can trust you after two months of discussion, training and exchange. The training seems to having failed.

10.9 Conclusion

Despite of the small size of the experimental group, one could say that much remains to be improved with regard to teaching/learning processes in knowledge, competency and attitude, not only in emotional and sexual education but in education as a whole. According to the current situation, overall education failed many years ago. These teenagers are not yet ready to be parents since they want to continue their study until the graduate level for some of them. But the temptation threatens them once they begin to date. All of them assert to be ready to take on their current situation with some help.

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Part III
Re-Envisioning Schools

Chapter 11
Rethinking the Adolescent Mind in U.S. Schools

Seth Adam Walker and Devin G. Thornburg

11.1 United States and Education: An Overview

The history of public schooling in the U.S. for the past century is a history of continuous school reform. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 was the federal government's first major step toward involvement in school reform, reflecting the Civil Rights movement and concerns about equity and access for all students. Its defining feature was Title I, which offered federal aid to "educationally deprived children" (Jeffrey 1978). At the federal level, the Supreme Court has influenced school policy through landmark decisions such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Congress also produces legislation, including education laws. ESEA's scope largely left policy decisions to states and local districts.

The past fifty years in the United States have involved school reforms that are inexorably tied to the unwavering attention on student achievement on high-stakes tests as the main indicator of school success—and ultimately, the teachers' assumed central role in this. The 1983 publication of the National Commission on Excellence in Education's oft-cited report provided important evidence, reporting that the U.S. school systems were being outstripped by those of other nations based on student test scores. The use of tests to compare students internationally has continued over the decades since. In 2012, for example, the United States test score results as measured by the Program on International Student Assessment (PISA, conducted by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) were "average" in science among sixty-five reporting nations and "below average" in mathematics (NCES 2015). Ongoing debates have been organized around the validity of

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high-stakes tests, rarely straying from them even in the repudiation of their worth (Croft et al. 2016; Ravitch 2010).

By the 1990s it had become clearer that lower performance in comparison to other countries' school systems reflected an achievement gap in student performance within American schools by race/ethnicity, economic status and disability, overlapping at the lowest level of achievement on measures of student progress (Lee 2004). The obvious need for reform sparked an intensified study of what would constitute effective change at the levels of policy, program and practice. During this decade, the efforts to improve became a school turnaround movement with mandates to change teacher performance in particular, quickly and dramatically (Duke 2012).

In the late 1990s, the research-based models of comprehensive school reform emerged in the literature, accompanied by support for national networks. Following was the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation, which sought to remedy the low academic performance of many schools and the continuing gap in student achievement. The models emphasized student learning and achievement for the purposes of accountability at the levels of school and classroom. Barak Obama's Race To The Top (RTT) from 2010 was an effort to tie federal funding to effective reforms and assumed that teachers must improve for there to be improvements in student achievement (Manna 2010). School reformers have portrayed teachers as both the problem and solution for improving schools over the decades (Johnson and Fargo 2010).

While other factors are cited, poor quality of teaching in urban schools in the U.S., more than the effects of race or parent education, is frequently seen as tied to lower student achievement and other outcome measures (Darling-Hammond 2010). In New York, the teacher accountability system, the Annual Professional Performance Review (APPR), is based on student test data that was tied to RTT funding. As Leonardatos and Zahedi (2014) argued, this funding has "…changed the role of educators, eroded autonomy in publicly controlled schools, promoted a culture of mistrust, diverted funds from the classroom to meet governmental directives, and paved the way for corporate vendors to profit from taxpayer money…" (p. 1). With the changes brought about by accountability systems tied to funding, even more teachers are exiting schools before retirement.

The current Administration in Washington, D.C., leaves educational matters to the states, continuing the direction of previous legislated policies, including the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) of 2015, which replaced No Child Left Behind, dramatically limiting the federal government's role in school accountability while offering more flexibility in how the challenges were to be addressed. One of the concerns raised by researchers in school reform has been state-by-state disparities, let alone by subgroup within a state or school district. Funding has been allocated to help those lower-achieving areas. While the current press in the U.S. has been about school violence and safety, the achievement of students still holds the attention of educators in many lower-achieving areas of the country.

As the history of public education in the U.S. makes clear, the ideology is reflected in a desire to make it accessible to all—and equally. What is also clear,

however, is that there are significant inequalities in resources by location and community as well as related inequalities in achievement by race, language, gender and economic status. Another contradiction resides between the effort to provide additional resources to those in need and the frequent blame directed at teachers—and sometimes students—for the failure to achieve expected results on single high-stakes tests. With the perennial situation of scanty funding for public schools—based on taxes from (typically) local communities—and the resulting under-resourced programs and services as well as relatively low pay for teachers, U.S. schools in high-needs areas are often the target of public criticism.

11.2 Introduction

Educators, like most helping professionals, are called to their work by a deeply rooted desire to connect with and enrich human life. It is personal, relational work they envision. It is loving work. Love is not a discrete experience with an *idea* of another, though, nor is it available on demand and without challenges, as we are often led to believe and might wish. Love is a dogged practice, rooted in an intention to fully know the other. This intention, if honest, begets a holistic view that does not cull the painful realities of others' daily life. That holistic view, in turn, obligates one to act in the interest of equality and justice, of liberation and freedom.

Faced with the very real effects of oppressive systems, however, U.S. educators are frequently enculturated into practices that distance them from students and, in a kind of perverse irony, turns them into agents of oppression. Opportunities to authentically connect are deprioritized and a "banking style" of education that lends itself to standardized testing continues to proliferate at the high cost of dehumanizing students with approaches to "behavior management" that obscure and devalue their lived experiences (Freire 1996).

This fissure between calling and practice, for U.S. educators, is perhaps laid most bare in the halls of their secondary schools. In a period marked by the development of a functional identity, adolescents are required to integrate beliefs and values that sharply contradict the objective realities of their lived experiences or face retributivist consequences. Often, those consequences include isolation, disenfranchisement, and other forms of disconnection. The message is clear – accept oppression or risk exclusion.

Who, then, is served by policies and practices that oppress both student and educator? What force is so powerful as to overcome the very base biological drive to connect, to belong to something so full of mutual meaning? Widening the lens to a systems-level view, an answer comes into focus: U.S. cultural values, rooted in a myth of meritocracy and predicated on the politics of personal responsibility, perpetuating the belief that every individual is responsible for his or her success or failure, as measured by object wealth, equal opportunity assumed. Deconstructing these values, naming them for what they are, and making more intentional, thoughtful decisions about whether or not they serve to liberate or oppress, on every level

and in every social system, is central to reclaiming the sacred space between educator and student and critical to laying a foundation on which the birthright of all persons, true liberation, may rest.

We see the need to begin again to reclaim that space in the way that Dewey and others in the U.S. history of education had intended: by beginning with the learner and building schools that reflect how they think and learn. The way to address the challenges the U.S. faces in its current system is to move beyond the philosophy of economic power and the values it has transmitted through schools—including meritocracy—to a deeper, more intentional, and more liberating vision of education. Secondary schools can be changed to support the minds of adolescents rather than the other way around.

11.3 A Theory of Mind for U.S. Schools

A facet of individuation, the process by which one comes to differentiate themselves in relationship to others, can be understood as resting on a theory of mind – how beliefs, values, desires, and knowledge itself exists in the psychic space of the other and, by comparison, in the self. Put differently, we each navigate the world with an operational, often unconscious, understanding of how others think and behave. This understanding also determines how we understand our *own* being in the world. Developing a nuanced theory of mind that can meet the demands of one's world is perhaps the single most important task across the human lifespan.

We would conjecture that many schools in the U.S. are predicated on a theory of mind that is mechanistic, individualistic, and discounts any unconscious or relational thought. Reflection is more a rationalization for conditioned and unthinking responses to manage behavior. There are many examples from our experience where this is glaring, where decisions are made about what and how learning occurs for students, educators and the community. If we understand how the systems interact with this process, we can illuminate the relative success or failure of the schools' stated goals.

Each summer, many teachers in U.S. schools gather to decide how to best to create efficient standards-based lessons across the upcoming academic year – instructional planning. Often, those meetings begin with a review of their school's most recent state test scores. "Do better," they are told. Knowing that many of their students are well-below grade level, teachers correctly understand the task as fitting remedial instruction into a schedule already fully packed by state-mandated curricula. To be clear - this is an *impossible* task. What happens, more often than not, is a culling of instruction and practices that bring teachers closer to their students, social studies, social emotional learning components, and so on.

Some have argued that high expectations that are on par with peers in better-resourced schools full of more privileged students serve to benefit oppressed students, that expecting less would itself be a form of oppression (Delpit 1995; Hammond 2014). Surely between expectations that undervalue students' abilities

and expectations that ignore the negative effects of oppressive systems are *honest and realistic* expectations. Regardless, many have noted that standardized testing defines success in limited terms, undermining and devaluing other critical areas of student development. What can go unnoticed, however, is much more insidious.

Implicit in the state's expectation that all students perform similarly, regardless of circumstance, is the assumption that they *can*. This leaves the cause of poorly performing schools to be determined in a blame game between leaders, teachers, students, and families - the ultimate straw man. Having accepted the individualistic premise that all who are properly motivated can perform well, existent school culture takes each over and inherited roles are acted out. Administrators blame teachers, teachers blame students or their families, parents blame teachers, and so it goes.

But wait – who doesn't want to do well? If truly able and believing it possible, wouldn't each of those persons choose to succeed in reaching their full potential? Aren't they all doing our best? Of *course* they are. As stated by Ross Greene, "kids do well if they can." (Greene 2008, n.p.) We all do.

The myth of meritocracy present in educational policy hijacks belief in other's intent, the definition of trust, and replaces it with malintent. All stakeholders are left to construct their own reasons for failure to meet expectations. More often than not, this is too daunting or painful a task, so they fall back onto simple, if inaccurate, explanations perpetuated in the wider culture that center on individual shortcomings.

Individualism is at the core of U.S. cultural values. Cloaked in the language of personal freedom, it permeates our social systems and divides us. Individualism is at the core, too, of models, guides and strategies for reconnecting students with one another: of cooperative learning, of group work and accountability, and of peer mediation. Individual responsibility supersedes any collective thought or learning. Schools play a critical role in perpetuating the myth that anyone with enough grit and determination can achieve the American dream as defined by material wealth. "Students who learn and stay positive can do anything… Remember to work hard to get where you want to go in life," the character pledge at one school reads. Can they? What do we make of those who don't get where they want to go in life? If you accept the lesson above, they didn't learn or stay positive – they were lazy, they gave up.

Belief in malintent is so powerful that it can drive shocking behavior. How might an average teacher respond to a classroom disruption? Intuitively, of course, with either of the tools provided - punishment of coercion: "Stop or you're going to be punished" or "if you stop, I'll give you something." Some yell. This response is automatic and comes quickly, as the situation necessitates. Very little, if any, conscious thought occurs in the split second between disruption and reaction. Only if you asked the teacher why they responded as they did would they then think of a justification, of reasons. More often than not, though, the logic provided is in stark contrast to the emotional intensity present in that initial outburst moment. Why is this? Nobel prize winning psychologist and economist Daniel Kahneman (2012) has a theory:

"[O]ur beliefs do not come from where we think... When I ask you about something that you believe in… as soon as I raise the question why, you have answers. Reasons come to your mind. But… the reasons may have very little to do with the real causes of your beliefs… [T]he real cause[s] of your belief… are rooted in your personal history. They're rooted in who are the people that you trusted and what they seemed to believe in… [E]ven if you did destroy the arguments that people raise for their beliefs, it wouldn't change their beliefs. They would just find other arguments…" (Tippett 2019, n.p.)

What Kahneman (2012) offers here is a new theory of mind – one rooted in what he calls dual-process cognition. Put simply, he proposes that two systems of thought: One is fast, unconscious, automatic, and rooted in a vast range of interconnected information – intuition. The second is slow, conscious, deliberate, and deals with a small, limited bit of information – logic. We move through the world making almost exclusive use of our type one system while erroneously assuming ourselves to be nearly entirely system two beings.

Current approaches to addressing oppressive school cultures, such as social emotional learning (SEL) programs that focus on developing students' individual skills such as identifying and regulating emotions, are rooted in a theory of mind that is exclusively system two. More overtly retributive methods used to address problem behavior such as removals and suspensions are being replaced by Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS) and other efforts that highlight and reward positive behaviors. While certainly not entirely devoid of value, these programs frequently fail to budge cultures because they do not reflect the reality that most cognition is type one – intuition based. Instead, they are premised on the assumption that people are logical beings, that we make purposeful, conscious decisions. We come to this understanding like most, by way of our individualistic cultural values.

We value individualism, experienced as absolute individual freedom. We believe every person has that freedom. When confronted with a situation or person that challenges that belief, we experience negative emotions that lead to negative attitude. We behave dismissively, defiantly, and work to suppress or escape the situation or person. Individualism creates the conditions where connection cannot happen. By defining success in relationship to others, specifically to their failing, connection becomes problematized. The premise is carried forward by the practice.

Meritocracy is certainly not specific to the U.S. The pursuit of individual achievement and an preoccupation with system two-driven tests as the international metric of school effectiveness represents a neoliberal agenda for school reform (Sahlberg 2015) Financial and human capital are driving reform initiatives in the U.S. and many other countries (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012), creating an overall "business capital" strategy that views education as a new for-profit market to invest in with technology, curriculum and testing materials, and teachers as temporary and inexpensive hires. The stance is that schools can be treated like a commodity rather than as a public service or, as Evers and Kneyber (2015) noted, "…not something of the public, but something delivered to the public…" (p. 3), where schools are seen as markets that can be reformed to produce better results. This global trend is about gauging improvement in schools by performance on tests and the resulting reforms

that change curriculum to support test performance rather than what might be discussed as being of value and importance to the students' lives (e.g. Ravitch 2010). Schools compete, students and teachers are judged, certain subjects are privileged and educational commitments to human growth and connection to the larger social world become mere shadows.

The answer to successfully shifting oppressive school cultures is not to continue doubling-down on system two logic-based interventions. People simply do not work that way. Instead, we must construct a new theory of mind, one based on exploring and co-creating values and beliefs that accurately account for the oppression present, then make that process a central facet of American education and, in turn, public life. *That* is the path to reclaiming our humanity and working toward liberation.

11.4 Adolescent Minds, Meritocracy and Schools

In adolescence, one's theory of mind is expanded and enriched by abstract thought that makes way for an identity integration that is the hallmark of adulthood. Most American teenagers undergoing this process are inevitably faced with the fallacious absurdity of the myth of meritocracy. Often, this occurs at time when young persons are expected to take on many of the demands and responsibilities of adult life.

In urban areas such as New York City, homeless youth, most of color and adolescent age, are recruited into city-funded job readiness programs designed to teach young people how to perform identities in such a way as to gain and sustain employment. These lessons are frequently described using the misnomer of "professional behavior," which might more accurately be called code-switching. To be clear, learning how to access a job market situated in a racist culture is a valuable skill, but the reluctance to name it as such denies oppressed youth the opportunity to name their reality. Not infrequently, young people struggle to meet the strict funder-determined expectations or code-switch well enough to be a good "fit" for permanent employment. Like all people, more often than not, they look inward for an explanation and the meritocratic myth loop would be closed.

Schools operate similarly. The world is less likely to make immediate sense to students who experience a great deal of oppression. They are, therefore, more likely to struggle to accept mandates for compliance and adherence. This is reasonable. We purport to want students who can think critically about the world around them, to take intellectual risks and form broad conceptions that pull together disparate ideas, yet students who respond reasonably to obvious injustice are harshly punished. If their behavior was understood as an invitation to conversation, a resource by which we might better understand their experiences and underlying oppression, the response may well look radically different.

What a school might look like that allows for the adolescent system one thinking that is intuitive and seeks connection to flourish is only addressed as an "alternative" to "regular" school when students fail to measure up. Educators of adolescents in

the U.S are to be subject experts, are to take little time for the development of relationships afforded to younger grades, and are to prepare or "ready" their charges for a world of production and tackling problems of daily life without the luxury of supporting what adolescents often seek: envisioning how the world might be a better place.

In a perverse irony, it is educators, many of whom that came to their work to connect with kids, that are conscripted to deny students the dignity of even naming their experiences, of creating opportunities to find validation and connect with others – the most oppressive act of all. "Excuses stop here," a sign outside a teacher's office reads. This is a caring person, called to her work by a love of humanity. How is it that she came to hold this dual role of both nurturer and dehumanizer? This is the demand placed on helping professionals who are faced with perpetuating American mythology in the face of stark contradictory evidence. When asked how he handles the stress of his work, a New York City Police Department Detective with 12 years of service under his duty belt recently responded the following:

"[I have] empathy to a point. I have a job to do. Do I let people go? Yes, depending on circumstance, but I don't let it cloud my judgement… People don't understand what cops go through. You have to disconnect and not take it personal. We always tell new [officers] 'You have to have a sick sense of humor to do what we do and not be fucked up in the end…' I learned to separate the job from being human."

Connection demands an authentic intention to share and validate the lived experience of the other. In systems as unequal as America's, doing so obligates all helping professionals who hold that sacred space with oppressed persons to fight for liberation – how could it not? As in the above example, a common refrain has to do with new, green professionals repressing the human desire to connect. Near hazing-type rituals helps to codify this lesson into professional practice – picture the overworked medical resident or the overwhelmed first-year teacher.

Of course, this is how learning itself *truly* works; trusted persons or systems impart values and beliefs that are internalized and formed into attitudes that then inform decision making and subsequent behavior. This process must be turned on itself and its power used to serve the cause of liberation.

Students and their families know what obstacles are between them and their potential. They have the inherent ability to imagine the best possible solutions. Their voices should drive the development of educational policy and practice. Teachers hold the experience necessary to balance knowledge present in the lived experiences of their students and families with the practicalities of school operation and instruction. What ought leaders do?

11.5 Leadership and a Different Mind

"Being a principal is a lonely job," is a common refrain among school leaders. Regulatory demands that require an overwhelming amount bureaucratic work product results in their having little time to connect with staff, students, and families.

Meanwhile, the same kind of metrics that obscure the circumstances of adolscents and teachers also serve to deny principals and other leaders of their lived experiences – standardized test scores, strict budgeting processes, and entries of incidents concerning school safety.

Here again, a culturally constructed theory of mind undermines collective processes. A powerful leader is one with a strong will who leads staff toward her or his vision with authority, our culture dictates. The singular vision of a strong leader drives practice, and power-sharing is viewed as weakness, we're taught. In many U.S. schools, an authoritarian conception of power is undermined by strong teachers' unions that make holding staff accountable, in a traditional, retributivist sense of the term, challenging at best. Even with well-documented negligence, the firing of an ineffective teacher is such a lengthy, unpleasant process that principals most often opt for avoiding all together, excepting the most egregious cases. Too often, this results in oppositional relationships with staff that defaults into a kind of bureaucratic brinksmanship, oppressing all involved. But digging a bit deeper, there is more there.

Too frequently, school leaders accept the logic that 'bad' teachers are so because they are unmotivated, lazy, or perhaps just stupid. But what would happen if they rejected the premise that all teachers can be excellent teachers if they just want to be badly enough and reclaim the hijacked belief that an ineffective teacher wants to do well? Their role changes. They move from accepting a culturally constructed cause to curiosity. Their task becomes identifying obstacles to effectiveness. Who is best situated to know what obstacles stand between a teacher and their potential? That teacher.

To be clear, this demands a lot from our leaders – humility, most of all. To release one's self from the inherited role of school leader role requires faith in the other, it requires the belief in their intent – trust. There exists, however, opportunities to exercise this humility and faith. Principals are responsible for submitting plans to their overseers, typically in what is meant to be a "consensus-based decision-making process" in which teachers, students, and parents are present and actively engaged. Planning is linked to the school's budget and drives school-level policy in many important ways.

In many schools, this is a tremendously squandered opportunity. Stakeholders default to their roles, assuming others' malintent. In one school, for example, a school leader led an effort to redevelop a school vision statement by asking staff to list what they think should be included. Those lists were synthesized into core concepts that were used to craft a statement. What might emerge if the leader uses the opportunity a bit differently and instead asks staff to outreach and organize adolescent students and parents into conversations about what they needed and wanted from a school, pushing past the trivial listicle and into co-meaning making? Might the process overtake the finished product in practical value, with a more reflective process illuminating the obstacles to their shared success? Perhaps this kind of approach would have been more immediately obvious to a school leader attuned to the destructive pull of destructive U.S. beliefs.

11.6 Conclusion

Increasingly, educators are unable to ignore the glaring consequences of inequality present in their schools. As they struggle to respond, recycled ideas rooted in meritocratic ideals drive policy making. So-called community schools and increased social service resources for students in temporary housing are among those responses. More humanistic approaches to behavior management hint toward an understanding of the role oppression plays in problem behavior. While almost certainly well-intended, these efforts do not address the root causes of oppression in schools themselves – hijacked beliefs with regard to others' intent.

Leaders must understand the power of beliefs. They must themselves develop a new theory of mind with which to interrogate existing policies and practices. Most critically, however, they must come to trust the students, families, and other educators they serve and find ways to solicit and advance solutions rooted in those persons lived experiences. The key to answering *their* call to service rests in their ability to connect, to fight against the default to malintent and love.

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Chapter 12
Growing Up at "#22" Boedo – City of Buenos Aires – Argentina

Graciela Isabel Ostroski

12.1 Argentina and Education: An Overview

Argentina is undergoing great change politically, economically and educationally. For about 100 years the schools were under the control of the State, and by the turn of the twentieth century the state had a quasi-monopoly on education, excluding those in civil society. It became law in the late nineteenth century to make education free, compulsory and not religious. Since then, there have been promises made to offer quality public education to all the inhabitants of the country, improving the life conditions of all people—citizens and immigrants alike. On the one hand there has been a policy of compulsory "basic education" since the turn of the twentieth century, resulting in Argentina having one of the highest literacy rates in the world (Tedesco 1986) and, on the other hand, there has been a sustained effort to create homogeneous culture through standardized curriculum.

Prior to the 1960s, all public education that was state-controlled was overseen through its provinces, but increasingly since then there has been a movement toward private schools in Argentina. These schools represent a diversity of populations being served based on religion, country of origin (with many immigrants from Europe, the Middle East and Asia starting their own schools), and secular experimentation in, for example, the arts and developmental frameworks for learning.

Secondary school is compulsory and guided by an education bill that became law in 2006. However, two major reforms in recent years in the high school curriculum and, now, project-based learning, have added significantly to the challenges that school leaders and teachers face. Co-teaching by teachers in different subject areas, for example, is on the horizon. Many of the schools welcome the change as it will

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allow for more teaching of the students overall—including their social and emotional learning needs. Special needs students are fully integrated in the school with no specialized teachers.

A new government installed two years ago has undertaken significant reforms such as extending retirement age by five years and consolidating all teacher education into a single institution rather than in training institutes throughout urban regions. These changes resulted in considerable public outcry and national strikes and marches that were being held when visiting the schools. Education innovation is taking place mostly in the public sector. The only public schools exempt from these reforms are those affiliated with the universities, which have a "classic" educational program (including Latin as a requirement). Interestingly, students in the best schools there—affiliated with the universities—often protest and walk out of their schools, as well, with the academic calendar prolonged as a result. A particularly important feature of Argentina's public education system is the fact that it is free through undergraduate and graduate studies. Students attend without being screened out but may not last in school because of the rigor. The open nature of the schooling has meant that Argentina is educating students from all over South America: Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, recently Colombia and, to an extent, Chile.

The greatest challenge in education policy at the present time is to secure that students not only attend school and keep steady progress in learning but also that they complete their education. Policy decision-makers, teaching experts, educators and school leaders are responsible for guaranteeing the right to education that was laid down by the Argentine Constitution and several international conventions which the Argentine Republic is a signatory country.

Statistics show that the most privileged sectors have access to the right to education while the most disfavored ones do not. It is for the inclusion of these vulnerable sectors that public education in Argentina had to design innovative teaching projects of different kinds in order to awake young people's genuine interest in knowledge. In order for these changes to become possible and long-lasting a new model of school is needed: a school open to debate, where empathy ties are created among the various actors involved in every student's education. Educators and school leaders alike are accountable for their students' development as responsible citizens.

12.2 Introduction

I just cannot tell exactly when it happened. What is definitely true is that our school sheltered us all, gave us the chance to build our identity, our feeling of belonging, and created everlasting ties. It is not just another school. The atmosphere you breathe carries with it the work done, the constant challenge in every project. It is there where every student is synonymous with a life that has the potential to be changed; that you feel the bliss, the work, the effort of studying, the joy of being and growing up.

We started a process of institutional change to serve young people and the results—outstanding, by the way—solidified with time. Every academic trajectory improved, and their success was the result of the changes we sought to implement.

We have been able to shape a school in which young people could unfurl their potential, their artistic selves, by constructing "identity ascriptions" (Reguillo Cruz 2000) triggered by their skills.

Young people were listened to and protected at school, they found themselves at home in a place where they were cared for. In a hyperconnected, ever-changing and uncertain world, a world that sometimes excludes them, they began to feel the first stirrings that another world was possible. This was not an easy task, but a possible one. "New juvenile cultures have surpassed the instruction institution which, in general terms, remains separate from the processes of sociocultural configuration of juvenile identities" (Reguillo Cruz 2000).

Desertion, low levels of achievement in the various disciplines, failure to advance to the next grade and over-aged students were the topics that called for immediate action on our side. Our teaching disciplines became the bridge that brought us closer to our students' lives. Every problem we encountered meant an opportunity to take action, and results were soon evident. More young people enrolled, stayed and completed their secondary education. Families started to choose our school; we secured the support of our local community and saw improvement, not only in the statistics, but also in the quality of teaching.

Our school was the place that sheltered us and gave us opportunities. Our expectations of the young people grew, as did our professionalism. We let our feelings, the love in our eyes, come to light, took steady steps to make of every educational project a valuable moment to be lived. Together, educators and students alike enhanced our experiences and learned things again. We combined our efforts to create a new, strong and happy school life where circulating knowledge was appreciated. For our students, we made it possible to enjoy school because everyone felt part of it, because #22 (as our students call it) is a school you fall for.

The process of creating this new school was a complex one because "when it is all about changing and transforming things, difficulties tend to emerge not only from rules but also from the participants" (Frigerio and Poggi 1996). We needed to achieve higher expectations of young people and ourselves. We needed to move from complaint to action. We needed to relearn what has already been learned in order to meet the needs and expectations of young people without overlooking the thorough instruction of our students and a sound institutional experience. We needed to change so that the school would change, too. New challenges had to be faced and new teaching methods had to be put into practice. We needed to rethink our teaching role as guides and leaders capable of finding new teaching opportunities to surmount every obstacle or limit. We wanted to create a good school in the field of public instruction, and we found out that it was possible.

12.3 Let Us Share Our History

The year was 2012, and quality of secondary instruction both at the national and local level was alarming. Only four out of ten enrolled students would complete the curriculum. Argentine secondary instruction continued to be of an elite type

notwithstanding what had already been laid down by Act 898 of the City of Buenos Aires in 2002 and the National Education Act 26,206 (2006). Both acts engaged the State in making secondary instruction compulsory for young people throughout the country for the first time in our history. This is only possible if admission, attendance and graduation is guaranteed for our students through equal opportunities and commensurate quality in teaching.

Debates around the new legislation were rife. While some argued that making secondary instruction massively available would lower the quality of teaching, others thought that inclusion was a right to be guaranteed. Both positions gave rise to the *New Secondary School*, which opened the door to vigorous debates between such protagonists as students, instructors, families and trade unions. I took part in this process in the capacity of Principal of Secondary Business School #12, where I had made a career.

In those days, and for the first time in the history of the City of Buenos Aires, we had a Curricular Framework that invited us to change the old secondary school. Counting on both a legal framework and a curricular framework did not exempt us from having to dodge countless obstacles due to the fact that it would be, and still is, complex to stick to the argument that it is possible to furnish everyone with high-quality education.

After applying to run for my position, the winds of change would lead my professional life to a new venue, Secondary Business School #22. At this place we consolidated a school where it was possible to include and improve the quality of learning, overcoming "the difficulties that arise when attempts are made in order to change and transform" (Frigerio and Poggi 1996).

Secondary Business School #22 (2017) is a public institution of instruction sitting in the historic Boedo neighborhood in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina. Tango, European immigration, guest houses and Club San Lorenzo de Almagro make for the identity of the local community. Nearby, the growth of slums (due to domestic migration as well as that of neighboring countries) such as Villa 1-11-14 adds diversity to school population.

During 2013 our school went through a deep crisis due to its obsolete building, scarce available areas, low numbers of enrolled students, high dropout rate, desertion, students failing to advance to the next grade, the almost nonexistent presence of parents; isolation from the local community and difficulty in making up and leading work groups.

The number of enrolled students in the last few years made it evident that there was a continual loss (eroding) of students:

- 2009 enrollment: initial number, 371 students; final number, 350 students
- 2010 enrollment: initial number, 384 students; final number, 356 students
- 2011 enrollment: initial number, 394 students; final number, 374 students
- 2012 enrollment: initial number, 383 students; final number, 360 students.

Desertion from school, that is, the dropping out of young people from secondary instruction, was the main problem (2009/21 students, 2010/28 students, 2011/13 students, 2012/25 students), which, added to the high repetition levels (2009/82

students, 2010/89 students, 2011/134 students, 2012/68 students) contributed to closing down two 11th grade classrooms at the beginning of the fourth year of studies at the secondary school.

The lack of an Educational Project was coupled with scant available resources, difficulty in inside communication and the absence of a plan to build bridges with the community. Isolation deteriorated the school's image. The general absence of students' families, focus on achievement per discipline and the impossibility of promoting dialogue and instructors' reflection all contributed, little by little, to a rigid institutional atmosphere that weakened the proposed educational reforms of the school.

Taking into account that "inactive or conservative institutional authorities cause more dissatisfaction in instructors' work due to the isolation involved in the lack of participation in common goals" (Bardisa Ruiz 1997), I decided to undertake a profound change based on dialogue among the various institutional participants. Those conversations enabled us to draft our Educational Project, which "like every project is related to the capacity to dream, wish, invent" (Frigerio and Poggi 1998), giving us the chance to guide the task and comply with what the National Education Act established, that is, to guarantee the compulsory character of secondary instruction.

Our focus was on the students. Together with them, and through active participation with the rest of the school community, we chose the new academic options the institution would offer: a specialization in Economics and Business Administration, which updated traditional educational offerings, and a specialization in IT, a new proposal that would keep us working collaboratively on the design and putting innovative offerings into practice. The choice of both specializations was not randomly made, it was the result of carefully listening to the interests and needs of students (20 percent of our students in the fifth year of secondary instruction have a job and 90 percent are quickly incorporated into the labor market shortly after completing school).

We identified problems by proposing aims to achieve that were sparked by an institutional diagnosis. Thus, the 2013 Educational Project (EP) was conceived, one that would lead the work for years to come; in 2014 we started a transformation process; in 2015 we strengthened the process; in 2016 we put into force the specializations chosen; in 2017 we continued developing innovations; and in 2018 we joined the local proposal of "Secondary School of the Future".

The evolution of the Educational Project was agreed upon with the instructors and constituted our guideline for the execution of office in managing the institution. As Frigerio and Poggi (1989) said, "Every contract is bargained for, but once a framework is established, this is not subject to negotiation. The framework is understood as a limit and a container," that is, every instructor teaching in our school, including those who resisted the new approach, had to abide by the National Education Act, and guarantee enrollment and the attendance of young people, with teaching at high quality.

During 2014 the changes became noticeable. For the first time in the history of our school, we were able to open the third eleventh grade classroom, and in 2015 we opened the third twelfth grade classroom in the morning shift and the fourth eleventh grade classroom in the afternoon shift. Today, having done away with the

traditional educational pyramid of Argentine Secondary School, conceived under the elite tradition, Secondary Business School #22 has two classrooms for every grade and shift. The compulsory character of secondary instruction became a reality and the young people who go through it have the chance to enjoy and re-create it.

12.4 The Protagonists of the Story

Let us focus on our students. Mainly, they completed their primary level of instruction in nearby institutions and their ages during secondary instruction range from 13 to 18. They share similar realities from a socioeconomic perspective due to the fact that most of them are the children of working-class adults; in many cases, impoverished adults. Many of our students are the first in their family's history to complete secondary instruction. Unlike previous eras when secondary instruction guaranteed access to a job and left the door open to access to higher education, permitting the rising social mobility of popular sectors, today's secondary instruction fails to fill the expectations of the Argentine job market, which, like in the rest of the world, demands higher standards of instruction. The present global state of affairs has eroded the expectations of young people, who do not believe that by broadening their knowledge they will be able to change their quality of life. As Reguillo Cruz (2000) remarked, "For young people the world is anchored in the present time, a situation known by the market, while for society and their families it is an in-transit category," so we had to elaborate a teaching proposal inclusive of the present needs and interests of our students.

The first step materialized in the project Boedo: Holy Passion (Boedo Santa Pasión), a research proposal within the Young People and Memory Program (Programa Jóvenes y Memoria 2002) that made it possible for youngsters to re-create a part of the history of Club San Lorenzo de Almagro, a local sports institution that had lost its soccer stadium due to pressure from the military dictatorship that ruled the country during the 1970s. After obtaining an award at the Local Fair Innova, the project took off, running at the national level, and was given a special mention at the "12th Invitation 30 Years After Regaining Democracy, We Remember For the Future." It was through this proposal that many of our students got to know the seaside and low-rise mountain landscapes for the first time when taking part in meetings organized by the Program in the Chapadmalal and Embalse Río Tercero areas.

If the neighborhood club enabled the creation of identity, it was necessary to think of changes to the inside of our school that would give our students the possibility of identifying with it. Thus the idea to stimulate instruction for our young students in the area of arts and creativity was conceived so that each and every one of them could achieve the development of their skills.

We invited them to take part in the painting sessions *Young People Paint Well* sponsored by the Ministry of Education and, together with instructors and their families, they painted the classrooms, which, with their vivid colors, started to

breathe new life into our school. To everyone's surprise, the most vulnerable students from the perspective of achievement were the protagonists of transformation.

They sketched and painted murals in the school library and the science lab, changing them into cozy places due to creativity in the work done. Soon, more murals with the imprint of various teaching proposals saw the light (Cultural consolidation, twenty-first Century skills, Literart – Integración Cultural, Aptitudes del siglo XXI, Literarte). Students created the virtual mural *Malvinas: a Witness that Heroes Existed* (2014) after getting to know and gaining renewed appreciation for the life and history of war veterans, especially those from the local community.

Research, art and IT joined in order to put the project Names For My School (n.d.) into practice. The proposal allowed students to dig into the lives and work of prominent citizens, part of our cultural, political, sports and scientific history so that through an awareness campaign and an election process every space at school should have a name to last through time. IT students designed and printed 3D posters that currently bear the name of every classroom.

Due to the fact that "Clothing, music and access to certain key objects are the most important elements in constructing young people's identity" (Reguillo Cruz 2000), music was central to our innovative proposal because, as psychologist Pablo Urrutia (2018) argues, "during the teen years specifically, it plays a very important role and is directly linked to human development and identity." We purchased musical instruments and instructors accompanied our students' process of learning, and they were able to express and discover their musical skills. In every music score, in every song, students could find a manner of expression highly valued by the community. The wind orchestra from Open School—operating on Saturdays—added to the institutional proposal and gave those interested in said proposal the chance to be included.

With theater and physical education lessons we encouraged our students' acting, corporeal and movement training, thus developing various healthy lessons which, through the use of the spoken word, the staging of plays of their own and participating in regional tournaments, healthy walks and soccer tournaments, enabled the enrichment of language and the expression of their bodies. The appreciation of their skills and abandonment of sedentary practices typical of the present time continued to enrich the training of our students. We held educational camps in order to encourage contact with nature and better living with others.

Audiovisual lessons too were an integral component. *Battle Against Oblivion*, for instance, was awarded a prize by Fundación DAC (Directores Argentinos Cinematográficos) during the 16th Make it Short Festival organized by the Ministry of Education of the Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires.

Cinema and theater turned up at school. We were able to share a talk with director and writer Benjamín Ávila (2018) after watching the film *Clandestine Childhoods* and enjoy many plays such as *From Oil to Casseroles* (n.d.) and *Distractions* (n.d.) among others.

All of these proposals brought the students together in groups defined by similar expressions of art; as part of them, they began developing "ways of sticking together or juvenile cultures with a feeling of belonging in relation to others and identity

ascriptions, from which a common sense about an uncertain world is possible to be generated" (Reguillo Cruz 2000). The school was the land where possibilities could lead to future certainties that we helped to create for them.

In order to improve students' linguistic competence we participated in such programs as Schools that Read (2002) The Media at School and National Reading Marathons (2018). The librarians, strongly engaged with the encouragement of reading, joined in order to enrich the proposals.

The difficulties in paying attention and participating in class in the early hours of the morning shift called the instructors' attention. After conducting a few inquiries we confirmed that the students only rested for a few hours because they stayed up long hours at night, attentive to their mobile devices. Fatigue, tiredness and lack of energy interfered with learning. We took the decision to guide our students' use of the time and, in view of that, organized the first open class, IT: Rest and Knowledge, a proposal that left the door open for innovation through the use of new teaching formats, in order to especially address topics related to health that, in turn, would make it clear that participation is fundamental to achieving understanding of long-lasting knowledge.

Providing our students with tools for health care was a must, and we found it possible to open a Health Council within our school (in the charge of professionals from the Planning Section of Hospital Durand) and we have been able to gather information related to teenagers' social relations and consumption habits.

Notwithstanding the fact that our students took in academic information on sexual education and troublesome consumption habits, they were unable to put that information into practice with the purpose of taking care of their own bodies. Within the Compulsory Specific Curricular Space (ECEO are its initials in Spanish) and in accordance with Act 26,586 and our local Curricular Framework on Education and Prevention of Addictions and Undue Drug Taking, we devised the sessions *Consumo Cuidado*, 2014 (a play on words meaning both "With too much care" and "Cared for consumption"), a proposal linked to analysing the present-day global consumer society and the role of advertising to awaken desire in various age groups. We especially focused on teenage consumption. During conversation rounds and adhering to the Open Venue methodology, we asked ourselves what we could do together in order for people at our school to be happy and healthy individuals. The material produced by our young students was fundamental to strengthen the school's idea in relation to the students' needs, their surroundings and health. An open talk, *Better off without alcohol* (2014), was held in response to the normalization of alcohol consumption and taking into account the high risk involved in the habit on the part of our students, who were accustomed to drinking alcoholic beverages before going to discos.

In order to talk about sexual education, a large forum was organized at school using the World Café methodology, which enabled our students to talk freely about the care of their bodies in relation to others under the motto *Because I love, I take care of myself.*

Under the sessions' format we faced highly complex issues, counting on the contributions by such specialists as philosopher Darío Sztajnszrajber, who talked

about "Love," licentiate Julieta Ojam, who took part in the session "Not one less female" and brother Coco Romanin, who shared with us his life experience with young addicts at Villa Itatí (one of the slums with high social vulnerability risk). They, among other lecturers, gave us the chance to open a new counseling venue in the interest of our students. It translates as the "Troublesome Consumption Council" and is sponsored by the Operations Management on Social Prevention of Addictions/ Senior Management on Social Policies regarding Addictions/Assistant Secretary for the Ministry of Human Development and Habitat (2017).

In this context, after reviewing statistics showing that risk factors in instruction persisted (repeating of grades, over-aged consumption, bullying situations), the various school participants got together to reflect on the need to adapt the contents of the Agreed Curricular Institutional Forum, 2015 (a series of workshops which, up to that moment, worked on such topics as The Environment, Health and Computational Reasoning), by making of it a forum of analysis and group reflection where young students could, in a positive way, channel their juvenile, pedagogical and/or family experiences. Thus, we conceived the project *Growing up at #22* with the view of accompanying, transforming and strengthening the students' school trajectory.

What we had in mind was to instruct our students so that they could choose the best options in the face of various situations, make sound decisions and develop their individual autonomies in such a way that they could become responsible for their own school trajectories and, in turn, for creating a life lesson for themselves. In order to achieve these goals, we offered the following workshops: to eighth graders, Emotional Education (Basic life guidelines); to ninth and tenth graders, Personal Development (I. Nurturing emotions – II Spreading potentials); to eleventh graders, Entrepreneurship in learning; and to twelfth-graders the tools for the creation of a realistic and feasible Life Project. Said proposal, common to the Agreed Curricular Institutional Forum, Mentors' forum and the various disciplines, has a clear aim: to provide guidance to students so that they, individually or collectively, put their art and skills into practice, thus achieving individual happiness, the fulfilling feeling of accomplishing work projects and collective inclusiveness.

With the purpose of stimulating other arts, we encouraged the scientific instruction of our students through actively taking part in the Innova Science Fair (2019), the Scientific Sessions of the University of Buenos Aires, the Argentina Math Olympics. In the context of the Project "Sciences Stand Before the Bicentennial" (200 years after the proclamation of our independence), we held dissertations with renowned scientists such as Dr. Diego Golombek (biologist and scientific researcher); personnel from the National Committee on Nuclear Power and German Dima, from the program *Superheroes' Physics* (2015). We took part in the competition organized by Play Energy (2003) and obtained first prize from the company Enel Argentina. Said company changed the school's electrical equipment, thus lowering energy consumption, and installed a solar panel in the sidewalk so that the community could charge their mobile phones. The company also invited two students and one of their instructors to take part in an E Formula race held in Punta del

Este—Uruguay, needless to say, an unforgettable experience for those who had the chance to go through it.

We also had in mind the idea of making our "digital natives" digitally literate, strengthening the use of new language in the field of IT and changing fragmented knowledge and multiple stimuli into knowledge. Added to this, with the purpose of raising new interests, a proposal was made to take part in Robotics Sessions (2017) and, in the case of female students, they joined the Girls in Technology proposal. In 2018, when the Secondary School of the Future (n.d.) became a reality, the dream of having an IT education classroom materialized; equipped with computers of the latest generation, a 60-inch interactive digital smartboard, a 3D printer, Arduino kits, robotics kits, a drone, a photo camera and a video camera, which gave each and every of our students the chance to become familiar with the use of the various technology resources.

Apart from the above, we channeled our interest into making our institutional proposal known through various media: a blog (http://elcomercial22.blogspot.com.ar/), a website (www.comercial22.com.ar) and a Facebook page (Comercial 22 D.E. 6). The school's own projects, "Microbusinesses", "Approaching the Labor World" and "Graphic Design," as well as those from peripheral programs such as the one from Fundación Pescar (n.d.), "The Company", "Partners for a Day" from Junior Achievement offered basic tools in the search of a first job. The backing from the Students' Guidance Department (n.d.) from the University of Buenos Aires and the "Expo University" held in our school made it possible for future secondary-school graduates to get to know the educational programs of higher education at public tertiary and university-level institutions.

With the You can Do It Project, (n.d.) virtual tools were made available to twelfth graders who had finished the academic year with pending subjects, thus not getting their diplomas, so that they could achieve completion of secondary instruction in a semivirtual manner. We also turned our thoughts on to how to live in harmony and, with active participation on the part of the community, drafted the Institution's Code of School Coexistence. Parents, students and instructors take part in the Council of School Coexistence, advising the principal in the decision-making process in cases of violations of the established rules.

As a consequence of the fact that students' participation is vital to their entire educational inclusion, we encouraged and supported the consolidation of the Students' Union, a juvenile-selected participation forum where students elaborate proposals and get ready for the exercise of citizenship in full. They elect members and mandates are renewed by ballot, a process in which every student takes part. At this forum for dialogue they agreed that the white gown (identifying symbol of Argentine public schools) would be the uniform to wear to continue attending school. The countless projects put into practice, all which were tied to the School Project, strengthened the bond of trust between instructors and students, thus creating an institutional atmosphere of dynamic and innovative work through which it is possible to improve the quality of teaching due to the high expectations we place on our students. The results (verifiable through statistics) achieved by the students have made us at once proud and elated:

- Constant increase in enrollment (2009/371 students, 2010/384 students, 2011/394 students, 2012/383 students, 2013/403 students, 2014/437 students, 2015/481 students, 2016/489 students, and 2017/502 students). It is impossible to enroll more students due to building restrictions.
- Repetition of grades decreased (2009/82 students, 2010/89 students, 2011/134 students, 2012/68 students, 2013/72 students, 2014/48 students, 2015/100 students, 2016/82 students) In the period subject to consideration, repetition fell by 16.76 percent from an initial 34 percent and should continue to decrease.
- Yearly promotion increased (2009/268 students, 2010/267 students, 2011/240 students, 2012/292 students, 2013/325 students, 2014/347 students, 2015/357 students and 2016/407 students).
- Dropouts decreased (2009/21 students, 2010/28 students, 2011/13 students, 2012/25 students, 2013/11 students, 2014/8 students, 2015/12 students and 2016/6 students).
- We built a school leaver's profile based on the Skills for the Twenty-First Century laid down by Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires.
- Bonds among peers improved, as well as student-instructor relationships.

12.5 The Mentors of Change

All of these goals were possible to achieve due to the creation of instruction teams in which every member had the opportunity to contribute their art and "time for collaborative planning during daily work hours, a schedule with periods for students which would make it easier to work along with instructors, meetings organized to debate the curricula, etc., and therefore, alter the school's organization to suit to collaborative ends" (Bardisa Ruiz 1997). Empathy, effort, joy and compromise made the daily work a pleasure. The Instructors' Packeted-Periods Scheme (Act 2,905 of 2011) enabled the teaching staff to spend more time at school, adding to the time for the exchange of experiences and planning.

The Educators' Workshop, with its compulsory weekly meeting, constitutes a forum for participation, updating and academic reflection where we rethink our actions through analysing statistics. It is a moment devised for self-reflection on one's own teaching practice, essential for the complex task of teaching in the present-day context. During the workshop, the true protagonists are the instructors, who engage in debates, make proposals and devise actions with the purpose of making teaching practice better, by adapting it to our students' needs. The guiding light is the idea to achieve significant learning triggered by the knowledge, ideas and representations the students bring with them. It is a forum and moment to get to know each other, feel empathy and work collaboratively, generating innovative proposals that make our actions more effective.

Academic agreements were put down in the Institutional Curricular Project (ICP 2017), creating our school completers profile and the teaching path to reach it. From said project, we laid down measurable teaching goals to consolidate the Teaching

Project. We supported and accompanied the various instances of training and curricular updating for instructors (as prescribed by Resolutions 93 and 188 of the Federal Education Council n.d.), because they enable every instructor to update, grow and get new perspectives to achieve quality in teaching through debates with other instructors.

Considering the results achieved, we shared our experience with other secondary education institutions as well as (both tertiary and higher level) teacher-training institutions so that our experience could inspire others to change, from a teaching perspective, other secondary schools and instructors. Every year we accept teaching interns of the various disciplines who watch and take their first steps in teaching at school.

Many different teams support the principal's work and collaborate in the decision-making process, among them the Advisory Council, formed by leading instructors' representatives from the various areas of knowledge; the proctors' team, charged with the care and backing of students; the secretariat team, charged with the institution's administration; and the superintendent's office, which accompanies and values the proposal.

All of them made it possible for me as school principal to guide the transformation and growth process of Secondary Business School #22 by understanding that "a school principal may be described as a leader when, in order to execute a good administration, lays down the school's goals considering their own individual aspirations" (Bardisa Ruiz 1997). Every proposal made by the various teams is evaluated and put into practice with the view of favoring the professional growth of all of their members.

Experience and the path followed made it possible for us to take part in the conception stage of the Secondary School of the Future, an instance of pedagogical strengthening of the New Secondary School (2017), which began to be implemented in the City of Buenos Aires in 2018, of which our school is part. This project now includes common core students (eighth and nine graders).

Through My School Platform (n.d.), instructors were able to assess, plan and gather information on the previous school trajectory of those students entering the school (Primary-Secondary School Bridge n.d.). Lessons for the eighth grade (the first year at secondary school) begin fifteen days prior to lessons for the other grades (Beginning First Year) with the purpose of making a diagnosis of previous knowledge that newly enrolled students have in language, mathematics and study methodology. Accompanied by their future instructors, they take part in a levelling course at the time that they get to know their new classmates and the school. Instructors, with the help of the various programs, have access to joint-planning meeting places in order to put into practice the classroom proposals by areas in which the various disciplines are connected.

The students notice their training is enriched by applying new teaching formats, especially those related to assessment (incorporation of evaluation matrices and joint assessment) and the planning of their learning schemes by creating a Personal Learning Scheme.

The mentors' team and proctors accompanied the task, backed the students and their families at the time that they conducted a follow-up of attendance, thus reducing this factor of educational risk. New opportunities turned up for Argentina's secondary school in the "indisputable search of a more inclusive society" (Reguillo Cruz 2000).

In relation to the new institutional teaching proposal, our main accomplishments were the following:

- We recovered the students', families' and local communities' appreciation.
- We enforced the provisions of current federal and local legislation.
- We have been able to successfully implement the proposed changes for the New Secondary School.
- We included curricular changes laid down by the New Curricular Framework 2015–2020 for the City of Buenos Aires.
- We count on a School Project evolving year after year. It is this momentum that gives our school a special identity. We consider ourselves open to changes and with a capacity to develop proposals, experience, innovate and, if necessary, revise the route.
- We consolidated our Institutional Curricular Project by establishing goals, contents and teaching and assessment criteria.
- We strengthened the autonomy of work teams and encouraged collaborative work.
- We accomplished active participation by the school community in various forums (Classroom Council, Council of School Coexistence, Students' Union, School Cooperative).
- We enriched the educational offerings with the contributions from various programs.
- We obtained regional, local and national support of the institutional proposal.
- We built new facilities to foster enrollment growth and the retention of students.
- We recovered the families' trust and participation in various forums (School cooperative, training meetings and exchange sessions regarding the school trajectory of their children).
- We fully enjoyed the task of teaching those who need it the most.
- We reinforced the concept of public school with a strong proposal consolidating in time.

12.6 By Way of Conclusion

I cannot help feeling overwhelmed by sharing with you my job's experience over so many years. My career took a new direction, and at the present I hold the position of School Superintendent for the Fifth Circuit in the City of Buenos Aires, a complex territory due to its population's high levels of social and educational vulnerability. This new position, together with my new work team, gives me the chance to

pass on to the principals of eighteen schools the new perspectives; those I gathered at Secondary Business School #22. The challenge becomes greater, and together we are moving toward the process of consolidation of more incluse institutions where the right to education becomes a feasible reality.

I invite you to try. We need to turn our schools into atmospheres of joy where young people feel cared for, which young people see as venues where they want to stay and develop. These are schools where we may offer students the chance to create identity ascriptions and put their art into practice, defend their ideals, capture their dreams and visualize new paths for their lives. These are inclusive schools with quality teaching proposals. We need instructors that lead the process, those who captivate with their speech, gestures and life experiences; restless and supportive, capable of proposing such captivating teaching experiences that make young people fall for knowledge; those who accompany and leave indelible marks for the joy of life.

We are also in need of principals capable of encouraging changes, with high expectations on the school, the instructors and the students, who invite families and the community to come forward with their proposals. We need leaders capable of listening, advising and guiding the work; who build bridges between present-day reality and the reality of a better possible world. All of us are needed here, and in further away places, because, as argued by UNICEF (n.d.) "No other cause deserves the highest priority but the protection and development of a child, on whom survival, stability and the progress of all nations and, in fact, human civilization depend."

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Chapter 13
Calling Children Back to School

Rukhsana Ayyub

13.1 Pakistan and Education: An Overview

Pakistan's education system dates back to the beginning of Islamic/Arabic culture in the region from the eighth century with schools that included literature, art, architecture and religious studies. A traditional school system among Muslims developed and flourished between the 13th and 18th centuries until the British colonization of the subcontinent, bringing with it a "modern" and European educational system. Both Hindus and Muslims were encouraged to enroll in these schools for greater power, resulting in learning English and lessening study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. Western universities began in the 19th century with studies in the social sciences, natural sciences and the humanities. These two systems continue in Pakistan to the present day.

Along with neighboring India, Pakistan came into being when colonial British rule ended in August 1947. What were originally two separate states, East and West Pakistan to the northeast and northwest of India (intended as homelands for India's Muslims) became Bangladesh and Pakistan, respectively, in 1971. Pakistan consists of four provinces (Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Sindh), two autonomous territories (Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan) and one federal territory (Islamabad Capital Territory). These provinces and territories are fairly independent in their governance and growth of educational systems (Committee 2018): Punjab, Sind, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, and a disputed territory, which is Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Linguistically, each province has had its own mother tongue, but Urdu (a combination of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit) is the national language. English is commonly used for official purposes. Almost two-thirds of the population lives in rural areas with about half of the population of Pakistan (65 million) under the age of 30.

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A significant challenge in Pakistan's system is enrollment. Most recently, as many as seven million children between ages five and seven are not enrolled, 20% of the country's population of that age group. It is estimated that 22.5 million children, overall, are out of school. The number of children and adolescents (ages five–16) who are not enrolled in school is reported to be almost 60% (Committee 2018). There are also significant challenges of school and basic facilities, quality curriculum and textbooks. UNECSCO (2014) reported that 9% of the primary schools do not have blackboards, 24% do not have textbooks, 46% do not have desks and 64% do not have electricity. Teachers are the most important element in the whole education system (Committee 2018) and untrained teachers and vacant posts in public schools are significant (Dubash and Jamal 2018).

However, the province of Punjab has taken steps to improve the poor state of public sector education in the province. Teacher absenteeism has gone from 20% to 6% in the province since 2010. There are indications that the budget for education has increased significantly (between 17 and 28% of budgets) and the challenge has been more about how that funding is being spent. However, the quality of learning is still abysmal, with less than half of third graders able to read a sentence in Urdu nationwide. Pakistan was described as "among the world's worst performing countries in education," at the 2015 Oslo Summit on Education and Development. Political instability, disproportionate influence on governance by security forces, repression of civil society and the media, violent insurgency, and escalating ethnic and religious tensions all affect Pakistan's current educational efforts. Pakistan's education system has changed significantly in recent years, with the private sector stepping in to meet the growing educational needs. This had led to an explosion of new private schools, largely unregulated, of wildly varying quality.

Pakistan is facing a serious challenge to ensure all children, particularly the most disadvantaged, attend, stay and learn in school. While enrollment and retention rates are improving, progress has been slow to improve education indicators in Pakistan. Currently, Pakistan has the world's second-highest number of out-of-school children (OOSC), with an estimated 22.8 million children aged five–16 not attending school, representing 44 percent of the total population in this age group.

Disparities based on gender, socio-economic status, and geography are also significant; in Sindh, 52% of the poorest children (58% girls) are out of school, and in Balochistan, 78% of girls are out of school (UNICEF 2019). Thirty-two percent of primary-school-age girls are out of school in Pakistan, compared to 21% of boys. By grade six, 59% of girls are out of school, versus 49% of boys. Only 13% of girls are still in school by ninth grade. Lack of access to education for girls is part of a broader landscape of gender inequality in Pakistan (Naviwala 2016).

Faced with serious security concerns Pakistan's maximum funding was diverted to defense needs and fighting the war on terror. Hence, limited funding was provided to the education sector. To fill the gap, the government provided tax concessions to education centers, which has resulted in an explosion of new private technical and educational institutions. To further fill the gap, Madrassas (religious schools) played their role. This has resulted in a largely unregulated, wildly varying quality in education as well as skill levels of teachers. In order to achieve the Goal

4 of SDGs, the Federal Government is making efforts to work with provinces for allocation of more resources for education, decrease the number of out-of-school children (OOSC), reduce the dropout rates, bring uniformity in education standards and enhance access to vocational and skills training.

The Economic Survey of Pakistan 2018–2019 estimates small improvement in expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP at 2.4% in 2018 as compared to 2.2% in 2017. Similarly, school enrolments during 2017–18 were recorded at 50.616 million compared to 48.062 million during 2016–17. The Labour Force Survey 2017–18 also documents slow progress: the literacy rate was estimated at 62.3% in 2017–18 as compared to 60.7% estimated in 2014–15. For males, it increased from 71.6% to 72.5% and for females it increased from 49.6% to 51.8%. The National Education Policy Framework has been formulated to combat the multiple challenges facing the education sector. The Framework has established the following four priority areas:

1. Decrease Out-of-School Children (OOSC) and Increase School Completion
2. Achieve Uniformity in Education Standards
3. Improve the Quality of Education
4. Enhance Access to and Relevance of Skills Training

Although heading in the right direction the current rate of progress is still quite slow. With the majority of its population lacking education, Pakistan needs to put far greater efforts and resources than it is currently doing to pick up the pace for improving the educational opportunities for its citizens.

13.2 Introduction

Pakistan, a middle-income country, has significant growth potential, and by 2030 it is forecast to be among the six fastest growing economies of the world as per a recently released HSBC report titled "The World in 2030." Despite fast economic growth projections, poverty and inequalities persist. The underlying causes of poverty are inextricably linked to power imbalances, resulting in limited mobility, restricted access to basic services and insufficient livelihood opportunities.

Pakistan offers a variety of educational opportunities to the different pockets of its population. For the rich and elite there are private schools and colleges, accredited by foreign universities and paving a smooth road to continuing studies abroad with possible working and settling in developed countries. For the middle class, the most common and sometimes the only option available is to study in government-funded public schools. The National Education Management Information System (NEMIS) data indicates that the availability of public schools in Pakistan has decreased over recent years, with school construction failing to keep pace with population growth in the school-going age group. Those who do enroll in public schools do so with the sole purpose of finding a job at completion. Very little focus is placed on learning. Education in public schools consists mostly of rote memorization and

an ability to pass tests. The third option for educating children is the madrassa. Mostly located in rural areas, madrassas offer religious education with a preference for educating boys. However, there is a rising trend for parents to enroll their daughters in madrassas too.

In addition to the class divide, there is an ethnic and cultural divide across the four provinces of Pakistan—Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)—that affects access to education as well as quality of schooling, social norms and role expectations for boys and girls.

In 2016, Pakistan ranked second to last in the "Global Gender Gap Report," reflecting an environment in which actions to advance the status of girls and their opportunities in life are often met with deep resistance, particularly in rural, isolated, and religiously conservative areas. Social stigma can prevent girls from actively seeking education, especially if it involves using public transportation, traveling alone or walking some distance to school, during which time there is the potential risk of harassment. With a view to family honor, keeping girls safe becomes of utmost important to parents; hence, keeping them at home is viewed as a way of protecting them. The practice of early marriage is also a means to reduce risk to the family honor; married girls are handed over to other families and are no longer the responsibility of their birth family to protect and raise.

My work with CARE (a leading humanitarian organization fighting global poverty in over 90 countries around the world) has taken me to some of the most remote, underdeveloped, deprived and excluded communities in Pakistan. My focus in this chapter will be on two communities: The Hindu minority communities settled in the desert area in the southern Sindh province; and Pashtun communities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province. These two communities differ in terms of religion, culture, language, landscape, education, job opportunities, political stability and available resources and support. CARE has worked directly on promoting education programs for out-of-school girls in KPK. In Sindh, our focus has been on creating opportunities for communities to find and raise their voices against early marriages for girls, thus encouraging girls to stay in school.

Although these two communities do not represent all of Pakistan, they are still a part of this country, and CARE and many other civil society organizations are engaged in efforts to address vulnerabilities, particularly for girls and women in these two areas. CARE places special focus on working alongside girls and women, because equipped with the proper resources, they have the power to lift whole families and entire communities out of poverty. CARE works with communities, government authorities and the private sector to reduce the effects of poverty.

I have had the good fortune to be a witness to the strength and resilience men and women in these communities have shown in the face of adversity and the changes they are pursuing and bringing about with just a little bit of support by the government and/or other organizations. I have also been repeatedly inspired by my own colleagues and their passion to play a role in supporting those who are vulnerable and/or marginalized.

13.3 Background

Sindh is the second-largest province of Pakistan in terms of economy and population size. According to the 2017 population census, the total population of Sindh is 47,886,051, with 53% males and 47% females. Fifty-one percent of Sindh's population live in rural areas, while 49% live in urban areas. Sindh's provincial capital, Karachi, is Pakistan's largest city and its financial hub. Sindh is also considered one of Pakistan's most industrialized regions, with much of its large-scale manufacturing centered in Karachi. Despite the economic development, UNDP reports show Sindh fares very low on the Human Development Index.

Some of the development interventions have been hampered by the ongoing drought that has spanned more than three years and has harshly affected certain parts of Sindh. Mostly desert and home to the Hindu minority, Umerkot is one of the districts most severely affected. According to the Sindh government, 420,000 families in eight districts of Sindh and 43,240 families in the district of Umerkot have been affected by drought. Data reported by the government shows high degrees of food insecurity (71% of households were reported as moderately food-insecure and 32% as severely food-insecure), loss of livestock, an increase in waterborne diseases among residents, and malnutrition and infant and maternal mortality as a result of the prolonged drought conditions. Increase in newborn and child mortality has exacerbated psychological and emotional stress for mothers, leading to suicide by many as reported by the Sindh Drought Needs Assessment (SDNA) Report January 2019.

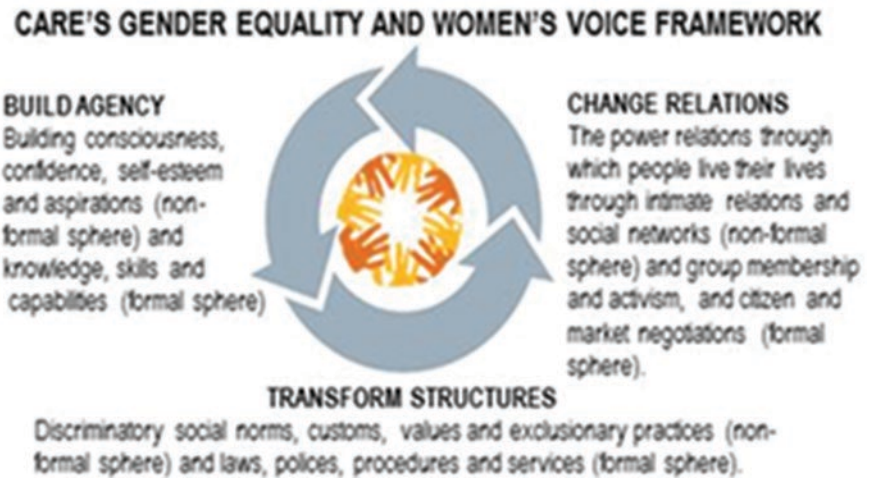
Pakistan Labor Force survey 2017–2018 shows the female literacy rate in Sindh is 50%, in contrast to 73% for males. Many government school buildings in parts of Umerkot are vacant due to a severe shortage of teachers. Children aimlessly spend their time hanging on and under the few trees that have survived the desert heat and drought. The Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act of 2013 prohibits the marriage of children under eighteen years of age, with punishment including fines and imprisonment of up to three years; however, the practice still continues in certain parts of the province, particularly in Umerkot district.

13.4 CARE's Response in Sindh: Every Voice Counts

Are you sure you are up to it? Make sure you drink enough water; keep a wet towel around your neck; don't stay out in the field too long: my well-wishers keep the comments flowing even as they shake their heads in disbelief at what they think is my foolishness. I wonder myself, too: should I be taking these chances at my age when others my age are thinking of retiring and settling down to a slower pace of life? What if I get sick? I had worked with CARE in Asia more than a decade ago and had returned to the U.S. to be closer to my family. But when an opportunity came along to take an assignment with CARE in Pakistan, I could not

say no; after all, this was the country of my birth. While living in the U.S. I had led domestic-violence-prevention efforts and advocated for the rights of the immigrant Pakistani women. And now I had a chance to work at the source.

Part of my role in Pakistan was to oversee the ongoing projects in the various parts of the country. During my first week at the CARE Pakistan office, Misbah, a project manager, approached me, and as use of acronyms is common in the NGO sector, described her project as EVC. "What is that?" I asked her in surprise, and very casually she answered that EVC stood for Every Voice Counts. The name and what it implied kept me spellbound for several minutes: such a meaningful name should never be shortened into an acronym, because this name reflects the very essence of our work in CARE. Rich or poor, old or young, boy or girl, everyone's voice counts.



CARE's approach to bringing about sustaining social change consists of making efforts at three levels: agency, relationship and structure. For the Every Voice Counts project, CARE has been able to invest efforts at each of the three levels.

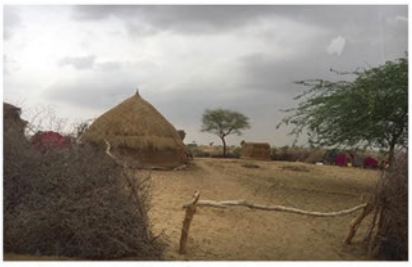
As a first step to building **agency,** a local women artisan's group was formed that began by building on the needlework skills most women in the villages already possessed. The women's group was then linked to a designer from Karachi. The designer not only provided technical guidance to improve the finesse of the artisans' work, but also gave tips on what would be marketable in fashionable circles of modern Pakistan. The artisans are now witnessing an increase in their income and confidence. Trainings in business-development skills have allowed them to negotiate better rates for their products and reach out to multiple designers for commissions. The women are also encouraged to form collective groups and share their common issues and concerns affecting them and their families. For most women, early marriage of their daughters was an issue that had the most lasting impact on their lives and they wanted something done about it. Many mothers recalled their own pain at

their young daughter's marriage (in most cases to much older men), nursed the child brides through the resulting health problems, early pregnancies, miscarriages and in many cases deaths due to complications of pregnancy by young bodies too weak to carry the pregnancy to term. Even though most mothers had accepted this practice as a cultural norm, they had also seen examples of girls going to school and college, delayed marriages and stronger independent women, and wanted to learn how to bring about a change within their own families and communities.

Misbah, the aforementioned project manager at CARE, had been sharing reports of some remarkable changes taking place in the lives of women and girls through her work. She traveled to the remote project sites with a confidence that was contagious. Through her behavior and work she was modeling and building motivation for change in the communities. In addition, Misbah continued to challenge her colleagues at CARE as well by having difficult conversations on cultural change, building bridges, listening and talking skills. A mother of two girls, Misbah embodies the change she is trying to bring about. Her eyes shine as she describes the success of her work. She avoids my eyes just as quickly when she talks about yet another child getting married. I wonder about the toll this work is taking on her.

I want to go see the work up close. So I began planning my first trip to Umerkot, and that in the heat of summer. A two-hour flight to Karachi followed by a five-hour drive and I find myself in Umerkot. I meet the field staff, who are all from the same area, speak the same language and have overcome challenges that are similar to the ones they are trying to address in their projects.

Kiran is one such example, one of the few from the same town and the first in her family to complete postgraduate education. She could have been married and stayed home to raise a family like her elder sisters. Instead, she left her home and came to live and work in Umerkot, something still very uncommon in this area for single females. Covered in a black cloak, she spends her time meeting women living in the desert in their mud houses, helping form women's committees and creating opportunities for women to share their voices. "These are my communities, it is my resolve to give back to my people and help as many women as I can" she says with a big smile. We visit a mobile medical camp set up in a mud house in the desert.



Mud house in Umerkot desert

Medical Team with Ayesha inside the mud house

Despite the heat outside, the mud house felt cool. A female doctor is sitting on one of the two chairs in the room. The other chair is reserved for patients, while close to a hundred women are sitting on the floor in and around the doctor waiting their turn for free medical advice and medicine. The doctor points out her next patient to me, a skinny 20-year-old in her fourth pregnancy. I find it hard to believe that this young girl with a flat stomach is seven months pregnant. She has lost two babies soon after their birth, and with a one-year-old girl child at her hip is now hoping for a baby boy. Her diet consists of tea with sugar and plain bread with some ground chilies. She has not been able to breastfeed any of her babies as her diet is too meager for her starved body to produce milk. The doctor and the counselors in the medical camp provide information on spacing pregnancies and self-care. I thank Dr. Khadija, who is one of the rare doctors who has agreed to come and sit in this makeshift clinic in the desert with no electricity, no fan or air conditioning to provide medical care. She gives me a thumbs-up sign and quickly moves on to the next patient.

Theatre **Performance**

The author in Umerkot village

Kiran and I drive to the next village. Colorful sheets are spread on the ground where almost the whole village is sitting—men on one side and women and girls next to them with barely a divide between them. This is rural Sindh, where although women cover their heads, strict purdah is not practiced, and women have relative freedom to move around. A makeshift stage has been set up using another set of colorful embroidered sheets; here, the theater group made up now by mostly community members is going to perform. I plop down on the ground next to the women and girls' section and the show begins. Through singing and dancing in the local language the story line raises the issue of child marriage. The performers stop at various points of the show and ask the audience to give suggestion as to the direction the story should take. Children laugh, women smile and nod their heads in agreement. Some of the older women even participate and ask and answer questions. They all love the songs and dances associated with the wedding and the happy groom, but become quiet when they see the child bride. The show ends with a big ovation for the performers, with many women and men openly pledging to prevent early marriages from occurring in their families. A few voices of concern are also raised on going against the traditions. The theater group has sparked a debate that continues long after the show has ended. The neighboring villages are sending requests for the theater group to perform in their village, and others are coming forward expressing a desire to perform in the theater. The first theater show was performed by a professional group who have since trained enough community members to perform the skit in their own villages.

As I sit with the villagers, my mind keeps flashing back to stories I had heard about my own grandmother's marriage at thirteen to my grandfather, who was over forty years old. I had witnessed the bitterness in my grandmother as she talked about four lost pregnancies and said that by the time her body was older and strong enough to bear a live child, her husband had died. The scars of her pain were passed down to her children, and it had taken decades for the practice to die out in my family, and that too with fierce commitment from my parents' generation. Doubts and questions begin surfacing in my mind: can we bring about a change in this community? What will it take? Do we have what it takes? The weight of the work we are trying to achieve with this community almost makes me weak in my knees, but then I meet Marbat and her mother.

Marbat and her mother:

13.5 Empowered Mothers Empowering Their Daughters

Kiran introduces me to Marbat, one of the actors in the show I had just watched, and her mother. She is fifteen years old and unmarried, something uncommon in her family. Her mother was married at ten and her older sister at thirteen. Marbat's mother has been attending women's group sessions in the project along with her neighbors. Here she learned about the laws in the country and the impact of early marriage on girls' physical and psychological development. She had already lived through her older daughter's untimely and painful pregnancies. After watching the theater performances on child marriage, the issue became all the more real for her. Marbat was engaged at the time of her birth following local customs. "We had planned to get her married when she turned fourteen, but have now decided to postpone her marriage until she turns eighteen," said her mother. "Now she is back in school and also performing in the theater to make people aware about the negative impact of child marriages." She continues: "Due to poverty our daughters are seen as an extra burden for the families. No one asks what the girl wants or desires, the girls are sacrificed to meet the family's financial needs. Some people applauded my stance, while many others criticized me, but I have understood that this is my daughter's life and I will not let her end up like me." Marbat loves to perform in the local theater. She said she learns her lines very easily and is happy that she is helping other girls like herself escape early marriage.

Marbat is one of the thirteen girls whose marriage was postponed as a direct result of the women participating in the awareness-raising sessions and watching the theater performances. It is through efforts by the mothers in support of their daughters that the project is seeing a slow change.

Aqsa, one of my CARE colleagues, explains the helplessness faced by most of the mothers of young girls. On many occasions the mothers would come to know that the marriage of their daughter had been arranged by the men in her family only when the groom would arrive with the wedding party to collect her young daughter. Alone, the mothers had no power to fight back and would hand over their daughters amidst crying and wailing. Now as the women's groups are being formed under the Every Voice Counts project, women are deriving strength from each other and fighting back to protect their daughters. As marriages are postponed, girls are staying in school longer and continuing their studies. One of the mothers has opened a tuition class herself and is helping girls in her community reenter schools. More than 200 girls who had dropped out of school in preparation for getting married have enrolled in school again.

Working at the relationship level, CARE has actively engaged men and boys through orientation and training sessions to inspire them to change their attitudes toward harmful practices for women and girls. Community theatre performances are being used to promote positive masculine identities and supportive and nurturing roles for men and boys. To address the issue of child marriage, CARE is also investing in efforts at the structural levels. This is done to bridge the gap between government departments and communities so they can mutually focus on resolution of the issue and build ownership by both the government and the communities.

Law-enforcement agencies and local government officials were engaged and linked with community representatives through the formation of coordination committees focusing on implementing pro-women legislation and abolishing harmful practices.

Meetings and seminars on the implementation of the Sindh Child Marriage Restraint Act of 2013 were organized in coordination with all the relevant government departments at district level. Such efforts have shown some positive results. The deputy director from the local government issued a notification to all the concerned government departments to register all Muslim and Hindu marriages at union council, town committee, and municipal committee level to prevent child marriages in pursuance of the Sindh Child Marriage Restraint Act of 2013.

A district monitoring committee has been formed to monitor early marriages, and one of our community members, Mr. Muhammad Bux Kapri, has been included as a member of this committee. In some of the cases where the family was resistant to delaying a marriage, senior government officials were invited to join our teams to encourage the family members to keep their daughters in school and help them understand the risks and harms associated with early marriages. Position and authority does make a difference; having a senior government official come and offer his advice was very effective in delaying a marriage. In fact, the family felt honored by the interest of the senior officials in their girl's welfare. The challenge is to maintain the interest and motivation of government officials amid their very important responsibilities, which compete with taking time out for what is seen as just another poor girl from a small village.

Though a lot of work has been done at village level to increase awareness and sensitization, every now and then stigma is felt by women who challenge the norms. Some elderly men and women still look down upon those women who decide to come out of abusive relationships and are supporting their daughters' delay in marriage. People have referred to them as "bad woman" since they are seen as bringing dishonor upon the family by stepping up and asking for help.

It seems to me that this community is taking a few steps back for each step taken forward. Misbah and Kiran don't seem fazed, although many young girls continue to face the prospects of an early marriage; still, they are counting on some of the brave mothers who have taken bold steps and are energized to preserve the momentum of the change. These negative comments about dishonor are just a strong reminder for them that their work must go on.

13.6 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)

Situated in the northwestern part of the country on the border of Afghanistan, recurring armed insurgency and a series of natural disasters have severely affected KPK communities in recent years. According to the census of 2017, the total population of KPK is 35.53 million. The Newly Merged Districts (NMD), previously known as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), as of 2018 have been merged with KPK with an additional population of five million, of which females make up 49%.

Strict patriarchal structures prevent women from playing an active role outside their homes. The use of a full face and body veil is practiced in varying forms throughout most of KPK. Although women covered in full body veils can be seen in the markets in big cities in KPK, women seem totally absent from public places in the NMDs. Women are largely confined to unpaid domestic labor, animal husbandry and agriculture work, though the degree of their involvement in formal and informal labor markets varies from district to district, and even from village to village. Although there is no legal restriction on women owning or buying property, in practice it is mostly male members of the family who enjoy ownership of property in KPK.

The literacy rate in urban areas of KPK is 81% for males and 55% for females, and in rural areas 70% for males and 32% for females, but drops to only 3% for females in the NMDs. Twenty-three percent of children aged five to seventeen years in KP do not attend school. Of these, 64% are reported as having "never enrolled" and 36% as "previously enrolled" or dropped out. The categories of "never enrolled" and "previously enrolled" are substantially higher for girls than boys. The Out of School Children Survey 2017–18 by the Elementary & Secondary Education Department, Government of Khyber, shows overall, 34% of boys across the province have never gone to school or dropped out, as opposed to 66% for girls.

Recent insurgency has targeted destruction of schools. A total of 178 schools (70% of girls' schools were destroyed, and another 223 schools were partially damaged between 2007 and 2009). Reconstruction was underway when (in Swat only) another 185 schools were partially damaged and 33 schools were completely washed out in 2010 floods, resulting in further weakening of an already perishing education system. Despite the efforts of subsequent governments to meet the needs of the growing number of students, the gap has continued to widen.

13.7 CARE's Response in KPK

CARE chose to implement its education program in the Swat district in KPK, a district where the insurgencies and Taliban had destroyed schools and made every effort to suppress education, particularly for girl students (such that only one-third of girls in the Swat district were attending school). It is worth remembering that Swat is also home to Malala Yousafzai—the youngest Nobel laureate, in recognition of her work promoting girls' education despite violent attempts on her life.

13.8 INSPIRE Project

CARE adopted a phased approach to bringing young girls back into the education system. The first step consisted of addressing the poor quality of school structures and missing facilities in schools. The assumption was that lack of cleanliness,

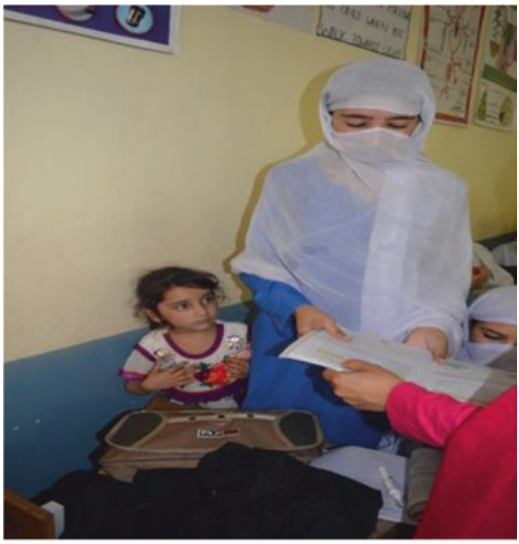
drinking water, fans, washrooms and or basic infrastructure disheartens students, making them avoid attending school. Female students start dropping out of school in large numbers just as they hit puberty. Although there are multiple cultural factors affecting dropping out at this particular age, one major factor is lack of washroom facilities to manage their menstruation needs. Girls also drop out if it means traveling some distance—if the school in their village was damaged, the only option for them was to stay home. Boys, on the other hand, are free to travel to the next villages to attend school.

Aqsa was part of the team that had gone to select schools for rehabilitation. During her field visit she had an opportunity to meet the community. Aqsa rubs her hands as she recalls girls from the villages holding her hands and begging her to open a school in their village. Some of the girls had relatives living in major cities who were educating their daughters. They had even seen these girls who talked and dressed differently than they. A few of the girls who had visited the cities returned home with a new confidence that was visible to all. Meeting Aqsa and her team was a reminder to them of their limited options in life: stay home and help their mother or get married and help their mother-in-law. The possibility of a school opening up in their neighborhood was awakening new dreams in these young girls' minds.

In Phase 1 of the project, 42 government schools were repaired and water and washroom facilities were set up. Teacher training and Parent Teach Committees (PTC) were formed to engage the communities and build motivation and common interest in sending girls to schools.

In Phase 2 of the project, CARE targeted its 36 months' intervention toward girls who had dropped out of school by giving them a second chance to get an education. The Accelerated Learning Program (ALP) model was selected since it had been tested earlier by CARE in multiple countries such as India, Nepal, Mali and Somalia.

ALP is a flexible, age-appropriate program that runs in an accelerated timeframe, which aims to provide access to education for disadvantaged, overage children and youth who have missed the opportunity to enroll in school or had to drop out before completing their education due to marginalization, poverty, conflict and lack of school availability.At the same time, collaboration with the Department of Education was initiated to develop a scheme of studies based on the official curriculum offered by the Departments of Education in KP. The curriculum for grade 6 through 8, which normally takes three years to complete, was condensed to 18 months. Teachers from the Government schools were trained to provide this condensed curriculum in 4-hour afternoon shifts over an 18-month time period. Government primary-school buildings were used for second-shift classes once the morning classes had ended and the buildings were vacant. Community mobilization efforts were undertaken to identify girls aged 10 through 19 who were out of school but had already completed their primary-school education. Working at the relationship level, CARE invested heavily in motivating and educating the parents to allow their girls to return to school. PTCs established in Phase 1 became the primary drivers of the advocacy initiatives. Many parents and other adults became strong advocates for promoting girls' education.



Khushboo with her sister

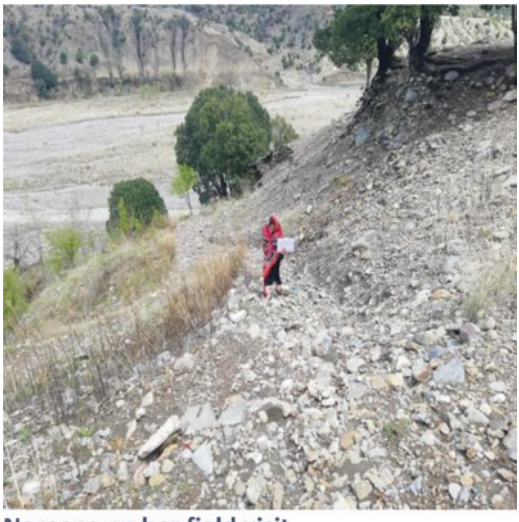
One such example is Noor Begum, a 53-year-old who did not have any children of her own. Her age gave her some flexibility to move around, which younger women are not able to do. She volunteered to join the PTC and became one of its most active and energetic members. Her role in the enrollment campaign was remarkable as she went door-to-door spreading the word about the ALP schools and motivating parents to send their daughters to school. One girl she was able to engage was Khushboo, who had dropped out of school after grade 5 since there was no middle school available for her in her village, and her parents were opposed to Khushboo traveling to the next village all by herself. Being the eldest of five siblings, she was also expected to stay home and support her mother in housework. Khushboo's desire to continue her education never diminished. In fact, each time she saw her younger brothers going to school, she would flip through their books, reminding herself what she so yearned for. With Noor Begum's encouragement and opening of the ALP classes, Khushboo was able to convince her parents to allow her to resume her education. "I will complete my education and become a professor one day," says Khushboo. I have no doubts, for I have seen again and again with just a little bit of support the heights to which these girls can ascend. Khushboo reminds me of Malala.

A total of 1,186 girls were enrolled in the second-shift evening ALP in 35 government girls' primary schools. Completing the 18-month condensed curriculum, a total 73% (870) students passed the grade 8 exam and were able to continue their education in grade 9 by enrolling in the formal education system. The ALP curriculum for grades 6 through 8 developed in partnership with the KPK Department of Education is now available for any other organization interested in implementing the model.

13.9 NMDs in KPK

NMDs remain one of the most underdeveloped regions of Pakistan, with more than two-thirds of people (73%) living below the poverty line (2016 Government of Pakistan and United Nations Development Programme "Multidimensional Poverty in Pakistan" report). This has been further exacerbated by the fact that more than five million people have been displaced since 2008 due to conflict. With the insurgency somewhat under control, the government has been declaring certain areas safe, leading to a slow return of people to their land where houses have been destroyed and livelihoods and infrastructure no longer exist. The area is still haunted by random violent incidences, frequent security blocks and checkpoints on the roads that make travel slow and keeps security concerns at the top of our radar at all times.

Traveling to Bannu, our field office in KPK requires me to cover up in a big white shawl and even pull it over my face whenever there is a possibility of any unrelated men seeing me, even if I am sitting in a car that has to stop at a traffic light. However, once I am inside my field office I can talk to my mostly male colleagues with my face uncovered, although the shawl still covers the rest of my head. I am supposed to keep my head covered, but not being used to it my shawl keeps slipping off my head. Being older and an outsider has its advantages in this part of the Pakistan, and when my shawl slips off my head no one reminds me to cover up—a luxury not available to younger women, whose reputation can be destroyed by one simple slip of the scarf from their head to their shoulder. Most of our work here is focused on infrastructure repair: houses have to be rebuilt, water pipelines must be repaired, schools and basic health clinics must be brought to a functional level again for the returnees. People are returning to their villages spread over this beautiful, sparsely populated mountainous region.



Noreena on **her field visit**

Noreena is one of our senior community mobilizer in this area. She belongs to a Pashtun community and is like them in some ways, yet in others not at all. Where most women in this area even when covered in full veil would dare not travel outside their homes without a male family member and would never dare to talk to men they are not related to, Noreena travels in the company car with a male driver, unrelated to her, to locate the returnee communities. Where necessary she gets out of the car and walks along poorly maintained paths, through streams, up and down the mountainsides finding remote pockets of returnees to inform them of the services that they can access through her project. For women in this area, mobility and access to public spaces is severely limited. Undaunted by the challenge, Noreena conducts small group sessions on hygiene and self-care with women inside their homes. Her male colleagues have it much easier, as they are able to gather men in community spaces and hold program-related sessions for men in larger group gatherings.

I ask Noreena where she gets the courage to do the work she is doing. Her answer is simple: "I always wanted to help my community and my father supported my desire and gave me permission." Her colleagues see her as an oddity, being unmarried and in her early thirties is something unusual for women in this area. But the energy and commitment she brings to her work, the passion to help her community, has helped her win the acceptance from her colleagues, military and government officials she interacts with, and most of all from the community members who open their doors for her and let her talk to the women and girls in their houses. I hope the door they open is letting in not just Noreena's physical body, but also her ideas, her courage, her desire for change. Would it also touch and change at least some of the girls and women she comes across? Time will tell.

CARE uses its Gender Marker tool to assess and monitor how well gender has been integrated into its humanitarian and development work throughout the project life cycle. The Gender Marker grades projects from 0–4 on a continuum, 0 being "gender-harmful"; 1 "gender-neutral"; 2 "gender-sensitive"; 3 "gender-responsive"; and 4, the highest level, "gender-transformative." We go to great effort to ensure that at a minimum our projects rates as gender-responsive.

Our work in this most needy of areas in KPK is limited to meeting the most immediate needs of men and women. For now, along with other development actors, CARE is also fixing and improving a few of the schools in the hope that girls will return in larger numbers. Water supply in the schools is being restored, washrooms are being built for girls, and some schools are set up with solar panels to provide electricity in an area with limited utilities. Health and hygiene sessions are given while addressing the specific needs of men and women. As such our projects here can pass the minimum criteria and get a score of "gender-sensitive."

I wonder if we will be able to develop and implement gender-transformative projects here like we are doing in Umerkot. I have to remind myself again and again: one step at a time.

Work is proceeding as planned, but with frequent and unforeseen challenges such as local elections, which resulted in a sudden eruption of violence and the imposition of Section 144 by authorities in the interest of public safety, temporarily

limiting field movement; and sudden and severe weather conditions. We had to navigate the above while keeping staff morale high.

I call Ayesha, our Country Director, for some support and to help me figure out our progress. Ayesha is fierce in her expectations of her team and she keeps reminding all that we must never settle for anything less for our communities than what we expect for ourselves. I try to hold on to the energy she exudes.

13.10 Reflection

On the drive back from Bannu, on a slow and bumpy road, my body is tired and mind and heart filled with too many emotions. I send my wishes over the air waves to the mothers and fathers I am leaving behind: Hold on tight to your children, but give some space to grow; give them hope for the future; give them a second chance, for they hold in their hand not just their future but the future of this country and this world.

To the children and youth I say: life is difficult but don't despair; embrace the new opportunities life brings your way, the new school year waiting for you, a chance to learn and grow. And to my colleagues and their uphill battle to bring about change in the communities they come from, and burdened by the responsibility it places on them: Don't give up hope. Times can and will change, celebrate the little successes you see, keep planting the seeds of hope not only in the communities you work with, but in your own hearts so that you may continue this work.

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Chapter 14
El Museo de la Nada: An Art Practice of Walking and Drawing Outside the Classroom

Andrea Avendano

I dedicate this work to Lonko Ernesto Huenchulaf, who taught me that languages must be listened to with the heart

14.1 Chile and Education: An Overview

The history of education in Chile over the past century has been a mirror of great political and economic unrest in the country overall. In some respects, Chile's history of education parallels that of Argentina. Before the twentieth century, the educational system was run by Catholic organizations for the aristocracy. Many of the early influences in philosophy were European in origin and mostly for male students. In the twentieth century, public education was solidified by political movements and social force led by labor unions. The Ministry of Education was created in 1927 to plan, implement, enforce and oversee the educational system in a centralized manner, including uniform curricula.

The Ministry of Education had as a main role the planning, implementation, and enforcing of educational laws as well as overseeing the conditions of education at a national level. At the same time, through the 1930s flexibility in the curriculum was being pursued with experimentation and innovation. Thereafter, the Ministry's administration was characterized by offering centralized policies that favored uniform curricula nationwide, including content, providing textbooks and basic school supplies free of charge for elementary education. This policy favored relocation of families; its goal was to ease educational transitions so that children would readily readapt to new schools in different geographical areas of the nation.

During the 1950s, concerns about dropout rates, lack of nutrition and health care and summer programming began to crop up in the educational system. By the

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1960s, concern about consistency and equity for all students took the form of increasing uniformity of the curriculum. The argument was that most disadvantaged children were those of poor stratum who lived in rural areas where authority did not enforce matriculation and access to schools was difficult due to distance. Ensuring regularity in the curriculum was seen as the solution. Scholarships were offered on a competitive basis so that those low-income students who demonstrated academic promise could continue their secondary education. Funds for postsecondary education were allocated in the form of scholarships that did not have to be repaid.

Until 1965, primary grades were six years of compulsory schooling and six years of optional secondary education (baccalaureate/humanities). The reform of 1966 extended free elementary compulsory public education to eight years while reducing secondary grades to four. The school calendar starts in March and ends in December. Students in elementary and secondary schools wear uniforms showing a badge that identifies the institution. The national public transportation provides reduced fares to students attending elementary, secondary and higher education (providing they are properly identified with cards granted by their institutions) who need transportation at the local level. The grading system has a 1 to 7 scale, 1 being the lowest, with 4.0 as the minimum passing grade. Repetition of grade has been the practice in the country when minimum levels of competence have not been attained by students in order to ensure assimilation of curricular content. Beginning in the 1970s, administrative decentralization began, giving regions and localities more autonomy to create (for example) municipal schools.

Chile underwent an abrupt shift from democracy to dictatorship in 1973 with a coup d'état led by General Augusto Pinochet. The coup overthrew the socialist Allende government and established a right-wing authoritarian regime which lasted 16 years before democracy was once again established in 1990. In 1981, a new approach was taken in schools with dramatic and sweeping reforms including decentralization of public schools, transferred to local "communes" with teachers either transferring as common, public employees or resigning and reapplying in private schools. Funding involved a per-student payment per child through a nationwide voucher program. Every student was eligible and there was a flat rate without consideration of the resources that a child would have. In effect, this created greater disparities in what access there was to schooling by social and economic class.

The Ministry authorized schools to develop their own curricula in 1990. A few years later, the schools went from a morning/afternoon split schedule to a single schedule each day, increasing the hours in school for students to thirty-eight (elementary) and forty-two (secondary) while attempting to limit class sizes and hiring more teachers. Until recently, the only language used in schools was Spanish. Now there is a movement toward bilingual-bicultural programs to preserve indigenous peoples' heritage in schools. The years since the dictatorship of Pinochet (from 1973 to 1990) have been ones of growth and relative stability for Chile, even though there has been a pendulum swing between conservative and liberal leaders.

In the current constitution (from that era), the right to education is not protected but a "market model" of parent choice of schools is, increasing social segregation of schools and teacher-education programs in the country. In 1981, governance of schools was decentralized but curriculum was not. Parents can choose among

municipal state-subsidized, private subsidized and private non-subsidized schools. While parent choice is equal across social classes, the distribution of student scores on national test results is not: private non-subsidized schools do best and it is here that most families of wealth send their children. If the same socioeconomic group is used as a comparison across schools (municipal vs. private), the students in municipal schools are as good or better at standardized tests (Mayol et al. 2011). This has helped to increase social segregation since the 1990s, attributable to parents being charged a fee to complement state subsidies (a policy that politicians in 2014 sought to reverse), and private schools often select only the more capable students for enrollment (Sleeter et al. 2016).

In 2014, legislation was introduced to make state-subsidized schools non-profit, thereby making the family contribution null in the private schools. For reasons of social equity and the potential improvement of schools, these and other proposals came forward, ranging from greater state management of municipal schools to liberalization of subsidies to both private and municipal schools (Garces-Voisenat 2016). Assuming that many such initiatives could create greater equity, the last election in 2017 reversed that trend and maintained the private sector's control of the nation's population. Many in Chile see the segregated educational system as the main cause of the high level of income inequality in the country. The election in 2017 was marked by a hugely divided electorate with extreme "left" and "right" candidates. Educational trends that are described here may result in another pendulum swing.

Teaching licensing and practicum are not mandatory to enter the profession. On average, lower secondary teachers' pre-service training lasts five years and including a teaching practicum is at the discretion of training institutions. Teaching conditions in primary and secondary institutions in Chile include relatively long school days and large class size with below-average salaries. Support for teachers includes clear standards, comprehensive evaluations intended for improvement and professional development opportunities.

Chile has had waves of migration over the past two centuries from a wide range of countries, most particularly Italy and Croatia, but also other parts of Europe, the Middle East (Lebanon, for example) and Africa. Chile was part of the slave trade to South and North America. The indigenous people (a term was disliked by many as a "politically correct" Western characterization) are composed of several groups, but largely Mapuche, composed of several groups in both Chile and parts of Argentina. In recent years the diversity of Chile's people—combined with new immigrants from Asia and other parts of Latin America—has become a central educational focus.

14.2 Introduction

This project works on the idea of equal exchange in learning, I conceive that an equal dialogue must be expressed through a non-ambitious conversation. In the recognition of different ways of learning, making, seeing the world, we work with freedom. If that can be done, real intercultural education exists, and in that case

literal translations can't be the only way to understand "the other." Translations help, but they are not the only way to understand. Because translations must have an "analog" to work with, and what if that doesn't exist? If there is no analog, we go into the universe of the invisible, something you perceive but you can't see. In the art world this is "experience" or "process". This is why I stand for an intercultural learning experience that has a space of freedom. Teachers here should be a kind of "firecracker catchers" that are able to see how lights turn on in groups of children co-existing, and this only happens without being outcome- based. In Chile, right now, we are always seeking a good performance through standards, curriculum in general, and discipline. How powerfully cultural can that be! It is so powerful that we forget about our origins, we explode ourselves with rules and discipline since we are 5 years old. The intercultural teacher, Ingrid Meripil, once told me "Discipline with no sense only helps develop being a slave of ourselves, running over a discipline that destroys our integrity."

This chapter will cover my relationship as an artist and art educator with rural schools in the south of Chile and the responsibility I believe artists and cultural workers have with situations of inequity in any part of society (Trend 1992). My main interest is to highlight adolescence in rural schools with a high percentage of indigenous students, and show that art-making can be a way to reduce the negative impact that cultural hegemony has upon these groups. This happens in schools because the national curriculum in Chile doesn't validate indigenous culture, with the result that kids that are "forgetting" who they are. In rural Chilean schools, the right has been taken away from children of any indigenous origin to live their culture inside of institutions, which affects their sense of identity. From this perspective, I want to emphasize that schools in rural areas have been places of symbolic violence: instituting a homogeneous curriculum in these fragile schools has had a negative impact in their lives; they become ashamed of their indigenous heritage, stop participating in spiritual ceremonies, and most important for my work, experience a loss of connection with nature, an element that is vital for any indigenous community.

For the past eight years I have been working with a Mapuche community in the south of Chile, and I have witnessed how this break with nature can affect a whole system of beliefs that structures a people's sense of belonging. My work also has the intention of recovering another dimension of Mapuche culture: the spoken form of their language, Mapudungun. I am an adherent of the idea that making visual art can be a way to revitalize this culture inside schools without using written and reading skills, underlining the image-language relation. It is also my conviction that making art is a way to embrace curriculum as an intercultural dialogue that opens the door to a more equal education in places where, economically, education has been diminished. I want to show that the creation of an equal dialogue between cultures can fortify and improve any learning process (Michael 1983). If non-Mapuche and Mapuche kids can exchange ideas of their world equally, with neither possessing an inherent superiority, social justice has been concretized.

Printmaking class: Koruf (wind) sends messages.

All over Chile and in the entirety of South America, we have indigenous communities actively coexisting with Western society. The largest indigenous culture in Chile, the Mapuche community is distributed between Chile and Argentina, mostly in the south of Chile. Chile is concentrated demographically and politically around its capital, Santiago. Moving from where I live to the south to work with Mapuche kids has been the first step of a contra-hegemonic practice. Most of the time, to have access to cultural events in my country, we must travel to Santiago, as everything happens there. This project would not gotten off the ground without the help of two people who appeared in my life: Lonko Ernesto Huenchulaf and his wife, Elena Colihuinca. For the past eight years, my work in art-making with different communities of WalMapu (Mapuche territory) has been possible with the guidance of Ernesto, the chief (*lonko*) of the community of Raguintuleufu (Between Rivers); with him we committed to work to assess Mapuche culture within rural schools.

The importance of this work has been recognized by the principals and teachers of the schools where we have focused our efforts because they know that if nothing is done in elementary school, the beginning of adolescence for these children can be much harder. After the seventh grade (junior high), teenagers in rural areas of the south of Chile must go to *internados* (school dorms) in the closest city. This departure from home puts them in a vulnerable situation culturally: if elementary school helped estrange them from their own culture, high school becomes a veritable teen soap opera for most young kids in the south of Chile, creating a world in which

music, fashion, and technology are the way to build their identity in a commodified society.

Chile has a homogenous curriculum from the northern desert to the primeval forests of the south. Even though three indigenous communities have a program for Bilingual and Intercultural education, it is rarely given by schools because it is not mandatory. PEIB, Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, is a program for Mapuche, Rapa Nui and Aymara communities that is under the aegis of the Ministry of Education of Chile. This program, for which students must submit an application, requires the school to have a sizable community of children (parents) that want it in the curriculum. This doesn't happen often. Also, it requires specialists that are not easily found: a literature teacher works side-by-side with a traditional educator (most of the times this is the wise man of the indigenous community).

From the point of view of Mapuche communities, this program doesn't represent them because, unfortunately, it is a mere translation of the national curriculum and its logic. This leaves the acknowledgment of Mapuche culture out of Chilean education, except for a mention during history class of the encounter between Mapuche and Spanish settlers at the establishment of the colony. For many Chilean students, Mapuche have become another dead culture that lived in Chilean territory. Also, history books and history teachers provide a narrow perspective of what Mapuche and "pueblos originarios" (original peoples) are in Chile. This happens mostly because teachers can't get involved in any political debate about why indigenous peoples don't have representation in Chilean society. Years ago in an urban school, an eight-year-old boy told me that Mapuche people looked like prehistoric men covered in fur.

This gives us the first evidence of inequity: students in areas whose population is 90 percent Mapuche get the same curriculum as children in Santiago, without covering any contextual issue for their learning. All their daily contact with the Mapuche culture is lost in school, and most of the time it can be rescued *only* if the class has a Mapuche teacher that is concerned with "keeping the culture alive"—which, fortunately, happens more often nowadays, since young Mapuche professionals have intentionally chosen teaching (as a way to amend what they lived as children). So, as mentioned earlier, Mapuche children are detached from their culture from their first years of school life. And this is a historical fact, as Andrés Donoso has said, since the Colony became a "cultural slaughterhouse for Indians" (Donoso 2008).

My main concern as an artist was the problem of how to transform all the elements that were already under debate into something that could help children and teenagers equal access to knowledge. Was art the way to do it? I hesitated at the beginning, since the art curriculum in Chile is also a way to enhance the value of Western art and aesthetics. Did I need to teach art to Mapuche children in rural areas? Why should I do that if "art" is not a concern in these communities? Also, should I teach these children about art works when their own daily objects were in museums to suggest they were already extinct?

A visit to the forest in front of the school, Huidima, Chile.

My answer came from my studies on Contemporary art and Anthropology: Mapuche as an oral culture has a different order, another aesthetic. I didn't have to focus on the images and objects themselves, but on the process of making them, the agency they have (Gell 1998) and the *enchantment of their technology* (Gell 1998). This could help awaken vital knowledge that children have! That order, that different way of building life was inside of them, and we needed to work with that: Art could be the answer for a more equal school experience. But then, another fact was raised: Mapuche culture has a different relationship to objects (culture evidence) and Nature. So I looked for elements in Ephemeral Art and Land Art that could help classes become more coherent, using the cues Ernesto was always giving me.

This situation captivated my intellectual attention and gave me a new sense of my profession as an art educator. I was all about understanding how, as a visual artist, I could teach a group with an "other way of seeing." After that, my trips to the south of Chile became more frequent.

14.3 El Museo De La Nada

During my trips to the Araucania Region, I started visualizing a new concept of museum for children in rural schools. So I created the idea of the Museo de la Nada, an invisible museum that children could build every day, a museum that had no ambition for a permanent collection, a place that would honor the nature and local knowledge they grew up with.

This whole idea started from my concern with the fact that art classes don't make children think about their own participation in their culture. This would be a basic question to ask in order to have an art class that engages students with their own lives. The function of art should be an issue on how our art-making processes contribute culturally to our community, how they affect us. This becomes relevant in indigenous communities where children are an intrinsic part of cultural manifestations such as ceremonies and meetings; children and teens in the Mapuche culture are active participants in such events with specific roles and tasks, and this fact is taken for granted in formal education. This point is important not only as evidence for this chapter, but also because, anthropologically, age stages in minoritized cultures must have an analog translations in Western culture to be accepted as valid. So my new idea began with the intention of having an activity that would help cultural resistance become visible in school, opening a space to show the contribution of other cultures in a rural community where diversity was an asset.

All these considerations resonated with the questions that many contemporary artists have raised since the '60s. Then, art became a defiant answer to many worldwide events and demanded answers that went far beyond the aesthetic. Is art relevant to everyone? Is art important in education? What is the function of art? These questions transcended art practices, taking away from the museum its role of primary institution in art.

Beyond art, I am concerned with the notion that making art can bring us together, that we can learn from each other, and that that process can transform a community. In his book "Making," Tim Ingold makes the distinction between a project (with the product as an end) and the process of making itself: I want to think of making, instead, as a process of growth. This is to place marker from the outset as a participant in amongst a world of active materials. These materials are what he has to work with, and in the process of making he "joins forces" with them, bringing them together or splitting them apart, synthesizing and distilling, in anticipation of what might emerge (Ingold 2013: p. 21).

From here I state my intentions for the Museo de la Nada: artistic actions for education related to drawing, science, environment, poetry and ancestral knowledge. The main goal of this art project is the awakening of rural community contexts as a contra-hegemonic question. I believe that this must be done by art in rural areas in order for students to contribute in their own indigenous education in a sustainable way.

My methodology starts with walks around the countryside school, observation as an analytical process, and art-making as a way to conclude the process with the students. My last three years have included walks around the schools and science projects, where an exact science has entered into a real dialogue with Mapuche Kimün (Mapuche knowledge), a process that furnished real evidence of the impact that this exchange has on students.

In 1967, the English artist Richard Long made long walks to express the vitality of nature as a real art experience; my walks with the kids from rural areas became an adventure to understand why birds, in the Mapuche point of view, are messengers, and also helped us to understand that birds have a habitat, flying patterns and

colors. Art, science and ancestral wisdom were a whole, but more than anything a life experience:

Repeated patterns in nature clued me in to the fact that what is going on inside my body is going on outside my body. The branching pattern repeated in the small veins and arteries of my heart is similar to the structure of a tree trunk and its branches. These patterns resemble, on an even larger scale, the flowing path of a river and its tributaries. These similarities tell me that I am indeed a part of nature (Robinson 2008, p. 295).

I have also found that walking is also a way of drawing, my main activity as an artist, and that our movement through a native forest could be shown like a drawing that makes an invisible map. This experience would be a gesture with "no enduring trace at all" (Ingold 2013: p. 125). So taking a walk is a piece of art, and art can be an experience. Around rural schools in the south of Chile we always go for walks and get "lost" inside the exuberant native forests that schools are on the periphery of. Once a teacher said to me: "I can't believe we have a whole lab in front of us!"

Richard Long Walking Landscapes (date? Where is the image located?)

My work here doesn't intend to focus on an artistic movement; instead, it is focused on other ways of making, and this is vital for me because I believe that real cultural exchange broadens your own world. Getting to know how "the other" makes things, starts the process, how he/she perceives the world makes me understand that there are many ways to live. In this sense, the Museo de la Nada establishes a Freirian perspective of what teaching and learning is: a *horizon* of knowledge where learning is possible with contemporary art actions, to lend diversity maximum value.

14.4 Conclusions

For the past 10 years of my art practice, I have worked with different rural schools in Chile. This has given me the possibility to understand better the contribution that these places can give to education and the potential they have for art. Rural schools—where most indigenous youth are educated in all of South America—can be sustainable places to produce knowledge, and if this fact is accorded importance, they can give a sense of wholeness to education. This opens a consequent way of teaching children in rural areas, and helps make them ready to their next step in high schools once their elementary school years have come to an end. Identity in adolescence can be an issue that brings problems of vulnerability and depression, among others, especially when your culture of origin has been taken for granted in your early life. I advocate for the integration of issues of contemporary art, like diversity, local knowledge and the existence of other ways to build life. It is my hope that it is empowering to the Mapuche as another way of seeing, as another way of making—not the regular Western curriculum for schools. If you give the space for another way of learning and teaching, school becomes something different. It is a Western and non-Western vision of education, a way to share knowledge, a way a culture gives to the communities. This emphasizes my conviction that everyone has the right to live his own culture within the context of school, and that art can be a space in which to bring together diverse knowledge for the sake of equality in education. Having the possibility to acknowledge and respect Native communities' identities gives rise to one of the biggest challenges in intercultural art education.

For this reason I created the aforementioned art project called Museo de la Nada, which is an art action inside rural schools, where the main goal is to make children aware of the cultural resistance they can create through the arts. This art project intends to be a sustainable place that *reconnects* the poetry of landscapes in rural schools with children's daily lives, having the environment play the role of an endless and vivid backdrop for their education. I have been asked what goals there are for Museo de la Nada and if this implies that there are measurable outcomes, there are none. I do not want a goal so much as having the experience of knowledge. I'm not interested in objectives but instead, having the experience of art through this process.

It is a response to Chile's current Westernization of schools. My friend, Ingrid Neripil noted that in Chile, school results in people becoming the slaves of themselves. She was responding to the disciplined aspects of school, the management of schooling in being on time, attending daily, having a "high performance" attitude in school. Those values end up in a form of exploitation of oneself, values that go against indigenous communities axes. In this sense, schools only respond to western vision of education, without being efficient (D'Angelis 1999, p. 25) with indigenous community demands.

With this wide perspective of knowledge, we can affirm what Edward Said (Said 2009, p. 52) pointed out: what makes culture interesting is how cultures relate with one another, not the greatness of one culture independent of others. This statement

embraces the idea that working as a community must be taught in schools because culture is made by people with people, not alone (Ingold 2013: p. 2). Teaching this as a primary fact is a responsibility we have as cultural workers. And this specifically is one of the values that all indigenous communities have as a life system. For teaching me that, I thank them endlessly.

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Chapter 15
Conclusion: Global Visions of Adolescence

Devin G. Thornburg

These narratives provided great insights into the human condition that should be highlighted because they were evident both cross-culturally and, it could be argued, cross-temporally. The former point is worth considering in light of the review at the beginning of the book, which described the recent emergence of postmodern and contextual theories of adolescent development, combining the traditions of psychology and cultural anthropology to understand adolescents' emotional, cognitive and social lives. The latter point about temporality refers to the ways in which the writers' perceptions and experiences have evolved over time and, within the dynamics of social change, must be responded to by schools to effectively support their students. In their roles as educators, the writers must attempt to support their students, and these efforts are informed by their own experiences and memories of their schooling. The authors address uniquely interesting and worthwhile insights and observations within their respective contexts and, if the book were more oriented toward a comparative approach of educational responses to adolescence, it would be valuable to view how each chapter serves as a type of prism into the larger challenges of education within each society. But the purpose of this volume, as framed in the introductory chapter, is to look more globally at the visions of adolescence and education, and if important collective trends are discerned, that can be illuminating for all. And indeed, there are several.

While some of the chapters address adolescence as an identifiable phase of the life span defined by unique elements of learning and development (notably, the chapters from the Netherlands, Morocco and Madagascar), the pedagogical philosophies offered by most of the authors are geared toward approaches that will support adolescents' successful entry into and contribution to society. Their views of education and teaching are not tied to a number of characteristics of adolescence so

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much as to the importance of encouraging certain forms of thinking and behavior such as independent judgment and decision-making, reflection and self-regulation, working effectively with diverse people, and collaborating for purposes of production. The pedagogies they describe are based on student interests, offer choices in learning, and are marked by high expectations for students. Described are curriculum-based interdisciplinary projects or performances, often with inclusion of technology, and lessons involving integration of culture and nature or role play with scenarios related to social problems. While the curriculum and the approaches are richly varied, the one characteristic of adolescence that is consistently addressed is its temporal proximity to entry into society as an adult.

As the chapters unfold, it becomes clear that the pedagogies in question evolved over time and are intended to provide the opportunities for life's lessons for students. In many respects, it is as if the educational systems and the teaching within them described in the narratives in the 12 nations are, like the students themselves, in their adolescence. Rebelling against the norms of the educational system, the histories that bind, trying out new and bold approaches, and perceiving and interpreting the society around them more critically all are reflected in the descriptions of what the educators are offering. The writers strive, as a result, to show how to create schools that shape social change for the better rather than simply reflecting the social ills that surround them. In Western culture, the adolescent is often treated as representative of what society does not want to see about itself, illuminating its hypocrisy and irrational efforts to control those who challenge the social order. In the portraits rendered by the writers here, there may be an assumption that the *school* has become what society does not want to see about itself, and there are serious efforts to combat that with a vision of school that is drawn from a finer impulse.

A significant illustration of this finer impulse involved the engagement of adolescent students in the learning process. Several examples will be detailed in the paragraphs that follow. The overall assumptions made by the writer-educators was that this engagement would be sparked by content (the arts, culture, language and literacy, technology, health or the natural world) that generated interest because of its novelty or relevance in the students' lives. The narratives addressing specific examples of adolescents were marked by the creation or production of something that would have an impact on others. Whether such endeavors were done collaboratively or independently, whether they took the form of a project or a performance, schools and educators sought to provide the space, the safety and the relationship that would support students' thinking and learning in a more holistic way while connecting them to the larger social world. This was the hallmark of the stories these educators offered: that the adolescents' sense of themselves was the point of engagement, while the component that the educators could provide was the students' connection of themselves to the future. The writers portrayed these elements leading to their students' engagement and learning in vivid ways that, collectively, included descriptions of themselves as authentic in their interactions with the students through support, confrontation or respectful distance. In each case, the process that unfolded was both a transformative and inspirational one.

Several of the writers noted the importance of social media in understanding the postmodern landscape of adolescence. The impact of social media is certainly relevant in relation to curriculum that connects the self to the social—and future—world. The characterization and context of social media in students' lives appears to be what David Elkind (1974) described as the constant construction of an imaginary audience where the adolescent is the focus of attention through multiple socially constructed identities (Harter 2012) in this postmodern world. The striving for perfection in this time of the "selfie" is, above all, a reasonable reflection of the social challenges adolescents now face in many nations. They are being influenced by the context in which their communication occurs and seek connection with others who feel as they do in social-media environments while believing that others cannot possibly understand their unique and personal experience. What the writers offer as a solution is the creation of groups of peers who are engaged in real audiences, perhaps believing that the adolescent can begin to form relationships that are more mutual than self-interested, more integrated with one's shared sense of fulfillment, allowing for a dynamism that will support them as they move increasingly into the adult sphere.

While the sense of self is tied to adolescent development in many countries and across theoretical orientations (Seaman et al. 2017), the majority of these writers did not describe the development of a sense of self as an explicit goal in their work. Perhaps through their activity and engagement they are helping the students with identity formation. Certainly all of them have a vision of an educational experience that can contribute to growth and a better world. The work of Côté (2015) might be of use here in distinguishing between developmental processes–which are typically thought of in terms of stage theories of adolescence and identity–and developmental experiences. Côté describes these experiences as events leading to a personal or shared sense of integration, to an opportunity of fulfillment vs. a personal or shared sense of marginalization, discrimination or alienation.

The writers in this volume seek to support these more positive or "normative" outcomes, addressing what Côté (2015) sees as resolution of personal, vocational or spiritual. He also presents potential "non-normative" outcomes from developmental experiences, including marginalization, discrimination and alienation. But he reminds researchers of identity formation in the late-modern and postmodern age that young people's social context is often without direction—particularly in secular life—giving them little normative guidance and making entry into their adult roles more complicated. This lack of guidance is compounded by the extension of adolescence to a wider age span in many societies, causing it to lose status as a separate stage. Paradoxically, the emergence of adolescence as a concept—particularly in the Western industrialized world—was tied to a way to extend protections of children because of the phenomenon of child labor (Mead 1928). Many of the authors write about the stressors that such complications bring and the educational efforts to provide the supports to their students for their upcoming years that society at large often lacks.

This is not new, of course, in the larger debate as to whether schools provide the safety, direction and knowledge that students need in order to enter and improve

upon society. Functional and conflict theorists of education have been arguing for decades as to whether schools empower students to create a more equitable world of adulthood, for example, or merely reflect and reinforce the inequitable structures and practices of a society that educational institutions are intended to serve. Côté (2015) rightly notes that many identities-in-society continue to be limited by class, gender and ethnicity/race with norms that restrict growth. While boundaries may be more permeable or difficult to determine in the postmodern era, access to them may still depend on circumstances that are specific to a particular country or culture.

There is a larger theoretical point about the understanding of educators focusing on developmental experiences rather than processes as described above. While the authors were asked to write about their views and visions of adolescence and how they seek to educate their pupils, their narratives were informed by their experiences as educators and the ways in which these have helped to shape their work rather than an *a priori* understanding of adolescence drawn from the human or social science disciplines. Some writers cite developmental theories, for example, but more as they align with their roles as teachers, leaders and advocates of their students. Several decades ago, Kieran Egan (1983) made the then bold and insightful argument that psychology of learning and development emphasizes the constraints on students while philosophies of education describe the prescriptive ideals that teachers should strive to achieve—and the two realms are not bridged in any way that informs educational practice. It would seem quite apparent that the narratives offered here largely represent informed beliefs about the education of adolescents. Put another way, the insights that have resulted from this book offer visions about the support of adolescents in context rather than beliefs about *who adolescents are*.

A related argument to be made is that the sociocultural tradition about identity might reflect a postmodern articulation of adolescence. This tradition, for instance, is based on a view that cultural activities serve to organize development across all domains—including adolescent identity (Penuel and Wertsch 1995; Vygotsky 1981). As a result, activities such as schooling contain models for personhood that are historically informed and influence how teachers understand their students. These models shape students' self-understanding, as well, in many areas of their lives. This tradition of sociocultural thinking would include, therefore, a perspective on learning that is about "the organization of social futures" (O'Connor and Allen 2010). It would seem that the writers of the narratives in this volume embrace a view of identity transformed by participation within historically and culturally informed educational practices.

One practice frequently mentioned in the chapters involved responding to the diverse and unique characters and needs of students. While not an interest specific to adolescence, it was addressed in ways that inevitably tied that phase of life to "customizing" the teaching-learning process. Adolescents need to be seen, to be responded to in authentic ways and recognized as individuals in their own right. The educational program should derive from that basic and fundamental perspective. Several of the authors develop that point, citing theories of education, but at its heart the point emanates from the profound respect and caring that the writers have for their students. More than any technical or instrumental approach to

pedagogy—reflecting the empirical, the rational and globally neoliberal thought that continues to dominate understanding of schools in most countries—this emphasis on the relationship as being at the core of education was repeated across the four continents represented in this book.

No topic associated with adolescence and the extant literature was more conspicuously absent from the writings of these educators than violence of various kinds: gangs, fights, bullying, gender violence, violence against those identified with the LGBTQ community, self-directed violence (with suicide rates globally on the rise, frequently connected to the rise in social media, e.g. U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2015). On the other hand, the World Health Organization issued a report (2016) that 200,000 homicides involving people between 10 and 29 occurred but that homicides had decreased every year from 2000 to 2012. In that same report, promising prevention programs were noted, including those that are more school-based: life skills and social development to better manage anger, resolve conflict and solve problems; anti-bullying prevention; and drug/alcohol prevention programs. An overall recommendation involved a comprehensive approach that addresses the social determinants of violence such as income inequality, rapid demographic and social change, and low levels of social protection. What the authors do substantially address is partnering with the communities that schools serve to better support their students in a number of realms. Because prevention is more of a normative approach to potential violence among youth, it can address the associated experiences of marginalization, discrimination and alienation (Côté 2015).

Yet the deeper (and clearly more urgent) point to be made about adolescents and violence that these writers appear to be addressing is the violence that schools can perpetrate against adolescents rather than a focus on the students' potential for acting violently. This is a perspective that explores adolescents as *victims* of violence—both symbolic and real—and that prompted the writers to address a wide range of school practices that continue to institutionalize corporal punishment, racism, gender oppression, political victimization, economic privation: the tyranny of those who would continue the inequalities of schooling. All are outlined in the chapters that appear here and with a strong voice of wisdom and hope that we can re-envision adolescents, rethink curriculum and reform schools, stopping the victimization of students. The writers in this volume call for educators to freely enter into authentic and meaningful relationships and spaces of learning with their adolescent students. From these writings, that is a global message that should be an indelible one to all readers.

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